

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK

**A Record of Events and Trends
in American and World Jewish Life**

1996

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The **1996 AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK**, the 96th in the series, continues to offer a unique chronicle of developments in areas of concern to Jews around the world.

This year's volume features two special articles. In "Jewish Experience on Film—An American Overview," Joel Rosenberg offers a novel analysis from the perspective of current film criticism, examining the ways in which Jews are both reflected in film and have helped to shape it. He discusses films, personalities, and trends, including the growth of independent filmmaking and Jewish film festivals.

"Israelis in America," by Steven J. Gold and Bruce Phillips, provides a wide-ranging sociodemographic profile of an immigrant group that differs in important ways from any other in the American Jewish experience. The authors discuss the controversial subject of how many Israelis there are in the U.S. and provide data about their economic and social adjustment. They also shed new light on Israelis' identity conflicts and their creation of a distinctive Israeli-American community.

(Continued on back flap)

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**American
Jewish
Year Book**

The American Jewish Committee acknowledges with appreciation the foresight and wisdom of the founders of the Jewish Publication Society (of America) in the creation of the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK in 1899, a work committed to providing a continuous record of developments in the U.S. and world Jewish communities. For over a century JPS has occupied a special place in American Jewish life, publishing and disseminating important, enduring works of scholarship and general interest on Jewish subjects.

The American Jewish Committee assumed responsibility for the compilation and editing of the YEAR BOOK in 1908. The Society served as its publisher until 1949; from 1950 through 1993, the Committee and the Society were co-publishers. In 1994 the Committee became the sole publisher of the YEAR BOOK.

American Jewish Year Book 1996

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Editor

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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Preface

This year's volume features two special articles. Continuing our series on aspects of American Jewish culture, Joel Rosenberg contributes "Jewish Experience on Film--An American Overview," a penetrating review and analysis of films, personalities, and trends. Sociologists Steven J. Gold and Bruce Phillips provide an update on a subject of continuing interest, "Israelis in the United States." The authors review demographic data and discuss Israelis' sense of marginality, their creation of a distinctive subgroup culture, and their relationship to American Jewish life, among other topics.

Jewish life in the United States is covered in two articles: "National Affairs," by Richard T. Foltin, and "Jewish Communal Affairs," by Lawrence Grossman.

David Horovitz provides extensive coverage of events in Israel. Reports on Jewish communities around the world include Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Austria, East-Central Europe, the former Soviet Union, Australia, and South Africa.

Updated estimates of Jewish population are provided--for the United States, by Barry Kosmin and Jeffrey Scheckner of the North American Jewish Data Bank; and for the world, by U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Carefully compiled directories of national Jewish organizations, periodicals, and federations and welfare funds, as well as religious calendars and obituaries, round out the 1996 AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK.

We note with sorrow the death of Uziel (Oscar) Schmelz, at the age of 77, on September 20, 1995, in Jerusalem. Co-author of the annual article on "World Jewish Population" since 1982, Prof. Schmelz was on the staff of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics and professor of Jewish demography and statistics in the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry. In addition to his research on world Jewish demography, he published studies on immigration and absorption in Israeli society, the population of Palestine during the Ottoman period, and the polyglot inhabitants of Jerusalem, the city that was his great love. The Vienna-born scholar was a humanist of the European school and an expert on both Western and Middle Eastern cultures.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of our colleagues Cyma M. Horowitz and Michele Anish of the American Jewish Committee's Blaustein Library.

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Special Articles

Jewish Experience on Film — An American Overview

by JOEL ROSENBERG

FOR ONE FAMILIAR WITH THE long history of Jewish sacred texts, it is fair to characterize film as the quintessential profane text. Being tied as it is to the life of industrial science and production, it is the first truly posttraditional art medium — a creature of gears and bolts, of lenses and transparencies, of drives and brakes and projected light, a creature whose life substance is spreadshot onto a vast ocean of screen to display another kind of life entirely: the images of human beings; stories; purported history; myth; philosophy; social conflict; politics; love; war; belief. Movies seem to take place in a domain between matter and spirit, but are, in a sense, dependent on both. Like the Golem — the artificial anthropoid of Jewish folklore, a creature always yearning to rise or reach out beyond its own materiality — film is a machine truly made in the human image: a late-born child of human culture that manifests an inherently stubborn and rebellious nature. It is a being that has suffered, as it were, all the neuroses of its mostly 20th-century rise and flourishing and has shared in all the century's treacheries. It is in this context above all that we must consider the problematic subject of Jewish experience on film.

In academic research, the field of film studies has now blossomed into a richly elaborate body of criticism and theory, although its reigning schools of thought — at present, heavily influenced by Marxism, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and various flavors of deconstruction — have often preferred the fashionable habit of reasoning by decree in place of genuine observation and analysis. Even so, the resources have grown immensely since the 1970s for developing a more sophisticated approach to the study of Jewish experience on film. This designation for the subject is preferable to the more colloquial term "Jewish film," for several reasons. First, film is not just the neutral instrument of various national cultures expressing themselves in art — it is a powerful creation of human imagination and technology that has, in some sense, drawn these cultures into its ongoing life. Then, too, film is a vastly collaborative art that is inherently multinational and multicultural in its practical operations. Scan the credits of any film and you will see that even the most nationally or culturally identified films are indelibly international, as are film's visual language and aesthetic choices.

Finally, the film of Jewish experience is intimately bound up with the non-Jewish world's use of Jewish experience for its own reflection. Jews in some sense participate in that reflection and have shaped it in significant ways — but we are dealing, in any case, with an intercultural realm, with the larger civil society in which Jews dwell, which has cultural claims of its own. Jewish film in the strict sense of the term is a component of that whole. But the representation of Jewish experience on film, which extends far beyond Jewish film as such, is an important subject of inquiry in its own right, which is only now gaining the serious attention of Jewish studies.¹

Clearly, there is a need for widening our conception of “Jewish film” to mean more than simply a discourse of either Jews or Gentiles; more, let us say, than an “image” of the Jew, considered as a prepackaged object submitted for Gentile approval or disdain; more, even, than the cultural output of various Jewish societies. Rather, the presence of the Jew in film needs to be rethought in the context of cinema history as a whole and set against the major crises and disasters of the 20th century, especially the Jewish catastrophe in Europe.

Film grew up, as it were, as an older sibling of modern totalitarianism, and of the Holocaust itself. The ideological exploitation of film by Nazi Germany and, throughout the same era, by the Soviet Union, was only a more conscious instance of a process long in place in the cinema of the bourgeois democracies. In those societies, film worked, usually unconsciously, in harmony with existing social institutions, and the dictates of censorship (typically motivated by churches, schools, and civic and political groups) were fairly early internalized in film practice by the film industry itself. One can of course learn a great deal by studying the representation of the Jew in the cinema of Nazi Germany.² But cinema outside of Nazi Germany, and on other subjects than the Holocaust or Jewish life, must be studied as well — not so much to weigh the accuracy or inaccuracy, the degree of sympathy or hostility, in its representation of Jews (these issues have predominated in an older generation of Jewish film studies), but for its systematic connections to the unfolding of 20th-century history, to the development of the film medium itself, and to the broader problems of race, class, nation, and ethnicity in modern times.

¹See, e.g., Charles Berlin, ed., *Jewish Film and Jewish Studies: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Harvard University on November 13 – 14, 1989, on the Role of Jewish Film in Teaching and Research in Jewish Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); idem, ed., *Guide to Judaica Videotapes in the Harvard College Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Matthew Stevens, ed., *Jewish Film Directory: A guide to more than 1200 films of Jewish interest from 32 countries over 85 years* (Westport, Conn., 1992); Charles Lawrence Gellert, ed., *The Holocaust, Israel, and the Jews: Motion Pictures in the National Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1989). For general introductions to the subject in its American setting, see note 4.

²On the Jew in German film of the Nazi era, see, e.g., David Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933 – 1945* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 238 – 306.

What one needs to study is immense. The subject encompasses the world output of cinema, and extends all the way back to the era of primitive cinema, when, in 1903, the image of a Jew first appeared on screen. It requires some familiarity with film theory, past and present — a vast and often daunting thicket of reflection that draws on linguistics, semiotics, psychoanalysis, psychology of perception, optics, aesthetics, art history, and other disciplines. It properly requires a knowledge of several languages, and of film scholarship in those languages. It entails familiarity with particular Jewish film industries, such as Yiddish-language and Israeli film.³ It involves examination and comparison of changing trends in fiction film, documentary film, and political propaganda film. It entails consideration of key junctures in film history when technological developments, economic and geopolitical realities, and changes in production methods, stylistic fashions, audience composition, and public tastes and moods decisively shaped what was seen on screen and how it was seen. It involves the concurrent histories of the film representation of other national, ethnic, and social groups. And, of course, it requires knowledge of modern Jewish and world history, of the history of anti-Semitism, of the rise and fall of Nazism, of the planning, enactment, and aftermath of the “Final Solution,” of survivor experience, and the vast realm of postwar reflection and debate on the Holocaust and its representation.

Moreover, beyond the immense range of subjects and disciplines deployed, several *kinds* of understanding are required, including intuition. One must develop a feel for the nuances of individual films in their sensuous immediacy — of directorial style and gesture, of the impact of specific actors, of an era’s peculiar visual and auditory patina. It is impossible, for example, to evaluate the meaning and satirical impact of Ernst Lubitsch’s anti-Nazi burlesque, *To Be or Not To Be* (1942), without savoring the particular comic genius of Jack Benny, Carole Lombard, Felix Bressart, and Sig Ruman. It is impossible to separate the meaning of *The Jazz Singer* (1927) from specific choices in the casting and playing of it — Jolson’s spiritedly flirtatious hyperactivity, May McAvoy’s wide-eyed, nubile sweetness, or Eugenie Besserer’s flustered stammers of maternal delight — and from the film’s choppy interplay of orchestral theme music, sound performance, dialogue, and intertitle. It involves reconstructing what an audience might have *heard* when they were told by Al Jolson: “Wait a minute . . . wait a minute. . . . you ain’t heard nothin’ yet!”

³These two important topics are beyond the scope of the present essay, which will focus on English-language American film. On Yiddish film, see J. Hoberman, *Bridge of Light: Yiddish Film Between Two Worlds* (New York, 1991); Judith N. Goldberg, *Laughter Through Tears: The Yiddish Cinema* (Rutherford, N.J., 1983); Eric A. Goldman, *Visions, Images, and Dreams: Yiddish Film Past and Present* (Ann Arbor, 1983). On Israeli film, see Ella Shohat, *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation* (Austin, Tex., 1987).

Some film theoreticians assert that intellectually rigorous work on film (of the sort purportedly introduced by the revolution in film theory that started in the late 1960s) is a fundamentally different labor from that of the cinephile — that is, the critic, historian, or film interpreter who proceeds chiefly from a love of film art and an interest in the *oeuvre* of particular filmmakers. But it is precisely the love of film art — in its full range and variety, in its historical specificity, in its susceptibility to the individual genius of particular directors, actors, scenarists, cinematographers, editors, and scorers, in its ability to foster enhanced perception and empathy in its viewers, to capture the minds and hearts of audiences, to epitomize the mood of an era, and to focus moral and ethical attention on the stream of human experience — that is vital to any informed writing about it.

Film Representation of Jews: The American Setting

Historical study of the film representation of Jews is indebted to two works in particular that have laid a useful groundwork, at least for understanding the American component of the subject: Lester D. Friedman's *Hollywood's Image of the Jew* (along with its coffee-table counterpart, Friedman's *The Jewish Image in American Film*, an illustrated popular history) and Patricia Erens' *The Jew in American Cinema*.⁴ Both authors cover a vast range of film examples from the silent era to the early 1980s and attempt to periodize the subject, largely by decades, at least for the latter half of this history. These works serve as a valuable inventory of historical examples and a useful compendium of conventional wisdom on the historical forces shaping cinematic representation of the Jew. The demands of comprehensiveness have led both authors to sacrifice much depth and specificity, offering little in the way of sustained analysis and interpretation of an individual film as text, and virtually no attempt at systematic correlation of their insights with the problematics of general film history and theory. Their studies, properly speaking, belong to an older trend in ethnic and feminist film studies, generally characterized as the "images of . . ." approach, which weighed the relative degrees of accuracy or stereotype in depiction of Jews, blacks, Asians, Hispanics, women, and others in given films and eras, usually animated by an informal partisanship on behalf of the group, class, or gender being studied.⁵

⁴Lester D. Friedman, *Hollywood's Image of the Jew* (New York, 1982); idem, *The Jewish Image in American Film* (Secaucus, N.J., 1987); Patricia Erens, *The Jew in American Cinema* (Bloomington, Ind., 1984). See also Sarah Blacher Cohen, *From Hester Street to Hollywood: The Jewish-American Stage and Screen* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983); David Desser and Lester Friedman, *American Jewish Filmmakers and the Jewish Experience* (Urbana, Ill., 1992); and the filmography of Stuart Fox, *Jewish Films in the United States: A Comprehensive Survey and Descriptive Filmography* (Boston, 1976), as well as sources cited in notes 1 and 7.

⁵On image studies and their premises, cf. David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and*

The organizing premise of such studies is therefore somewhat simple and misleading, but their importance in the history of discourse about ethnicity in film, both in stimulating popular and scholarly interest in the subject and in providing a broad inventory of examples and trends, should not be underestimated. Moreover, in some situations it is indeed still vitally important to reflect on film images, provided the wider issues of cultural history are kept in view. In fairness to Friedman and Erens, it should also be noted that both authors are aware of the limitations of their format and the provisional nature of their conclusions.

Our indebtedness to both Erens and Friedman is, in any case, considerable, for both authors have articulated, for better or for worse, what could be called a consensus view of the Jewish presence in American film and filmmaking, as mapped out by numerous investigators in film history and media studies over the past several decades, and that view has proven thus far a reasonably durable one.⁶ For a convenient overview, we may borrow, for the time being, Friedman's and Erens' rather simplified decade periodizations, which we shall have reason to qualify further on. Friedman divides his discussion into the following chapters with, it turns out, obligatorily alliterative names: "The Silent Stereotypes," "The Timid Thirties," "The Fashionable Forties," "The Frightened Fifties," "The Self-Conscious Sixties," "The Self-Centered Seventies," and (appropriately tentative for two years into the decade) "The Emerging Eighties." Erens' periodization is a bit soberer and more articulated, but in other respects similar: "The Primitive Years (1903 – 1919)," "The Silent Era (1920 – 1929)," "The Early Sound Years (1930 – 1940)," "The War and Postwar Era (1941 – 1949)," "The Fifties (1950 – 1960)," "The Sixties (1961 – 1969)," "The Seventies (1970 – 1979)," and "Recent Films (1980 – 1983)." Although more non-committal than Friedman's in its characterization of decades, Erens' periodization by specific years at least shows that the notion of "decade" has a sliding definition.

From a film-historical standpoint, in any case, these categories are of merely provisional value. Major changes in film production, cinematic styles, ideological perspectives, and patterns of audience reception, among other factors, often cut across decade boundaries, and it is probably more accurate, though pedagogically messier, to reckon in five- to seven-year, rather than ten-year, cycles. Erens is justified in defining her fourth period in terms of World War II and its aftermath, even though that period

Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), pp. 89 – 90; Robert Stam, "Bakhtin, Polyphony, and Ethnic/Racial Representation," in *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity and the American Cinema*, ed. Lester D. Friedman (Urbana, 1991), pp. 251 – 76, esp. 251 – 52.

⁶Much of the present discussion is indebted to the useful overview in Frank Manchel, *Film Study: An Analytical Bibliography*, vol. 1 (Rutherford, N.J./London, 1990), pp. 818 – 51 ("The Jew in American Film").

encompasses a major ideological reversal (as a consequence of events leading to the Hollywood blacklist) and even though the roots of the war itself, and its attendant cinematic expression, go back at least two decades earlier.

An even simpler schema than either Friedman's or Erens', though congruent with the substance of their analysis, has been offered by Stuart Samuels in his essay "The Evolutionary Image of the Jew in American Film," which correlates cinematic representation of the Jew with four specific stages in 20th-century American Jewish history: alienation, acculturation, assimilation, and acceptance.⁷ This schema, or its substance, is shared, in one form or another, by a wide variety of investigators who regard the motion-picture industry as a central force in the socialization of immigrant Americans, virtually down to our own day, and it has influenced to some degree the present survey. But all existing paradigms require qualification and refinement, as we shall see.

Alienation and Its Pleasures

The earliest phase, which Samuels has dubbed a period of "alienation," corresponds to the period of New World immigrant life in the early decades of this century, when the mainly Yiddish-speaking East European Jews lived as a ghettoized minority among other immigrant minorities, in large urban areas, often in conditions of severe poverty, pursuing small-scale entrepreneurship and trades, and representing a bold contrast both to the Anglo-Saxon mainstream of American culture and to the largely assimilated and prosperous German and Sephardic Jews who had been absorbed into American life decades earlier. During this period, filmmaking was still in an experimental phase, an amusement-park or nickelodeon entertainment whose production was still largely controlled by the Edison trust, a monopoly tied to patents on motion-picture technology.⁸

In this earliest phase, stereotyped images of Jews, often borrowed from literature and theater, appeared frequently in the primitive narratives of one- and two-reeler diversions: the pawnbroker, the money-lender, the haberdasher, and the like. These Jews, obviously enough, were shown as "outsiders," but perhaps no more so than other ethnic types displayed in

⁷Stuart Samuels, "The Evolutionary Image of the Jew in American Film," in *Ethnic Images in American Film and Television*, ed. Allen L. Wohl and Randall Miller (Philadelphia, 1978). Cf. Manchel, *Film Study*, p. 819.

⁸For discussion of the primitive period of American film history, see Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*, vol. 1 of *History of the American Cinema*, ed. Charles Harpole (Berkeley, 1990); Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), esp. pp. 23–59; John Fell, ed., *Film Before Griffith* (Berkeley, 1983); Larry May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (Chicago, 1980), pp. 3–21.

the films, and to some degree *all* film characters in these early films were stereotypes.⁹ The nickelodeons and exhibition houses, moreover, were often filled with immigrant audiences who eagerly devoured the entertainment fare, taking great pleasure in beholding the screen images of their respective ethnic kinfolk. While the notion of "immigrant entertainment" has often been overemphasized in descriptions of this period (primitive cinema was in fact already targeted as much to native-born, middle-class recipients as to an immigrant and working-class clientele),¹⁰ the success of early films with immigrant spectators played a decisive role in shaping the ensuing phases of American film history.

Architects of Acculturation: The Studio Moguls

A second phase, which Samuels has dubbed a period of "acculturation," corresponds to the beginning of a long period of upward social mobility for the offspring of immigrant Jews, from about 1907 onward, and it seems inseparable from two important developments in the entertainment industry: the rise of Jewish entertainers in vaudeville, theater, film, and radio (these eventually included Al Jolson, Sophie Tucker, Fanny Brice, Eddie Cantor, George Jessel, George Burns, and the Marx Brothers);¹¹ and the rise of a small group of ambitious Jewish entrepreneurs who helped to break the grip of the Edison trust and created a powerful system of film production

⁹Cf. Lester D. Friedman, "The Conversion of the Jews," *Film Comment* 17, no. 4 (July-Aug. 1981), p. 42; Manchel, *Film Study*, p. 823; Charles Musser, "Ethnicity, Role-Playing, and American Film Comedy: From *Chinese Laundry Scene* to *Whoopee* (1894 - 1930)," in Friedman, *Unspeakable Images*, pp. 39 - 81, esp. 47.

¹⁰See Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, pp. 68 - 70.

¹¹See, among others, Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York, 1976), pp. 556 - 73; Stephen J. Whitfield, *Voices of Jacob, Hands of Esau: Jews in American Life and Thought* (Hamden, Conn., 1984), pp. 115 - 39; Stanley Green, *The Great Clowns of Broadway* (New York, 1984); Darryl Lyman, *The Jewish Comedy Catalog* (Middle Village, N.Y., 1989); Steve Seidman, *Comedian Comedy: A Tradition in Hollywood Cinema* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981); William Novak and Moshe Waldoks, *The Big Book of Jewish Humor* (New York, 1981); Jack Benny, with Joan Benny, *Sunday Nights at Seven: The Jack Benny Story* (New York, 1990); Herbert G. Goldman, *Fanny Brice: The Original Funny Girl* (New York, 1992); Barbara W. Grossman, *Funny Woman: The Life and Times of Fanny Brice* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991); Martin Gottfried, *George Burns and the Hundred-Yard Dash* (New York, 1996); Eddie Cantor, *The Way I See It*, ed. Phyllis Rosenteur (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1959); George Jessel, with John Austin, *The World I Lived in* (Chicago, 1975); James Fisher, *Al Jolson: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Conn., 1994); Herbert G. Goldman, *Jolson: The Legend Comes to Life* (New York, 1988); Wes D. Gehring, *The Marx Brothers: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York, 1978); Kyle Samuels Crichton, *The Marx Brothers* (Garden City, N.Y., 1950); Michael Friedland, *Sophie: The Sophie Tucker Story* (London, 1978). For the impact on American film, see Henry Jenkins, *What Made Pistachio Nuts? American Sound Film and the Vaudeville Aesthetic* (New York, 1992).

and distribution through the founding and running of the great Hollywood studios.¹² These included MGM (Marcus Loew, Joseph Schenck, Samuel Goldwyn, Louis B. Mayer), Paramount (Adolf Zukor, Jesse Lasky, B. P. Schulberg), Columbia (Harry and Jack Cohn), Warner Brothers (Jack and Harry Warner), Universal Pictures (Carl Laemmle, and his celebrated underling Irving Thalberg), and 20th Century (Joseph Schenck), later merged with Fox (William Fox). These founders were immigrants or children of immigrants, and all were Jews. One other major studio formed in this period, United Artists, was the creation of non-Jews: Charlie Chaplin, D. W. Griffith, Mary Pickford, and the half-Jew Douglas Fairbanks — performers whose role in both studio and cinematic history was similarly crucial, especially as a force for shaping the film star system.

Possessing little formal education but a vast amount of experience as entrepreneurs (Goldwyn had started as a glovemaker and salesman; Mayer as a scrap-metal and junk dealer; Zukor and Harry Cohn as furriers; Jack Warner as a cobbler, butcher, and bicycle merchant; Laemmle as a book-keeper and clothier; Fox as a sundries peddler and, later, as a clothier; Schenck as a drugstore-chain owner and amusement-park impresario; Schulberg as a reporter and trade publisher), the studio pioneers were quick to sense the mass appeal of films, and they correctly understood that the success of the industry depended on building a viable system of distribution, through firm links between studios and theater chains, as well as important financial links, largely with Jewish-owned banking houses — among others, Warner Brothers with Goldman Sachs, Paramount with Kuhn and Loeb, and Universal with S. W. Strauss.¹³ In the heyday of the studio system, from the 1920s to the 1950s, the studio heads maintained a legendarily despotic control over the careers of actors, directors, and screenwriters, severely reining in artistic freedom and retaining an often fatal final say about what survived on screen.

Much has been made of their boorish sensibilities and Philistine tastes (Harry Cohn was notorious for his ruthlessness, vulgarity, and lechery;

¹²See, among others, Jan-Christopher Horak, *Dream Merchants: Making and Selling Films in Hollywood's Golden Age* (Rochester, N.Y.: International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1989); Neal Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (New York, 1988); Bernard F. Dick, *The Merchant Prince of Poverty Row: Harry Cohn of Columbia* (Lexington, Ky., 1993); A. Scott Berg, *Goldwyn: A Biography* (New York, 1989); Diana Altman, *Hollywood East: Louis B. Mayer and the Origins of the Studio System* (New York, 1992); Samuel Marx, *Mayer and Thalberg: The Make-Believe Saints* (New York, 1975); Bosley Crowther, *Hollywood Rajah: The Life and Times of Louis B. Mayer* (New York, 1980); Jesse Lasky, *What Ever Happened to Hollywood?* (New York, 1975); Irwin Will, *The House That Shadows Built* (Garden City, N.Y., 1928); Roland Flamini, *Thalberg: The Last Tycoon and the World of MGM* (New York, 1974); Bob Thomas, *Thalberg: Life and Legend* (Garden City, N.Y., 1969); Cass Warner Sperlberg, *Hollywood Be Thy Name: The Warner Brothers Story* (Rocklin, Calif., 1994). See also Manchel, *Film Study*, p. 820ff.

¹³See Manchel, *Film Study*, p. 821.

Samuel Goldwyn, a Polish Jew who never mastered English well, spawned a vast folklore of "Goldwynisms," often apocryphal malapropisms such as "Include me out," and "Anyone seeing a psychiatrist should have his head examined").¹⁴ But it is also true that the studio pioneers played a crucial role in defining and refining the storytelling function of film, which, prior to 1907, had been mixed with such nonliterary amusements as travelogue and natural-history lectures, live musical entertainment, circus performances, vaudeville acts, and the like. Zukor, for example, traveled to Europe to survey filmmaking art and explored the potential of film to adapt theatrical and literary classics.¹⁵ Recent research on American film history has placed strong emphasis on 1907 to 1915 as the years of transition from primitive to classical narrative film, to that crucially influential form of film expression known as "the classical Hollywood style," and this period coincides with the rise of the Jewish film moguls and the studio system.¹⁶

During this period, two-reelers became three-reelers. Film entertainment was disengaged from live entertainment and largely constrained to single- and double-feature exhibition in darkened theaters before (mostly) quiet, attentive audiences, and later supplemented by newsreels, cartoons, and short subjects. Film editing was refined to facilitate narrative continuity and to preserve unities of space, time, and action. Film music (at first an improvised art of skilled theater organists and other musicians; later, in the transition to the sound era, a formally composed score as a fixed part of the soundtrack) was developed to underscore carefully movements and moments in the plot. In general, film spectatorship as such, in familiar contours that have persisted to the present day, was born. The methods of film production as a complexly collaborative art, and film distribution as a mass-market enterprise, were decisively shaped. It was during this period that Hollywood, California, became the capital of the American film industry, and, indeed, a world capital of film art. It was the seat of a highly coordinated system ruled by the mostly Jewish studio moguls; in a certain sense it was an industry ideally susceptible to the genius of ambitious immigrants, Jewish and otherwise, and later of other European émigrés of many nationalities, who populated all echelons of the film-production system.¹⁷

¹⁴These examples are from Ephraim Katz, *The Film Encyclopedia* (New York, 1979), s.v. "Goldwyn, Samuel," p. 491.

¹⁵Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own*, p. 28.

¹⁶The most comprehensive overview of the classical Hollywood style is David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (New York, 1985). On the period of transition from primitive film, see Eileen Bowser, *The Transformation of Cinema, 1907–1915*, vol. 2 of *History of the American Cinema*, ed. Charles Harpole (Berkeley, 1990), and the sources cited in note 8.

¹⁷On European émigrés in Hollywood, see Graham Petrie, *Hollywood Destinies: European Directors in America, 1922–1931* (London, 1985); John Russell Taylor, *Strangers in Paradise:*

It is highly misleading to see in this phenomenon merely the formation of a Jewish cabal of ruthless and powerful business interests acting, as it were, in a vacuum — sealed off from broader currents in American history of the time. It should be seen in the context of the Progressive Era and against the background of European immigration to America in the great age of open doors between the 1880s and the early 1920s.¹⁸ Film art fortuitously coincided with the complex formation of bourgeois ideology in Europe and America in this period — it was in some sense its inevitable harvest.¹⁹ The birth of the film spectator was an integral part of this process, and, in the United States, bespoke the formation of a genuinely cross-cultural (though surely also distorted and problem-laden) American identity. The rapidly maturing film theater, soon to blossom into the ornately architected and furnished “film palace,” became a great leveler of race, ethnicity, and gender — creating an audience mostly invisible and anonymous to one another, set into a kind of temple where light shone in the darkness, where people went, as they continue to do today, to escape the prisons of identity and constraints of reality, to forsake their bodies and merge themselves with screen idols in tales of romance, adventure, comedy, and tragedy.

Clearly, film catered to fundamental human yearnings, to the power of fantasy as such. In this manner, it was a potent vehicle of acculturation in an America undergoing an intolerably rapid pace of economic development and urbanization, with inexorably painful ethnic, class, and familial dislocations and proximities. Film entertainment in this sense was surely a medium of escape, but also, to be fair to its premises, potentially an arena of healing, of mediation, of consensus, of ideological experimentation, empathizing and ethical reflection, and, at times of confrontation — a place for the articula-

The Hollywood Emigrés, 1933 – 1950 (London, 1983); John Baxter, *The Hollywood Exiles* (New York, 1976).

¹⁸See, among others, Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, pp. 31 – 34, 50 – 57, 395 – 413; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform from Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York, 1955), pp. 174 – 86; Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880 – 1920* (Baltimore, 1992); Maldwin A. Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago, 1992); Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1992); George E. Pozzeta, ed., *Assimilation, Acculturation, and Social Mobility* (New York, 1990); Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1990); Moses Rischin, ed., *Immigration and the American Tradition* (Indianapolis, 1976); Leonard Dinnerstein, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation* (New York, 1975).

¹⁹See, among others, Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience from Victoria to Freud*, 4 vols. (New York, 1984 onward); Carolyn Howe, *Political Ideology and Class Formation: A Study of the Middle Class* (Westport, Conn., 1992); Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992); Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, 1992), esp. pp. 15 – 106; Walter Benjamin, “A Berlin Chronicle” and “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” in idem, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz (New York, 1978), pp. 3 – 60, 146 – 62.

tion, as philosopher Stanley Cavell has suggested, of a democratized "poetry of the ordinary," which Cavell equated with the noblest tasks of philosophy.²⁰

That the Jewish film moguls sensed this possibility in its wider intellectual and cultural ramifications is highly unlikely, but they did sense it instinctually and devoted their life energies to its realization. As talented immigrants who had dissolved and rebuilt their own cultural identity, they were optimally suited to be the Promethean shapers of this newest art, and they were situated at an appropriate *distance* from American culture that enabled them to manipulate, usually with extreme caution, its prevailing symbols and myths. It is in this context that we must understand their profoundly assimilationist stance. The America created by the Jewish movie moguls was, especially in the sound era, a WASP/Yankee paradise of small towns and picket fences, of milk bottles on doorsteps, of crowing roosters and friendly neighbors, of cantankerously upright justices of the peace, of Horatio Algerish boys with slingshots in their back pockets, of soldiers marching off to distant war — an America of Norman Rockwell paintings, of *Life*, *Liberty*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*. Whatever non-Anglo ethnicity was portrayed — and it *was* extensively portrayed — throughout Hollywood film's formative period, from the Golden Age of the silent screen (1915 – 1928) through the great classic era of talkies (ca. 1928 – 1960), it was usually as counterpoint to a mainstream, or, more properly, Main Street, American type, whose fabled decency triumphed over all obstacles and toward whom all identities flowed and merged. The material capital of American film was Hollywood, but its spiritual capital, as Cavell has suggested for screwball comedy, was a mythical land known as Connecticut,²¹ that Eden of the Yankee social register. In the same era, a comparable aura surrounded Kansas, the American heartland, most memorably in the 1939 classic *The Wizard of Oz*.²²

Still, American film, particularly of the silent era, was deeply preoccupied with the tale of the immigrant — of Cohens and Kellys, of Abie's Irish Rose, of industrious street urchins and sweatshop maidens, of ruthless landlords, enterprising marriage brokers, and hand-wringing *balabustas*, and above all, of the ambitious seeker of prosperity, the parvenu in the making, the urban newcomer who by pluck and providence crosses ethnic

²⁰Stanley Cavell, "The Thought of Movies," in idem, *Themes from Out of School: Effects and Causes* (San Francisco, 1984), pp. 3 – 26, esp. 14 – 19.

²¹Stanley Cavell, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Hollywood Comedy of Remarriage* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), p. 49.

²²Cf. Paul Nathanson, *Over the Rainbow: The Wizard of Oz as a Secular Myth of America* (Albany, 1991).

and class lines to realize the American Dream. A classic example of this story is *The Jazz Singer* (1927), usually remembered as the first sound film (sound and dialogue were in fact used only for the musical numbers, though memorably in one semi-improvised exchange of talk), but whose engrossing tale of the rise of a cantor's son to show-business stardom captured the hearts of American audiences just as the Jew was largely about to disappear from the American screen.²³

An interesting evolution in the tale of the Jewish immigrant seems to have occurred from 1920 to 1928 — it can be seen by contrasting the remarkable 1920 film *Hungry Hearts* with *The Jazz Singer*. In the former, a Jewish immigrant mother, living in a squalid New York City tenement, is gouged repeatedly for rent money by her cruel, stony-faced landlord, who threatens to evict her. In a gesture of stark despair, the woman goes berserk and destroys her apartment, chopping the walls into pieces with an axe. She is later arrested, tried, and acquitted, but the haunting power of her despair lingers, and her strikingly Luddite form of rebellion (here directed not at the machines of production but at property) cannot be erased from mind. Acculturation clearly had its price, and this story was meant to show it. In *The Jazz Singer*, entertainer Jake Rabinowitz (Al Jolson) is torn between appearing in the opening night of a Broadway show on Yom Kippur (his first and best chance at stardom) and filling in for his dying cantor father by singing *Kol Nidre* in the synagogue. The film solves the dilemma by having him do both: first cantoring and, on a subsequent night, resuming his role in the Broadway show. The film seems to say that one can have it all, that America is willing to cut some slack for the assimilating Jew as long as he or she gets the overall priorities straight — namely, an appropriately proportionate wedge of the American Dream. Between the desperate ambience of *Hungry Hearts* and the sunny affirmation of *The Jazz Singer* is a crucial eight years of burgeoning American prosperity — and with it American immigrant prosperity. But, as we know from hindsight, that circumstance was rapidly headed for a time of crisis.

The Jazz Singer should not be seen in isolation from other comparable approaches to ethnicity in films of the period. The ancient Judean prince Judah Ben Hur, in the 1925 *Ben Hur*, is arrested and sold to a slave galleon but gains his freedom after rescuing a Roman general. He subsequently rises to stardom in Rome as a champion charioteer in the Roman games, who then challenges his Roman ex-friend and enemy in a chariot competition, which he enters as "the Unknown Jew." He arguably anticipates Jake

²³Cf. Friedman, *Hollywood's Image of the Jew*, pp. 50 – 52, 57 – 85; Erens, *The Jew in American Cinema*, pp. 101 – 107; for a good overview of the literature on *The Jazz Singer* (in an otherwise dreadfully wrongheaded article), see Michael Rogin, "Black Face, White Noise: The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds His Voice," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1982), pp. 417 – 53. Still more useful is Robert L. Carringer, *The Jazz Singer* (Madison, Wis., 1979).

Rabinowitz's metamorphosis into Jack Robin. *The Jazz Singer* can also be meaningfully compared to the portrait of a San Francisco Spaniard among American Anglos in the film *Old San Francisco*, directed by the same director, Alan Crosland, in the same year (the latter film even uses the same snatches of Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet" that are present in *The Jazz Singer*); to the portrait of an assimilated Chinese man ("Chinaman," in the era's parlance) in San Francisco, played by Jewish actor Edward G. Robinson, in *The Hatchet Man* (1932); and to evocations of black life in the South in King Vidor's 1930 film *Hallelujah*, as well as to the whole industry of "race movies," films tailored for black audiences in the '30s and '40s.²⁴

The lives and careers of the movie moguls have been engagingly chronicled by Neal Gabler in his book *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood*.²⁵ Despite its unfortunate subtitle (which, much to Gabler's later dismay, seemed to bolster the anti-Semitic canard that "Hollywood and the media are controlled by Jews," thus lending his book to considerable misuse), this is an absorbing account, drawing on numerous prior sources but greatly enriched by archival oral-history material. It covers the history of American film into the 1950s, when the studio system began to come apart. The book is perhaps justly criticized for its overemphasis on an *ad hominem* approach to American film history, its minimization of the vital influence of non-Jews, and its general lack of scholarly method, but the book's richness of anecdote and fluency of narrative make it an indispensable resource for one pursuing the subject. It contains an especially illuminating account of the political conflicts between left and right that developed in Hollywood in the 1930s and '40s, in the struggle of writers and directors with censorship by studio heads and by the Hays Office regulations (a code of censorship adopted by the film industry as a form of self-policing to ward off boycotts by conservative political and religious organizations).²⁶ Alongside these events Gabler recounts anti-

²⁴On African Americans in American cinema, cf. Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film* (New York, 1993); Nelson George, *Blackface: Reflections on African Americans and the Movies* (New York, 1994); Chris Vieler-Porter, *Black and Third World Cinema: A Film and Television Bibliography* (London, 1991); Daniel J. Leab, *From Sambo to Superspade: The Black Experience in Motion Pictures* (Boston, 1975); Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films* (New York, 1973). On Hispanics in American cinema, cf. Gary D. Keller, *Hispanics and United States Film: An Overview and Handbook* (Tempe, Ariz., 1994); Alfred Charles Richard, *The Hispanic Image on the Silver Screen: An Interpretive Filmography from Silents into Sound, 1898 - 1935* (New York, 1992). On Asians in American film, cf. Gina Marchetti, *Romance and the Yellow Peril: Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley, 1994); Eugene F. Wong, *On Visual Media Racism: Asians in the American Motion Pictures* (New York, 1978).

²⁵See note 16.

²⁶On the Hays Office and American film censorship, see Leonard J. Leff and Jerold L. Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono* (New York, 1991); Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D.

Semitically motivated attacks on Hollywood by congressional investigators, which began in 1940–41 and were interrupted, but not quelled, by the war years.²⁷ But to understand these events properly, we should turn our attention to a third phase, that which Samuels has termed a period of assimilation.

Assimilation and Its Discontents

In truth, assimilation, and with it ethnic self-denial, was an integral premise of American film from its beginning — at least from the start of its development under the studio pioneers, and earlier, in implicit ways, through the whole of the preceding primitive period. Film producers in the era of transition discovered fairly quickly the penalties for overly blatant or stereotypic ethnic representation, and thus the Jewish image, like the Irish image, was often muted or placed in disguise.²⁸ Some films rewrote Jewish stage characters as Anglo-Saxons. Others put Jewishness into soft focus by using non-Jewish actors for Jewish roles, a practice that has persisted well into our own time.

A more interesting strategy, made possible by the star system, was Charlie Chaplin's use of the Tramp as the quintessential newcomer — and thus as a kind of allegorization of ethnicity. Chaplin, himself a non-Jewish émigré who never became a naturalized American, created a semantically plastic antihero, one who precisely eluded firm ethnic identification but still was dark-haired, curly-haired, mustachioed, and arguably Mediterranean or Jewish — easily at home among the hordes of Ellis Island arrivals and a conspicuous oddball when set against Main Street.²⁹ It would be a mistake, however, to overlook the equally convincing Englishness of Chaplin's performance, its rootedness in the vaudeville of Liverpool and London — an essentially stage performance whose contours were to become more apparent in the late, post-tramp Chaplin, in the sound era. Chaplin thus softened, allegorized, and universalized the newcomer, made him applicable to the experience of many immigrant groups while claimable by none. Still, Chaplin's image went out to the world as an *American* image, which, by virtue of its improvised invention during a lunch break on a Hollywood set, it was in fact. The tramp was surely as American as Ellis Island, and soon became, as had Ellis Island itself, a logo for America. When the tramp became a

Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (London, 1987), esp. pp. 1–47.

²⁷See Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own*, pp. 311–86.

²⁸See Musser, "Ethnicity, Role-playing, and American Film Comedy" (see note 12), pp. 52–54.

²⁹Cf. Musser, p. 54.

Jewish barber in *The Great Dictator* in 1940, it was a believable permutation of the tramp's long-familiar image, but still the tramp as Jew (in this case, as Jewish barber), a self-consciously allegorical statement rather than a truly Jewish tramp. And, of course, it was a tramp who talked.

Assimilation, at any rate, was an actively touted ideal throughout the silent era, and stories often portrayed entrepreneurial zeal, upward mobility, intermarriage, show-business fame, and similar apotheoses of the remade self. The late silent era was the beginning of the age of radio, and radio's golden era, in the 1930s and 1940s, underscored this trend by featuring a bevy of increasingly Americanized Jewish stars such as Molly Goldberg (speaking in dialect), Fanny Brice, Jack Benny, Mary Livingstone, and, as noted earlier, George Burns, Eddie Cantor, and the Marx Brothers. Benny, in particular, was, like Chaplin, a figure of semantic plasticity. He embodied a kind of Everyman, an American Main Street type, but was also the classic schlemiel — the carping, debunking, worldly-wise hero of Yiddish folklore — as well as the preener, the pretender to high-brow culture, the hideously out-of-tune violinist, and often, in a wryly self-deprecating parody, the Jewish miser. In *To Be or Not To Be*, Benny was a reassuringly American presence in a Nazified Europe while playing a Pole of ambiguous ethnicity and remaining implicitly an assimilated American Jew throughout.³⁰

The Marx Brothers, for their part, represented, as an ensemble, four stages of Americanization: the mute, wildly gesticulating newcomer (Harpo), the dialect-speaking street vendor/entrepreneur (Chico, in this case using an Italianized English), the fast-talking urban con artist or crackpot professorial pretender (Groucho), and the wholly Americanized youngest brother (Zeppo), who was invariably the straight man of the act. The zany, anarchic energy of the Marx Brothers, their subversive wordplay and dizzying nonsequiturs, suggest a kind of Melting Pot meltdown, a carnivalesque transformation of the American (and, in *Duck Soup*, fantasized European) landscape that was to have important reverberations in American comedy and satire far beyond its era. Its roots perhaps go back to the centuries-old tradition of the *Purimshpiel*, itself a parody of assimilation, which grew from the great biblical tale of assimilation, the Book of Esther.

It is in this context that one should examine the contributions of Ernst Lubitsch to American film.³¹ A German Jew born and raised in Berlin,

³⁰I deal with this matter at length in a forthcoming article in *Prooftexts*: "Shylock's Revenge: The Doubly Vanished Jew in Ernst Lubitsch's *To Be or Not To Be*."

³¹On Lubitsch's rootedness in the *Purimshpiel*, cf. Sabine Hake, *Passions and Deceptions: The Early Films of Ernst Lubitsch* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 29–30. The best studies of Lubitsch are James Harvey, *Romantic Comedy in Hollywood from Lubitsch to Sturges* (New York, 1987),

Lubitsch left his father's haberdashery business while still a teenager and made his mark initially as a player in Max Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater, the foremost German theater company in the first third of this century. Soon he was directing one- and two-reelers, and eventually feature-length films, often featuring a Jewish schlemiel character (played by Lubitsch himself) who went by such names as Meyer from Berlin, Sigi Lachmann from Rawicz, and Sally Pinkus. As Enno Patalas notes of Lubitsch's Jewish antihero: "Like Charlie [Chaplin], he is hungry, counts his pennies and chats up the ladies. The roots in popular art, the slapstick origin in vaudeville films, remained alive in Lubitsch's later films, too, as they did with Chaplin, Keaton, the Marx Brothers, and [eventually] Jerry Lewis."³²

By the early 1920s, Lubitsch had become an internationally distinguished director, "the European Griffith," whose grandly costumed historical spectacles (*Madame Dubarry* in 1920 is a key example) easily alternated with wry satires and bittersweet domestic chamber-dramas. He lived in the United States from 1922 onward and became one of Hollywood's foremost directors. Almost all of his films were portraits of Europe, a fanciful, dreamlike Europe of the past or present, mixed with pointed hints of the impact of modernity.

Lubitsch wore his Jewishness unselfconsciously, and he had direct or indirect ties with various classic films of Jewish experience. One filmography lists him, perhaps apocryphally, as an uncredited director of certain scenes in *Der Golem* — which is not implausible, given Lubitsch's close association with the film's co-director, Paul Wegener, another Reinhardt alumnus, during Lubitsch's period in Germany (Wegener starred in several Lubitsch films).³³ Lubitsch also had a strong interest in Samson Raphaelson's story "The Day of Atonement," prototype of the stage play of *The Jazz Singer*. (Lubitsch was a close collaborator with Raphaelson on other films.)³⁴ He wanted to direct *The Jazz Singer* on film, and almost had the opportunity, but he left Warner Brothers when the film was still in the planning stages.

Most of the films of Lubitsch's American period lack identifiably Jewish characters, but they are present, I think, as "implicit Jews" in many of the

pp. 3 – 59, 367 – 401, 477 – 508; and Hans-Helmut Prinzler and Enno Patalas, eds., *Lubitsch* (Munich, 1984), in German. A useful biography is Scott Eyman, *Ernst Lubitsch: Laughter in Paradise* (New York, 1993).

³²Enno Patalas, "Ernst Lubitsch: German Period," in *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. Richard Roud (New York, 1980), pp. 639 – 43; remarks quoted are on p. 640.

³³On Lubitsch's possible connection to *Der Golem*, see the filmography in Robert Carringer and Barry Sabath, *Ernst Lubitsch: A Guide to References and Resources* (Boston, 1978).

³⁴Raphaelson's remarkable memoir of his association with Lubitsch, "Freundschaft: How It Was with Lubitsch and Me," is found in Samson Raphaelson, *Three Screen Comedies* (Madison, Wis., 1983), pp. 21 – 47.

non-Jewish characters of his films: one thinks of Jean Hersholt's Dr. Jüttner, the kindly, bespectacled, and mustachioed tutor of Prince Karl Heinrich in *The Student Prince in Old Heidelberg* (1926), and the portrayals by Felix Bressart in *Ninotchka* (1939) and *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940). Bressart, an East Prussian Jew, was part of the stream of Jews and liberals who emigrated from Central Europe in the 1930s, many of whom settled in Los Angeles and worked on Hollywood films. Lubitsch himself was active in campaigns on behalf of European Jewry during this period, and he eventually cast Bressart as the first unambiguously Jewish character in Lubitsch's American period, the unforgettable Greenberg in *To Be or Not To Be*. Greenberg, the Polish Jewish stage extra who yearns to play Shylock, represents (alongside Chaplin's Jew in *The Great Dictator*) one of the few truly bold uses of a Jewish character in American films of this period, and himself presents an eloquent plea, entirely through the words of Shakespeare, for mobilization against Hitler.

All of the above examples suggest that the alleged era of assimilation (which includes Friedman's "Timid Thirties") was in fact marked by at least some subversive approaches to ethnicity and Jewishness in film at a time when it was a highly sensitive matter. Audience interest in ethnic characters had, to be sure, waned considerably with the onset of the Great Depression, and the wave of nativism that hard times brought on made the studio moguls very timid indeed. During the same era, the Hays Office regulations, known as the Motion Picture Production Code, exercised tight censorship over the sexual, political, and moral content of American films, prohibiting film images of nudity, profanity, adultery, homosexuality, and even married couples in the same bed. Portrayal of ethnicity was tightly reined in by the stipulation that "[t]he just rights, history, and feelings of any nation are entitled to most careful consideration and respectful treatment."³⁵

In practice, this last regulation was not as fair-minded as it purported to be. Blacks, Asians, and decidedly non-Anglo foreigners (Slavs, Hungarians, Turks, Arabs, Gypsies) were continually stereotyped in American film of the 1930s, and the plight of European Jewry was largely ignored during a time when some attention to it might have made a difference.³⁶ Studio heads were reluctant to invite the ire of the U.S. Congress, where diatribes against Hollywood, and especially against Hollywood's Jews, were becoming fashionable, and where a spirit of isolationism on American foreign policy

³⁵Leff and Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono*, p. 292; for a full text of the Code, see *ibid.*, pp. 283–92.

³⁶Cf. Friedman, *Hollywood's Image of the Jew*, pp. 84–85; Manchel, *Film Study*, pp. 828–30. Also see Harry Popkin, "The Vanishing Jew of Our Popular Culture: The Little Man Who Is No Longer There," *Commentary* 14, no. 1 (July 1952), p. 52.

prevailed. The political and economic consequences of alienating Nazi Germany were carefully — indeed, too carefully — weighed in Hollywood, and the strongly conservative, isolationist, and perhaps anti-Semitic personnel of the Hays Office often sent back for revision film scripts critical of the Third Reich or identifiably pro-Jewish in outlook. Hollywood's middle echelon — the writers, directors, and some producers who often did battle with the Hays Office and studio heads over the representation of Nazi Germany — were by and large a markedly liberal, antifascist, and pro-Jewish element, many of them émigrés and refugees, and of course many of them Jews themselves.

In short, far from being merely an era of “timidity,” the period from 1928 to 1942 was an arena of intense ideological battle, in which a few confident dissidents, such as Chaplin and Lubitsch, as well as a number of performers popularly associated with explicit or implicit Jewishness, occasionally scored significant victories. But the overall effect on American public opinion, let alone on American officialdom, was, unhappily, minimal. It took the Pearl Harbor attack, on December 7, 1941, and the consequent U.S. declaration of war, to spark a partial reversal of this trend in film of the time; even then, a true breakthrough to honesty about European Jewry was not possible.

The War and Its Aftermath

Identifiably Jewish characters began reappearing in American films in the war years, usually alongside, among others, Irish, Swedes, Italians, Polish Americans, and Anglo-Saxons in sanitizedly multi-ethnic “platoon” films — members of the “Melting Pot” dutifully serving abroad in the struggle against the Axis.³⁷ In addition to those mentioned already, two films of this period deserve somewhat closer attention by film historians: *The Man I Married* (1940), the story of an American woman (Joan Bennett) whose husband, a German émigré (Francis Lederer), becomes increasingly pro-Nazi when the couple visits the German homeland, only later to learn of his own mother's Jewish identity; and *Once Upon a Honeymoon* (1942), the story of a romance between an American reporter (Cary Grant) and a former American burlesque queen (Ginger Rogers), who is at the outset married to a Nazi ideologue (Walter Slezak). The film features a brief, remarkable scene in a concentration camp where the Hebrew prayers of Jewish inmates are overheard. Again, in both films, these were rare expres-

³⁷Cf. Erens, *The Jew in American Cinema*, pp. 170–73; Friedman, *Hollywood's Image of the Jew*, pp. 95–96. On the relation of American war policy to Hollywood filmmaking, see, in general, Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War* (see note 26), and Thomas Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York, 1993).

sions of candor quite out of key with mainstream ideology.

It is symptomatic of this entire period that Al Jolson, star of *The Jazz Singer*, never established a successful film career.³⁸ It was Jolson's life and public image that had inspired Raphaelson's story in the first place (Jolson was himself a cantor's son), but Jolson was picked for the film role only after George Jessel was dropped over a contract dispute. After Jolson's successful film portrayal of Jake Rabinowitz, he rarely appeared in films of the sound era, though he continued to perform live to enthusiastic theater and nightclub audiences throughout the same period and entertained troops during the war.

The great drama of assimilation portrayed in *The Jazz Singer* (although it likewise traces a journey of return to the Jewish fold, in however qualified a way, and is all too often ignored as such) acquired a special poignance in occurring at the threshold of sound film. Sound, after all, made English rise to a new prominence in film art. "Garbo talks!" was a cause of hullabaloo among film fans, and in her case it proved as beneficial to her image as silent film had been. In the case of many other foreign-born stars of American film, it had the reverse effect. Sound exaggerated both foreignness and homeborn ethnicity, and this coincided with the other forces of the 1930s that made ethnicity a sensitive matter. Although it had been Jolson's privilege to declare "You ain't heard nothin' yet!" Jolson himself was heard very little on screen from then on. Perhaps by way of tacit atonement, the film *The Jolson Story* was released in 1946, four years before Jolson's death, with Larry Parks as Jolson. Jolson himself, his voice dubbed into the musical numbers throughout, appeared in blackface in one performance within the story. The film also generated a sequel, *Jolson Sings Again* (1949).

The postwar years brought certain important changes in Hollywood — most notably, as a consequence of the Cold War, the withering effects of renewed congressional investigation into alleged Communist subversion in the film industry. The issue divided Hollywood bitterly, and the most notorious effect was the Hollywood blacklist, which ended or interrupted the careers of a significant number of producers, directors, screenwriters, and performers, many of them Jews.³⁹ (The non-Jew Chaplin was likewise hounded into exile.) Simultaneously, the revelations of Nazi war crimes, through the Nuremberg trials and widespread media attention to the death camps (including newsreel film footage of the piles of bodies and the emaciated survivors) evoked a new soul-searching about the fate of the Jews,

³⁸See Herbert G. Goldman, *Jolson: The Legend Comes to Life* (New York, 1988), pp. 211 – 27.

³⁹Among other sources on these events, see Victor Navasky, *Naming Names* (New York, 1980); Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, *The Inquisition: Politics in the Film Community, 1930 – 1960* (Garden City, N.Y., 1980), esp. pp. 478 – 504. Cf. note 27.

at least for a time, and some of this concern found its way into cinematic expression.

Films like *Body and Soul* (1946), the tale of a Jewish prizefighter who defies his gangster promoters, *Crossfire* (1947), a film-noir tale portraying an investigation into the murder of a Jewish civilian by an anti-Semitic war veteran, and especially *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), Elia Kazan's film based on Laura Z. Hobson's novel about a Gentile reporter (Gregory Peck) who disguises himself as a Jew in order to investigate anti-Semitism in American life, focused attention on anti-Semitism in a manner not possible in previous years. The last-mentioned film won several Academy Awards, including Best Picture. But these films are notable as well for their absence of any endorsement of ethnicity. Jews are portrayed as participants in an American civil religion, whose members attend either the church or synagogue of their choice but are not otherwise marked by great differences of appearance, speech, custom, or behavior. The Holocaust, not yet widely known by that name, was almost totally ignored. Only later did European imports, such as the landmark 31-minute French documentary by Alain Resnais, *Night and Fog* (1955), attempt to deal honestly with the legacy of the European death camps.

Jews were about to become, in any case, far more visible on the American screen than in the previous two decades, both as Jewish actors playing Jewish or implicitly Jewish roles and as Jewish roles played by Gentile actors. As if in belated tribute to the legacy of Jolson and *The Jazz Singer*, the show-business bio-pic flourished, often dealing with Jewish performers — including, as noted earlier, *The Jolson Story* (1946) and *Jolson Sings Again* (1949); plus *The Eddie Cantor Story* (1953); *The Benny Goodman Story* (1956); and, inevitably, an updated remake of *The Jazz Singer* (1953), this time featuring Lebanese-American Danny Thomas as Jake Rabinowitz. Although a significant market for these films was American Jews, who were by now moving to suburbs in large numbers and were quite happy to see Jews universalized as American success stories, a comparable interest in the subject among American filmgoers at large is equally significant. Films about Jewish refugees in Palestine, *Sword in the Desert* (1949) and *The Juggler* (1953) — the latter starring Kirk Douglas, a Jewish-born actor who was an “implicit Jew” in several films (see below) — drew some attention to the legacy of the war and to Israel's battle for independence. (Douglas would eventually portray Gen. David D. “Mickey” Marcus, American war hero turned Haganah soldier, in *Cast a Giant Shadow*, in 1966.) Sinister Jews made notable appearances here and there — Alec Guinness's Fagan in the British import *Oliver Twist* (1948); Kirk Douglas's implicitly Jewish “bad boy” roles in *Out of the Past* (1947) and *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1953); and Rod Steiger's memorably ruthless film mogul in *The Big Knife*

(1955). All of these films warrant close analysis of their style, outlook, and preoccupations.

The late 1950s and early '60s brought about some change in the predominant silence on the Holocaust, with the release of such films as *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959), which focused attention on the Nazi occupation of Holland through the viewpoint of its posthumously renowned Jewish victim; *Exodus* (1960), which celebrated the formation of the State of Israel and began to confront realities of Holocaust-survivor and refugee experience; and *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), which dramatized, albeit in a fairly schematic and bowdlerized fashion, the war-crimes trials in Germany. (The capture and Jerusalem trial of Adolf Eichmann between 1960 and 1962 was a further stimulus of interest in these matters.) These three films in particular helped to inaugurate what could be called, according to Stuart Samuels' schema, an era of "acceptance," although a full-blown confrontation with the Holocaust was still far from realized, and, properly speaking, as with the era that preceded, it is the evasions and circumlocutions of these films that are as interesting and illuminating as their good-faith efforts. Still, it is all too easy to sit in judgment of cinema and far more useful to understand the halting return of ethnicity to American film (whether it was ever absent in the first place is, to be sure, a legitimate question) in the context of the larger history of the medium and broader developments in international cinema as a whole.

It is impossible, for example, to understand the period of the 1940s and '50s without examining certain pivotal films, such as Frank Capra's memorable *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). Here ethnicity is not explicitly an issue, but a clash between mainstream American optimism and more pessimistic, essentially film-noir conceptions of the world (more or less the artistic parameters of *Gentleman's Agreement* and *Crossfire*, respectively) is allowed significant attention.⁴⁰ It is also useful to explore foreign films of the period that reflect on American identity and its relation to ethnic cosmopolitanism. I have in mind, for example, the films of British director Michael Powell and his Hungarian Jewish co-director and scenarist Emeric Pressburger, who in *A Canterbury Tale* (1944) and *Stairway to Heaven* (1948) explored Anglo-American relations and the multi-ethnic heritage of both Britain and America. Films such as these could be meaningfully compared with, say, French films of the National Front era and its aftermath; or of the Occupation and postwar periods, where issues of French identity in an era of tyranny, or of life and collaboration under fascism, were dealt with, usually metaphorically. The film output of many other countries and regions during the era of fascism and its aftermath — including the former

⁴⁰Cf. Robert B. Ray, *A Certain Tendency in the Hollywood Cinema, 1930 – 1960* (Princeton, 1985), pp. 179 – 215.

Soviet Union, Japan, China, India, the Middle East, Australia, Africa, and Latin America — is all highly relevant to the situation of American film, as well as of Jewish experience on film, and comparative study of this sort could prove immensely useful. The experience of each film-producing nation with the conflicting claims of civil society and ethnic unity, and of ethnic unity and national unity, as these shaped film art, bears close examination, as does the experience of individual peoples within nations.⁴¹

Ethnicity Comes of Age

As we come closer to the present era, we find a period marked by revolutionary changes in American film, beginning in the 1960s and '70s. The breakup of the studio system and the consequent expansion of independent production companies played a major role in this transformation, as did the wider changes in American politics and society. It is widely acknowledged that ethnicity as such gained a new respectability in the '60s as the freedom marches in the South, the worldwide decline of European colonialism in Africa, the Black Power movement, four major political assassinations (including that of Malcolm X), the growth of New Left student politics in Europe and America, and the U.S. entry into war in Vietnam began to reshape American life and culture. A widespread respect for Israel marked that country's sweeping victory in the Six Day War of 1967, and most American Jews were proud to identify with Israel, which had already been shown favorably in film and other media since its early years of Arab besiegement.

A new acceptance of the textures and idiosyncrasies of Jewishness was reflected in films, including period pieces, that celebrated Borscht Belt humor and East Coast Jewish culture (*Hello, Dolly!*; *Funny Girl*; *The Night They Raided Minsky's*; *Bye, Bye, Braverman*; *I Love You, Alice B. Toklas*). Jewish and Holocaust motifs were drawn upon for black comedy (*The Little Shop of Horrors*; *The Fearless Vampire Killers*; *The Twelve Chairs*; *The Producers*); as well as for historical tales and literary classics (*Operation Eichmann*; *Freud*; *Judith*; *The Pawnbroker*; *Ship of Fools*; *Cast a Giant Shadow*; *Ulysses*; *Tobruk*; *The Fixer*; *Oliver!*). The biblical film and the Christian tale of Jewish antiquity continued in this period (*The Story of Ruth*; *Esther and the King*; *King of Kings*), following upon well-known

⁴¹See, e.g., Keith Reader, *Cultures on Celluloid* (London, 1981); Vieler-Porter, *Black and Third World Cinema* (see note 24); Teshome H. Gabriel, *Cinema in the Third World* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982); Duncan Petrie, ed., *Screening Europe: Image and Identity in Contemporary Europe* (London, 1992); Pierre Sorlin, *European Cinemas, European Societies, 1939–1990* (New York, 1991); Wimal Dissanyake, *Colonialism and Nationalism in Asian Cinema* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994); idem, *Cinema and Cultural Identity: Reflections on Films from Japan, India, and China* (Lanham, Md., 1988).

examples of the '50s (*David and Bathsheba*; *The Ten Commandments*; *Samson and Delilah*; *Solomon and Sheba*; *Ben Hur*).

Toward the end of the '60s, the look of American movies began to change. The Production Code, as a consequence of Supreme Court decisions on obscenity and civil liberties, was revised in 1966 to permit a new frankness in language, sexuality, and story line in films. And the influence of certain European-born trends, such as classic French cinema, Italian Neo-realism, the French New Wave, and Eisensteinian montage techniques — some of whose stylistic hallmarks had previously influenced American film noir — began to register more powerfully on mainstream American filmmaking. The classical Hollywood style had long tended to simplify the screen image, to mute or neutralize background visual information, to set story lines into a tight, goal-oriented structure, and to portray clear-cut struggles of good and evil. Film art now became more steeped in hyper-realism, ambiguity, irresolution, skepticism, and spontaneity, and deepened these traits throughout the 1970s and '80s.

Along with a new frankness in language, sexuality, violence, and moral complexity came a similar openness in the representation of race and ethnicity. Interracial romance became more common in film stories, though still charged with meaning and mystique. Supposed ethnic traits that had once been considered impolite to discuss publicly were now embraced unapologetically — for example, notions of the Jew as rude, pushy, ruthless, or subversive became the model for certain Jewish “bad boy” types (Richard Dreyfuss in *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*; Dustin Hoffman in *Lenny*; Mark Rydell's violent Jewish gangster in *The Long Goodbye*; even Ron Leibman's decidedly honorable union organizer in *Norma Rae*). Also, the Jew as oversexed, neurotic, narcissistic, or strung out found expression in portrayals by Woody Allen (*Annie Hall* and *Manhattan*, among many examples), Richard Benjamin (*Diary of a Mad Housewife*; *Portnoy's Complaint*; *The Sunshine Boys*), George Segal (*Bye, Bye, Braverman*; *Where's Poppa?*; *Blume in Love*), Ron Leibman (memorably as Segal's older brother in *Where's Poppa?*), and of course Dreyfuss and Hoffman, as in the examples already cited and even in not explicitly Jewish roles (Dreyfuss, say, in *American Graffiti* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, and Hoffman in *The Graduate*, and playing an Italian-American street person, “Ratso” Rizzo, in *Midnight Cowboy*).

Black comedy and parody continued, notably in the further work of actor/director Mel Brooks (*Blazing Saddles*; *Young Frankenstein*; *High Anxiety*; and, in the '80s, *The History of the World — Part I*, as well as Brooks's not wholly successful remake of Lubitsch's *To Be or Not To Be*) and Woody Allen. The Jewish gangster was played in notable depth and historical detail in Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather* and *The Godfa-*

ther, Part II, the latter featuring a crime boss (Lee Strasberg) somewhat modeled on Meyer Lansky. A much-neglected film of this era (indeed, not released until two decades later, then largely ignored), *The Plot Against Harry* (1970), is a puckishly jaundiced look at a Jewish gangster, Harry Plotnick (Martin Priest), who runs small rackets in New York City but also lives life as a parolee, an ex-husband, a father, a frequent attender and celebrator at family occasions like weddings and bar mitzvahs, while he copes with health problems, tax woes, and various family preoccupations. The film is played as a comedy and suggests the ultimate bourgeoisification of the Jewish gangster, in urban New York terms.

A newly visible type of feisty, aggressive Jewish woman was brought to the screen at star level chiefly by Barbra Streisand in her many variations on a tough, unabashedly ethnic New York Jew in many films, including *Funny Girl*, *Funny Lady*, and *The Way We Were*. Though often schmaltzy and sentimental, often in some sense confessional, Streisand's persona was a welcome change from the Jewish American Princess featured in films of the '50s and early '60s, often portrayed by non-Jewish actresses (Natalie Wood in *Marjorie Morningstar*; Ali McGraw in *Goodbye, Columbus*). Her emergence to prominence, as in the case of the Jewish male comedian in the '50s and '60s, should be seen in the context of comparable emergences of self-assertive Jewish women in television and live entertainment — one thinks, among others, of Selma Diamond and Joan Rivers on TV talk shows and the pop concert career of Bette Midler. No less interesting on screen in the same period is Melanie Mayron's understated New York Jewish photographer in *Girl Friends* (1979), a version of her later television character in *thirtysomething*, and the muted self-assertion of Carol Kane in *Hester Street*.

One would welcome, in any case, more systematic study of the situation of Jewish women in American film — with regard both to Jewish and Gentile actresses playing Jewish roles and to the roles themselves and the narrative and cinematic strategies that give them meaning. (In theory, the ethnicity of an actor or actress should be irrelevant to the role — acting, after all, is just that: acting — but broader ideological factors influence casting decisions, and these in turn become relevant to the film depiction of ethnic experience.) Integrating these and comparable areas with the broader issues of feminist and gender-oriented film studies is an important task, on which meaningful work, at the time of this writing, is only just beginning.⁴²

The way toward a more unvarnished sense of Jews and Jewish life had in truth already been paved by films of the late classical era — one thinks

⁴²See, e.g., Sonya Michel, "Jews, Gender, American Cinema," in *Feminist Perspectives on Jewish Studies*, ed. Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum (New Haven, 1994), pp. 244 – 69.

of Kirk Douglas's "bad boy" roles and Rod Steiger in *The Big Knife*, both mentioned earlier. But a more fundamental measure of this change is that, to a degree not seen since the 1920s, it had become possible to show something more like Jewish *experience* rather than simply *images* of Jews. This is not to suggest that the category "Jewish experience" is irrelevant to the intervening eras. Often it is there by its absence: silence, disguise, implicit Jewishness, allegorization, sentimentalization, the soft focus of Gentile actors in Jewish roles — all such evasions of Jewish realities are likewise part of Jewish experience, even when it is the larger society that has dictated or encouraged the evasion.

But the situation is not as monolithic as it may seem. If Jews were scarce or merely counterpoint presences in classical American sound film, they were plentiful in radio and television in the same period, media that thrived on the continuous productivity of theater and nightclub venues, and they were present *as Jews*, not concealing (though not always announcing) their Jewishness: Jack Benny, Milton Berle, Sam Levenson, Henny Youngman, Danny Kaye (himself a film star), and many others, including Jerry Lewis, whose fame abroad, especially in France, was of the legendary proportions accorded Chaplin and Tati. On the other hand, when non-Anglo ethnicity became more visible and popular as a film subject in the 1960s, it was by no means free of stereotype, nor of a certain labored earnestness — a glitzy, at times candied Hollywoodization of Jewry and other groups that did not always add up to a genuine effort to view Jewish or other ethnic experience on its own terms. Friedman's notion of "The Self-Conscious Sixties" thus rings true for this period.

While this trend continued well into the '70s (*Fiddler on the Roof* was perhaps its culmination), other approaches during this period promised a more unassuming but also more focused gaze on actual cultural and historical experience. Joan Mecklin Silver's *Hester Street* (1975), mentioned earlier, brings alive realities of New York's Lower East Side at the turn of the century and includes segments in subtitled Yiddish. Bob Fosse's *Cabaret* (1972), based on Christopher Isherwood's 1935 double novel *Berlin Stories*, captures the early days of the Third Reich via the life of émigrés in Berlin, and has, as a subplot, the tale of a pair of star-crossed Jewish lovers. The whole is assembled with a pungently Brechtian evocation of cabaret satire. Like the other characters in the film, the Jews here are stylized representations, but Fosse's gift for creating discontinuous alternations of story and music showed that classical narrative was not the only available structure for framing Jewish experience. A similar vision informs Fosse's *Lenny* (1974), where the life — and later the disintegration — of "bad boy" comedian Lenny Bruce is intercut with the work, Bruce's nightclub act, and the film includes a powerful portrayal of Bruce's mother by Jan Miner.

In Herbert Ross's film version of Neil Simon's play *The Sunshine Boys* (1975), two aging Jewish vaudeville comedians (Walter Matthau, George Burns) call a truce in an ongoing estrangement to rehearse their act for television. The film is, in a sense, an admirable sequel to *The Jazz Singer* (far more than the 1980 remake of that film), in its rounding out of the historical destiny of the vaudeville entertainer. Burns represents that segment that found its way to the suburbs and to placid respectability; Matthau the resplendently shabby remnant that remained in the urban backwater to ply the theatrical trade. Jews are never identified as such in the film, but this is no evasion, for Jewishness of a sort is everywhere present in the story. Like the Jewish comic tradition to which this film is a tacit tribute, Matthau and Burns seem to capture opposed alternatives of character formation in ghetto tenements of a former era, where privacy was impossible, and where people grated on one another because they knew each other too well. Matthau's Willie Clark had learned to yell and be aggressive; Burns's Al Lewis to shrink from yelling and be passive-aggressive. Their combination here is the same typical match of contrasts — in truth, a form of biblical sibling battle — that shaped the classic vaudeville act, Jewish and Gentile alike, with its perennially self-debunking presentation of self.

The act's comedy, however, like the story as a whole, masks a more serious underlying theme: that of growing old, which was to become a frequent topic of Jewish experience in films of the ensuing years — notably, *Going in Style* (1979), which likewise featured Burns, here alongside Lee Strasberg, as two elderly Jews with their Irish-American cohort (Art Carney), in an unusual version of the "heist" film; and *Tell Me a Riddle* (1980), Lee Grant's film version of Tillie Olson's acclaimed novelette, which explores the experience of an elderly Jewish couple (Lila Kedrova and Melvyn Douglas) who leave behind their suburban East Coast home and travel to the West Coast in a state of failing health.

Bob Fosse's use of camera and story discontinuity, noted earlier, points to the impress of European filmic models — say, of Eisenstein, Lang, Truffaut, Fellini, and Bergman — on many American directors of the '70s. This trend was markedly influential on Woody Allen.⁴³ Allen's satirical comedies of the '60s had revived the spirit of Lubitsch, Benny, the Marx Brothers, and Sid Caesar of television's *Your Show of Shows*, injecting a distinctive blend of parody, fantasy, and schlemiel in such films as *What's New, Pussycat?* (1965), *Take the Money and Run* (1969), *Bananas* (1971), *Play It Again, Sam* (1972), *Everything You Wanted to Know About Sex but Were Afraid to Ask* (1972), *Sleeper* (1973), and *Love and Death* (1976). Starting

⁴³On Woody Allen, see Sam B. Girgus, *The Films of Woody Allen* (Cambridge, 1993); Eric Lax, *Woody Allen: A Biography* (New York, 1992); Maurice Yacowar, *Loser Take All: The Comic Art of Woody Allen* (Oxford, 1991).

with *Annie Hall* (1977), Allen began to experiment more boldly with cinematic styles, including neo-realist and surrealist modes, and increasingly playing a version of himself. He interspersed Felliniesque, surreal fantasy, in parts of *Annie Hall*, *Zelig* (1983), *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), *Radio Days* (1987), *Oedipus Wrecks* (part of the 1989 triptych *New York Stories*), and *Alice* (1990); parody, in *Zelig* and *Shadows and Fog* (1991); and Bergmanesque preoccupations, in taut chamber dramas such as *Interiors* (1978), *September* (1987), and *Another Woman* (1988); in *Stardust Memories* (1980), *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy* (1982; a tribute to Bergman's *Smiles of a Summer Night*), *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989), and, more recently, *Husbands and Wives* (1993), which recalls Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage* (one should also remember Paul Mazursky's 1990 film, *Scenes from a Mall*, which co-starred Allen with Bette Midler). Many of the above titles, as well as the critically acclaimed *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), represent a focus of Allen's creative energies on bittersweet, urbane comedies of yuppie life in contemporary New York. But Allen's more experimental forays into nostalgia for the past — specifically, for America of the '30s and '40s — are something of a personal obsession, especially successful in films like *Zelig*, *The Purple Rose of Cairo*, and *Radio Days*. One should also keep in mind Allen's portrayal of a friend of a group of blacklisted screenwriters during the McCarthy era who allows them to sell their scripts under his name, in Martin Ritt's *The Front* (1976).

Zelig, in any case, is perhaps Allen's most explicit reflection on Jewishness and ethnicity, one that in recent years seems to have left a significant impression, both positive and negative, on ethnic film studies.⁴⁴ Leonard Zelig, Allen's persona in this film, is a Jazz Age Jewish misfit who undergoes a form of psychosis causing him to metamorphose into a copy of whoever he converses with — taking on, in the course of the story, the physical appearance and dress of cigar-store Native Americans, black jazz musicians, Chinese opium smokers, Republican presidents, Babe Ruth's team, a Mexican mariachi band, and Greek restaurateurs, as well as the behavioral characteristics of his Gentile analyst (Mia Farrow).

The film, as one can see, does not present ethnicity so much as icons of ethnicity. Its tale is audaciously narcissistic, combining Allen's own nostalgia for a simpler America, his then-flourishing romance with Farrow, and a quite thoughtful parody of the style and structure of historical documentary, including nearly poker-faced filmed commentaries by such pundits as

⁴⁴See, e.g., Robert Stam and Ella Shohat, "Zelig and Contemporary Theory: Meditation on the Chameleon Text," *Enclitic* 9, nos. 1–2 (1985); Janet Staiger, *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 196–209; and cf. my own article, "Xeroxosis? A Review of Woody Allen's *Zelig*," *Moment* 9, no. 1 (December 1983), pp. 42–44.

Irving Howe, Saul Bellow, Bruno Bettelheim, and Susan Sontag (all playing themselves) on what made Leonard Zelig an American Melting Pot phenomenon. Zelig's most extraordinary adventure is his brief and near-disastrous identification with German National Socialists during Hitler's rise — which essentially happens when he skips therapy. But he is summarily rescued, then turns rescuer, flies upside-down across the Atlantic, is eventually paraded in ticker tape down Broadway, and marries his analyst. Throughout his career as a standup comic, actor, and filmmaker, Allen took impressively big risks by making his inner life seem so central to his public persona and film stories. It is rooted in the way that nightclub comedians habitually make themselves a part of their jokes, and, as in the case of Lenny Bruce, it is subject to the normal occupational hazards of this most dangerous of professions. Comedians are gadflies and typically invite public ire. Jewish comedians invite Jewish ire, and Allen has often been accused, I think wrongly, of being a "self-hating Jew." This conception jars with Allen's wholehearted willingness to make his Jewishness an issue, to present, like Benny, the classic schlemiel in American idioms, and, going beyond Benny, to declare it Jewish, and specifically New York Jewish, openly and explicitly. All his other preoccupations — old jazz, old movies, classic radio, baseball, New York life, yuppie morality, European cinema, and the unfinishable *Moby Dick* — flow from that emphatic claiming of New York Jewish home ground. What it excludes is a legitimate matter for reflection, but what it encompasses is important.

What most of the foregoing film examples from the '70s onward have in common is a tendency to make a character's (or actor's) Jewishness something other than the main point of his or her presence in the story. We savor a character's Jewishness not because it explains Jewishness but because it helps to explain the character. While such a strategy would seem to deemphasize Jewish experience, it can also enhance it by rooting it in complexities of character and circumstance. Jewishness is not a problem but rather a natural component of a wider social landscape. In this way, these films anticipated the present era's consciousness of multiculturalism, of a multi-ethnic America, of difference without otherness. Whether they also anticipated an era of cultural struggle and rivalry is less clear, but the multi-ethnic America of these films is in any case not a Garden of Eden, and Jewishness is neither evaded nor trumpeted.

At times, however, where the Jew is portrayed in mortal struggle with enemies, as in *Marathon Man* (1976), *Black Sunday* (1977), or *The Boys from Brazil* (1979), it is part of a cameo ("Jew vs. Arab" in the second example; "Jew vs. Nazi" in the first and third) that has itself become an American cultural icon. Dustin Hoffman is once again a Jew in *Marathon Man*, this time not as a "bad boy" but as a kind of Kafkaesque antihero

battling forces he does not comprehend. This film and *Black Sunday* are both gripping thrillers, but in all the foregoing cases there is an implicit reminder that the struggle of Jew vs. Nazi, or of Jew vs. Palestinian could threaten the peace of civil society even when the Jewish cause is sympathetically portrayed. In *Black Sunday*, the one potential victim that perhaps inspires the greatest emotional identification is the annual Super Bowl game. The film's Israeli protagonist (Robert Shaw) saves the game's spectators from disaster, but he is unable to head off postponement of the game itself, which may, within the film's ideological horizons, be considered the greater loss. Friedman's rubric of "The Self-Centered Seventies" may be most applicable to this film, but it has some validity, often at an implicit level, for many other films of the period, including those not specifically dealing with Jewish experience.

Paradoxes of the 1980s

By way of introducing certain films of the early 1980s, attention may be drawn to a barely noticeable moment in Ridley Scott's sci-fi classic *Blade Runner* (1982), a film that portrays, with extraordinary detail and sense of style, life in a futuristic Los Angeles of the 21st century. This film, whose depiction of the future as a time of squalor and chaos is a hallmark of the style and vision we have come to call "postmodern," presents Los Angeles as an economically stratified, multi-ethnic, and multi-tongued Babel whose street life includes such familiar sights as Asian food stands, a downtown Casbah district, "Hare Krishna" chanters, and, notably, a Hassidic Jew going about his daily business. Jews are otherwise not explicitly present in this film's story, but the image of the Hassid is a familiar cultural icon of a multi-ethnic, urbanized America, one that could serve equally well an ideology of tolerance (as a sign of the thriving vitality of American urban life) or intolerance (as part of the cultural detritus of a "mongrelized" America, of an imperial nation in decline).

This ideological ambivalence is itself a hallmark of the postmodern outlook, but the film, in any case, positions the Hassid at a key moment in the unfolding of the plot, when the protagonist, police detective Dekkard (Harrison Ford) is about to hunt down and "retire" (i.e., execute) an escaped "replicant." The replicants are exceptionally intelligent and gifted humanoids, outwardly indistinguishable from ordinary humans, possessing emotions and existential angst, who have been ghettoized in off-world colonies and are forbidden to live on earth. In its way, then, *Blade Runner* has clearly absorbed the legacy of the era of European catastrophe — when forbidding an entire people to live on earth was perhaps first definitively conceived.

Or has it? The universalization and metaphorization of the Holocaust is another feature of postmodern vision (although, in this respect, the film does not differ significantly from earlier films such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* and *The Pawnbroker*), and it bears directly on our assessment of Jewish experience on film in more recent times. This film's brief, incidental, almost hieroglyphic use of the Hassidic image is the hint of what Fredric Jameson has called "a new depthlessness" in the culture of the postmodern,⁴⁵ reflecting a cybernetically saturated era when one can effortlessly change decades or nations by inserting a different cassette into a VCR, and therefore when one no longer perceives time, history, or geography in the hitherto customary ways. The film's image of the Hassid is arguably no different in depth from its overall implicit analogy between replicant retirement and Hitler's Final Solution. To some degree, such transfer of meaning is praiseworthy. Many Holocaust survivors, notably Elie Wiesel, have argued that the lessons of the Holocaust must apply today in places like Bosnia and Rwanda, and the broader question of the Holocaust's historical uniqueness is still far from settled. What is suspicious here is the ease of iconographic ascription by which the analogy is effected. Is this admirable restraint or callous fudging? It is hard to tell, precisely because the film depicts a world in which historical memory as such is no longer possible.

And yet, paradoxically, this newly laid-back sense of historical and cultural relativity has as often worked to the advantage of Jewish experience on film as to its detriment. Films of the 1980s and '90s have essentially continued the 1970s trend of unselfconscious representations of Jewishness, while also occasionally making possible deeper and more nuanced treatments of specific themes. This has coincided with the prominence of a new generation of Hollywood or sometime-Hollywood Jews (directors like Steven Spielberg, Barry Levinson, Lee Grant, Barbra Streisand, Paul Mazursky, Rob Reiner, and David Mamet; performers like Streisand, Richard Dreyfuss, Ron Silver, Mandy Patinkin, Billy Crystal, and others), many of whom, unlike the Hollywood moguls of a former era, have openly identified with Jewishness and have repeatedly portrayed Jewish themes and characters. These developments by no means freed Hollywood from classical paradigms of Jewish experience, nor from the continuance of stereotypes, evasions, and banality in the representation of Jews. But they call into question any hastily conceived litmus tests of authenticity in evaluating this output, such as Patricia Erens' faulting of *Tell Me a Riddle* (1980) for its absence of "specifically Jewish issues,"⁴⁶ or of Alan Pakula's 1982 film version of William Styron's novel *Sophie's Choice* for its "Christian solution

⁴⁵Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, N.C., 1995), p. 6.

⁴⁶Erens, *The Jew in American Cinema*, p. 368.

of a Jewish problem."⁴⁷ *Tell Me a Riddle*, on the contrary, brings alive Jewish experience precisely by not making it an issue, by allowing it to emerge in a natural and unforced manner as part of the landscape of character and historical memory. And although *Sophie's Choice* allowed a Gentile survivor of Nazi concentration camps (Meryl Streep) to occupy the focus of its survivorship theme, it dealt with the psychological scars and moral complexity of survivorship in a newly direct and unvarnished way that eventually proved fruitful in stimulating other film treatments dealing more directly with the Jewish survivor. Films of the early 1980s that deal with Jewish experience, at any rate, manifested somewhat of a new historical depth and psychological resonance, which were to undergo further maturation later in the decade and into the present.

Jeremy Paul Kagan's 1982 film version of Chaim Potok's *The Chosen* has been cited by Lester Friedman as "one of the most interesting pictures of Jews ever to emerge from Hollywood."⁴⁸ This is perhaps a bit overstated, but the film certainly deserves mention in the present context. It deals with the friendship, in Brooklyn of the 1940s, between a young man of Orthodox but otherwise liberal upbringing (Barry Miller) and a Hassidic Jew (Robbie Benson) who is the son of a local rebbe (Rod Steiger). The film is especially interesting for the chunk of historical time that it isolates (wartime and early postwar New York), for its ability to capture the awakening of American Jews to the birth of the Jewish state, and for its close look not only at Hassidic life but at a liberal Orthodox milieu rarely, if ever, portrayed on film. Intellectually open but traditional in religious practice, this milieu has been a significant historical presence in American Jewry. The film's drama covers otherwise fairly obvious ground in obvious ways, but the fact that a story set almost wholly within the parameters of the traditional Jewish world was now possible in American mass entertainment was itself significant.

Part of the same trend is Barbra Streisand's *Yentl* (1983), a musical version of Isaac Bashevis Singer's short story "Yentl the Yeshivah Boy." Streisand had long sought to do a film version of this story, and her production spent some \$20 million realizing this goal. It eventually earned her an acerbic denunciation from Singer himself for what he held to be its schmaltz and self-promotion, and it was not, in any case, a box-office hit. But it has, perhaps, aged well. The film reflects Streisand's own genuine respect for Jewish tradition, and the loving camera attention to the artifacts of Jewish domestic and religious life, often in honey-colored lighting, is especially striking. Two back-to-back musical numbers, one set in the yeshivah, the other in the well-furnished home of a prosperous Jew, effectively take apart

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 381.

⁴⁸Friedman, *The Jewish Image in American Film*, p. 243.

the differing worldviews of men and women in traditional Jewish life and belong to the history of reflection on that issue. Streisand has a good-humored sense of paradox, which inhabits this meditation from start to finish. The much criticized final scene of the film, showing Yentl in transatlantic passage to New York, belting out a traditional Streisand number, is at least significant as offering a cultural, spiritual, and ideological genealogy of Barbra Streisand. It is simultaneously deeply personal and resoundingly public. It points from the East European shtetl westward toward Ellis Island, and by pointing westward also points to California and the West Coast. That a Jewish theme could become a mass-market filmmaker's personal obsession was not new, if we take note of Lubitsch's deep emotional investment in *To Be or Not To Be*. But its scale was new and served perhaps as a precedent for Steven Spielberg's eventual obsession with *Schindler's List*.

Other films of this period that touch on Jewish experience include Richard Fleischer's flaccid 1980 remake of *The Jazz Singer*, which stars Neil Diamond and Lucie Arnaz, with Sir Laurence Olivier as the cantor father; Ralph Bakshi's animated feature *American Pop* (1981), which traces four generations of a Jewish immigrant family alongside the development of American popular music; Peter Yates's *Eyewitness* (1981), an international thriller that features a villainous Israeli diplomat (Christopher Plummer), perhaps the first such portrayal of its kind in American film; Henry Hudson's *Chariots of Fire* (1981), a British film that won the 1982 Academy Award for Best Picture, portraying two athletes — one a Scotsman, the other a Jew — who ran in the 1924 Olympics; Sidney Lumet's *Daniel* (1983), a well-wrought film version of E. L. Doctorow's novel *The Book of Daniel*, whose story is loosely based on the trial and execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; Martin Scorsese's *King of Comedy* (1983), whose protagonist, Rupert Pupkin (Robert De Niro), clearly an implicit Jew, is an autograph hunter and aspiring comedian who contrives a desperate but fiendishly clever scheme to convince a late-night TV talk-show host (Jerry Lewis) to feature him on his program (the film features a memorable performance by Sandra Bernhard as his acid-tongued, floridly wacko, and explicitly Jewish co-conspirator); George Roy Hill's *The Little Drummer Girl* (1984), based on John Le Carré's novel, which explores moral ambiguities of Israeli antiterrorism activity in the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Francis Ford Coppola's *The Cotton Club* (1984), which deals with the multi-ethnic scene of American gangsters in 1920s Harlem and includes a memorable performance by James Remar as the Jew, Dutch Schultz; Sergio Leone's *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), which again brings Jewish gangsters into focus, this time in an epic tale that runs for over three hours in its unabridged version; and Bruce Beresford's *King David* (1985), a

disappointingly shallow effort at a biblical period film.

What do these examples have in common? For most of them, historical distance; for some, geographical distance, or the social marginality of their characters (spies, gangsters, losers). But one should not make too much of this phenomenon — as suggesting a distancing or marginalization of the Jew, for it is likewise a way of incorporating the Jew, writing the Jew into a collective history. Assimilation, in a sense, moves in two directions. Just as newcomers assimilate to a mainstream culture, the mainstream assimilates its component cultures by incorporating their historical experience and in this way gradually comes to look more like them.

The Impact of "Shoah"

1985 is a watershed year in one important sense. It is the year that Claude Lanzmann's monumental nine-hour documentary *Shoah* was shown to American audiences. Film on Holocaust themes had been relatively dormant for some time, and now a French film was opening up the realities of the death camps and their survivors in an unprecedented manner. Though the film did not have a widespread popular impact (one comparable, say, to the 1977 TV miniseries *Holocaust*), it did have an effect on filmmaking. Here again was the filming of an obsession, which explored the memories and after-effects of the Holocaust through the eyes and words of its survivors and onetime bystanders and perpetrators.

Filmed chiefly in Germany, France, Poland, and Israel, *Shoah*, unlike traditional documentary film on the Nazi era, contains no archival newsreel footage, no images of bodies or newly liberated death camps, no Hitler orations or marching troops. Instead, it reads the Holocaust in the faces and voices of survivors, in the often self-serving and self-incriminating anecdotes of Polish villagers and German war criminals, in the shabbiness and desolation of the undismantled Auschwitz barracks and death factories, in the disarming beauty of the Polish countryside, and in long, hypnotic takes of the camera as it surveys railway lines, rivers, forests, and unmarked grave sites. It is an intensely and unsettlingly quiet film, single-mindedly focused on issues of moral responsibility, remaining steadfastly focused on the irreparable damage of the Holocaust, to its victims and to the wider world. And yet it likewise captures the ever-present reality of silence and forgetting, both for the survivor victims and for the one-time perpetrators and bystanders — captures it in motion as a yawning void that threatens to swallow every conversation, every testimony, every remembered anecdote. The film insistently asserts a rational standard, measured in the Holocaust's toll in human lives, civility, sanity, and peace of mind. And yet, in showing the pain and ethical difficulty of uncovering dormant memories, it know-

ingly displays the insanity at the heart of the investigative process itself.

It is hard to calculate the effect of this film on popular filmmaking, but some register of its impact can perhaps be detected in films from the late '80s onward — most notably, on *The Wannsee Conference* (1987), a German film, first aired on German television, which dramatized, through a tautly written 90-minute tale, the original 90-minute meeting of Nazi high officials that resulted in approval of the Final Solution. Far from a mere effort to duplicate that meeting moment by moment, the film presents a freely roving narration as it moves in and out of conversations, zeroes in on individuals and their mannerisms, portrays backroom political maneuvering, and allows dramatic tensions to emerge unconstrained by a documentary or docudrama format. The film, in its way, was an important testimony of public reflection in Germany on the war, emphatically declaring German responsibility for the death camps and acknowledging those events as crimes.⁴⁹ In addition to the film's implicit debt to Lanzmann's *Shoah*, it should be seen as a partial reply to Hans Jürgen Syberberg's seven-hour surreal fantasy *Hitler: A Film from Germany* (1975), which set Nazism into a distinctly "postmodern" aura, embracing irrationality as a fact of life and providing a disturbingly quietistic normalization of German experience in the context of an inhumane world. Lanzmann's *Shoah* itself had very likely been mustered, in part, as a reply to Syberberg.

Echoes of Lanzmann's film are perhaps discernible in a different way in Paul Mazursky's seriocomic *Enemies, a Love Story* (1987), based on Isaac Bashevis Singer's novel, which placed the experience of Holocaust survivors into a newly intimate context. This is possibly Mazursky's best film, exploring the tragicomic domestic entanglements of a Holocaust survivor, Herman Broder (Ron Silver), living in the New York City of 1949. The foreground of this film — Singer's tale itself, respectfully rendered into a tautly competent screenplay by Mazursky, and well acted by a superb cast (which includes Mazursky himself in a key supporting role) — is perhaps less interesting than the re-created setting of midcentury New York's bustling Jewish life: a world of kosher dairy restaurants, religious-articles merchants, ubiquitous Orthodoxy, thriving Yiddish presses, bus trips to spare but *hey mish* Catskill resorts, and the vast thicket of personal ads from survivor refugees seeking family members. This is a Jewish New York that appeared, as if out of nowhere, in the late '40s, unique by its complicated blend of newly arrived refugees and long-settled homeborn. This extraordinary commingling would be witnessed only once in this century and within a few years would lose much of its form and presence. This would be an

⁴⁹On postwar German cinema's relation to the Nazi years, see, in general, Anton Kaes, *From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), and Eric Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

intriguing subject for a documentary film to explore in depth, but Mazursky's selective and stylized treatment of it is well crafted, respectful, and a perfect foil to the story.

A major accomplishment of the story itself was to demonstrate how realms touched by the Holocaust could be approached through comedy. Lubitsch had already shown this in 1942, in *To Be or Not To Be*, before the world knew fully of the destruction under way, but Lubitsch's film was a flop in its time, and humor related to the Nazi era was thereafter largely quelled or confined to black comedy (as in Mel Brooks's *The Producers*) and cabaret satire (as in Bob Fosse's *Cabaret*). But Singer wrote extensively about survivors, and his peculiarly mordant vision of the world translated surprisingly well to their experience. As a disciple of Gogol, Dickens, and other 19th-century masters of storytelling, Singer knew how to universalize his characters without departing from his own cultural universe, and Mazursky preserved the Singeresque rhythms. *Enemies*, at any rate, is a tale in which tragic and comic are inseparable, a storytelling and filmic ideal, and Mazursky's thoughtful creation of the midcentury New York milieu allows the film to say a great deal, not just about survivors' experience as such but about the historical setting of their survival.

Film on the Holocaust and survivor experience should, properly speaking, be set in the context of a now vast harvest of discussion on the representation of Nazism and the Holocaust, discourse that amounts to a virtual cultural explosion, which has grown notably intense from the late '80s onward: explorations of the Holocaust's historical uniqueness;⁵⁰ literary and artistic dimensions of Holocaust writing and art;⁵¹ problems of historiography and historical comprehension;⁵² consideration of the task of remembering and the nature of memorials;⁵³ the history of acknowledgement and

⁵⁰See esp. Steven T. Katz, "The 'Unique' Intentionality of the Holocaust," in idem, *Post-Holocaust Dialogues: Critical Studies in Modern Jewish Thought* (New York, 1985), pp. 287–317; idem, *The Holocaust in Historical Context*, vol. 1 (New York, 1994); Berel Lang, *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide* (Chicago, 1990).

⁵¹See, e.g., Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi, *By Words Alone: The Holocaust in Literature* (Chicago, 1980); Saul Friedlander, *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death* (New York, 1984); Janet Blatter and Sybil Milton, eds., *Art of the Holocaust* (New York, 1981); Lawrence Langer, *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (New Haven, 1975).

⁵²See, e.g., Dominick La Capra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); Saul Friedlander, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (New York, 1989); Berel Lang, *Writing and the Holocaust* (New York, 1988); James E. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988); Hayden White, "The Politics of Historical Representation," in idem, *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore, 1987); and Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

⁵³See, e.g., Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York, 1995); Geoffrey Hartman, ed., *Holocaust Remembrance: The*

denial of the Holocaust;⁵⁴ of the representation of disaster in Jewish and other literature, past and present;⁵⁵ and matters of theology and belief in the aftermath of the Holocaust.⁵⁶

This trend has also spawned research and evaluation of film on Holocaust subjects, most notably, Annette Insdorf's *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust*, the most comprehensive overview of the area up to the 1980s.⁵⁷ Her wide-ranging essays on many topics, her willingness to consider certain individual films or themes in depth, her involvement with the international output of film, her engagement both with film's cinematic language and with the ongoing state of discussion and reflection on the Holocaust, and above all the compelling moral purpose that motivates her to write, make Insdorf's study a valuable resource. Also useful is Judith Doneson's *The Holocaust in American Film*, which confines its scope to certain representative films in the American milieu that marked what Doneson calls "the Americanization of the Holocaust."⁵⁸ Some helpful emphasis is placed on idioms of popular culture and on questions of ideology, public opinion, and historical reception.

Somewhat less successful than these works is Ilan Avisar's *Screening the Holocaust: Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable*,⁵⁹ which is marred by exceptionally awkward writing, by a seemingly random progression of topics, and by numerous questionable turns of argument. Even so, the book gets into some interesting areas, including chapters on Czech cinema, on the relation of modern and postmodern, and on Chaplin's *The Great Dictator*.

Shapes of Memory (Oxford, 1994); Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994); Saul Friedlander, *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993); James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, 1993); Sybil Milton, *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials* (Detroit, 1991).

⁵⁴See, e.g., Deborah Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (New York, 1986); idem, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York, 1993); Walter Lacqueur, *The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth About Hitler's "Final Solution"* (Boston, 1980); and David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (New York, 1985).

⁵⁵See, e.g., David G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984); idem, ed., *The Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe* (Philadelphia, 1988); Alan L. Mintz, *Hurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (New York, 1984).

⁵⁶See, among many sources, John K. Roth and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Holocaust: Religious and Philosophical Implications* (New York, 1989); Emil L. Fackenheim, *To Mend the World: Foundations of Post-Holocaust Jewish Thought* (New York, 1982); Richard Rubinstein, *After Auschwitz: Essays in Contemporary Judaism* (Indianapolis, 1966).

⁵⁷Annette Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1989).

⁵⁸Judith E. Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film* (Philadelphia, 1987).

⁵⁹Ilan Avisar, *Screening the Holocaust: Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988).

Avisar's overall thesis, in any case, should be evaluated in the light of the considerations of the preceding pages. In his own words:

Genuine works on the Holocaust are rooted in the necessity to furnish truthful pictures of the unprecedented horrors, and they attempt to convey to the beholder the unsettling degrees of human suffering and human evil in the Nazi universe of atrocities. . . . [W]e need to define the critical principles which can contribute to the avoidance of inadequate representations in the form of compromising distortions or reprehensible falsifications.⁶⁰

This is essentially a restatement of the old "images" approach, which, in truth, is impossible to expunge from any study of Jewish experience on film. Avisar's thesis, to be sure, is rooted in a special context, one influenced by the overwhelming flood of survivor testimony that began to reach a wide readership from the '60s onward. The writings of Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel, Jean Améry, and others have made "testimony" a principal imperative of postwar literature and film on the Holocaust, and Lanzmann's *Shoah*, which receives extensive and respectful comment by Avisar, is surely an act of testimony carried to its moral and artistic limits. But the fact that a film like *Shoah* cannot be seen out of the context of other important films with which it interacts, or which in turn it influences, means that one cannot address to these films the simple questions that Avisar asks: Is it "genuine"? Are its pictures "truthful"? Does it contain "compromising distortions" or "reprehensible falsifications"? This approach is in danger of making discussion of film on the Nazi era and the Holocaust into little more than a moral report card. In any case, given the close intertwining of the history of film with the history of 20th-century tyranny, there is virtually no film that *fails* to be a "genuine" Holocaust film. We can learn as much from a putatively reprehensible film as we can from an impeccable one.

Recent Trends

It is too early to evaluate the present, to assess the shape and direction of the films of Jewish experience in the past ten years. To some degree, we find a continuation of the trends toward unselfconscious representation of Jewish experience that have prevailed since the 1970s, with a deepening and expansion of their possibilities. In other ways, we find a continuation of the classical themes and preoccupations of a former era. These trends have affected both mainstream, mass-market films and the much broader tide of low-budget, independent, and foreign films that comprise the programs of Jewish film festivals. The festivals, which are now an annual event in major cities, have multiplied impressively around the United States and abroad in recent years and are themselves an institution worthy of study.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 1.

Among mass-market films that come readily to mind as subjects for future study are Mazursky's *Enemies, a Love Story*, discussed earlier; Chris Menges' *A World Apart* (1988), a foreign import based on the lives of Joe Slovo and Ruth First, respected but embattled South African anti-apartheid activists of Jewish origin (this latter fact not mentioned by the film), seen from the vantage point of their daughter, Shawn Slovo, who wrote the screenplay; Paul Bogart's *Torch Song Trilogy* (1988), based on Harvey Fierstein's semi-autobiographical account of a Jewish drag-queen entertainer, superbly played by Fierstein himself; Bruce Beresford's *Driving Miss Daisy* (1989), about the slowly developing friendship between a well-to-do Alabama Jewish widow and her black chauffeur, tracing their story from the 1940s to the recent past; *Avalon* (1990), Barry Levinson's saga of Jewish family life in Baltimore in the '40s; Barbet Schroeder's *Reversal of Fortune* (1990), based on Alan Dershowitz's memoir, detailing the Jewish attorney's defense of socialite Claus von Bulow, on trial for attempted murder of his wife; Billy Crystal's *Mr. Saturday Night* (1992), featuring Crystal as a Borscht Belt and TV comedian, whose career over several decades is recounted; Frank Pierson's HBO film *Citizen Cohn* (1992), based on Nicholas von Hoffman's biography of "bad boy" Jewish attorney Roy Cohn, famous for his role in the McCarthy era, featuring an extraordinary performance by James Woods as Cohn; Robert Mandel's *School Ties* (1992), about a Jewish kid from Scranton on athletic scholarship at a New England prep school, who encounters the anti-Semitism of his classmates; and most notably, Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993), based on Thomas Keneally's acclaimed docu-novel about Oskar Schindler, the Czech-German entrepreneur and war profiteer who sheltered over 1,100 Jews from deportation to death camps.

American films of the above list, which had separate destinies at the box office, provide, for better or for worse, a composite portrait of mainstream America's present-day attitudes toward Jewishness, or at least toward those themes of Jewishness that have attained a certain "classical" respectability: "bad boy" success stories; the Jewish presence in modern history; Jews seen through the lens of nostalgia; anti-Semitism in the cradle of Yankeedom, New England; and Holocaust survivors and near-victims. Again, the fact that most of these films deal with the period of the 1940s to the early '60s, and that the remainder (*Torch Song Trilogy* and *Reversal of Fortune*) are set in a recent past now seen in historical hindsight, is surely significant. While it could suggest that Hollywood is still uncomfortable about narrating the Jewish present, or that Jews are somehow seen as synonymous with "pastness," or with historical memory as such, the process likewise demonstrates a reverse assimilation, that of mainstream culture to its marginal components. Although this is a trend long rooted in Hollywood custom,

recalling the show-biz biographies in 1950s cinema, several of the above films, especially *Enemies*, *a Love Story*, *Avalon*, *Citizen Cohn*, and *Schindler's List*, are told with a deeper respect for the historicity of their subjects than was possible in a previous generation of cinema.

Schindler's List in particular represents something of a milestone in the depiction of Holocaust themes, as well as marking a distinctive turn in that director's output. Filmed superbly in black-and-white by cinematographer Janusz Kaminsky, *Schindler's List* is mostly quiet, respectful, and dignified, a genuinely moving film, solidly rooted in the wartime milieu of Krakow, Poland, and nearby Zwittau, Schindler's home town in Czechoslovakia to which he moved his factory after its Krakow operations were closed down. The enthusiastic reception of this film, however, should prompt caution in evaluating its cultural impact. Its visual sophistication, superbly crafted story, and fine performances do not conceal the fact that the film, in some respects, has more in common with the TV miniseries *Holocaust* than with, say, Lanzmann's truly groundbreaking *Shoah*.⁶¹ It comes close at points to sentimentalization of Holocaust realities and an assimilation of the wartime milieu to idioms of the classical Hollywood style. On the latter grounds, the film can, and should, be savored and appreciated, but it would be a mistake to allow it to stand as the last word on the subject, as *the Holocaust* film par excellence. Were such a lionization to occur, *Schindler's List* could very likely recapitulate the fate of the 1927 *Jazz Singer* (with which it has much else in common): to be the preface to a long era of silence on Jews and Jewish experience.

Beyond the Mass Market

Schindler's List is a case where we must uncouple the excellence of a film from the problematic nature of its enthusiastic reception. In light of this problem there are grounds for arguing that mass-market film should not be seen as the sole, or even main, arena for the films of Jewish experience. One should look, rather, to low-budget and independent filmmaking, and to imported films, both domains that have manifested a richer and more variegated approach to Jewish realities. Among these films, some of which had their principal airings in the United States on public television or in

⁶¹Lanzmann's own criticisms of *Schindler's List* were voiced in an interview for BBC2 Television's "Moving Pictures," Dec. 4, 1993. See also Claude Lanzmann, "The Twisted Truth of *Schindler's List*," London *Evening Standard*, Feb. 10, 1994. Cf. Alvin H. Rosenfeld, "The Americanization of the Holocaust," *David W. Belin Lecture in American Jewish Affairs*, 5 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), pp. 24–32. Rosenfeld, appropriately, concentrates less on the film's obvious artistic merits than on certain ideological presuppositions endemic to American understanding of the Holocaust. For an evaluation of the film and its impact in the broader context of film on Holocaust subjects, see the article by Thomas Elsaesser cited in note 69.

urban (not specifically Jewish) film festivals, one should keep in mind Eli Cohen's *The Quarrel* (1991), a Canadian film based on Chaim Grade's short story "My Quarrel with Hersh Rasseyner," about two Holocaust survivors, one an atheist writer, the other a Hassid, who had been yeshivah students together in Poland and now meet by chance and argue about God's justice; David Mamet's *Homicide* (1991), about a Jewish cop in New York investigating the murder of a Jewish doctor; Anthony Drazan's *Zebrahead* (1992), the story of a Jewish kid in an interracial romance in Detroit's inner city; and *Fires in the Mirror* (1993), the public-television airing of Anna Deavere Smith's live one-woman drama about tensions between Jews and blacks that exploded in Crown Heights after a Hassidic driver fatally struck a black child in an auto accident and another Hassid was murdered in a revenge attack. While not, strictly speaking, a film, Smith's play is intercut with film and still-shot sequences and represents an important document on contemporary Jewish-black relations in an urban setting.

This is the place to mention the fine work that has been done in documentary films in recent years, some of which has been aired on public television. These include *Łódź Ghetto* (1989), Kathryn Taverna and Alan Abelson's extraordinary assemblage of rare footage, in color and black-and-white, of life in the Nazi-era ghetto, with narrative based on Lucien Dobroszycki's *A Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto* and on individual diaries from the ghetto; *The Partisans of Vilna* (1986), Josh Wiletzky's film about Jewish resistance fighters in and around the Jewish ghetto in Lithuania, including some interesting focus on the role played by the women fighters; and Martin Ostrow's *America and the Holocaust* (1994), a scathing indictment of U.S. immigration policy in the era of the European catastrophe, based largely on David Wyman's historical work. Although Holocaust subjects probably account for the bulk of the output of Jewish-related documentary film, there have been some worthwhile films on contemporary Jewish culture. Michal Goldman's *A Jumpin' Night in the Garden of Eden* is an intriguing exploration of the contemporary art of Klezmer music, the Yiddish musical idiom that has undergone an impressive revival in recent years.

Documentaries have formed one important component of the Jewish film festival movement, which has burgeoned in the past decade in the United States and abroad. Jewish film festivals have become annual events in several North American cities, usually extending over a period of two or three weeks. The emphasis at these events is usually on lesser-known American and foreign films (from Canada, Latin America, Europe, Israel, North Africa, and other lands), and on independent filmmakers in several countries, including the United States.⁶²

⁶²For a partial listing of films shown in such festivals, see Deborah Kaufman, Janis Plotkin, and Rena Orenthal, eds., *A Guide to Films Featured in the Jewish Film Festival* (Berkeley, Jewish Film Festival, 1991).

Here is a sampling from one such program held in the San Francisco Bay Area in July 1993. Among documentaries and short subjects, there were Connie Marks's *Let's Fall in Love: A Singles Weekend at the Concord Hotel* (U.S., 1993), a thoughtful and good-humored look at a thriving Jewish social scene in the Catskills; Jonathan Berman's *The Shvitz* (U.S., 1993), a richly textured study that features patrons, staff, and neighbors of the few remaining public Russian-Jewish steambaths in New York City, with reflection on the cultural meaning of this cherished but dying institution; Babak Shokrian's *A Peaceful Sabbath* (U.S., 1993), a dramatic short, set in Los Angeles's Iranian and Iranian-Jewish communities, that explores relations between the sexes in a particularly disenchanting light; Ruggero Gabbai's *The King of Crown Heights* (U.S., 1992), a 58-minute look at the Lubavitch community in Crown Heights and its charismatic leader, Rebbe Menachem Mendel Schneerson (since deceased); and Steve Levitt's *Deaf Heaven* (U.S., 1992), a 29-minute film drama featuring a conversation at a health club between a young homosexual man whose lover is dying of AIDS and an elderly Holocaust survivor (played by David Opatoshu) who gives him a reason to go on living. Films more directly on Holocaust themes included Pavel Lozinski's remarkable *Birthplace* (Poland, 1992), a documentary chronicling Holocaust survivor Henryk Grynberg's trip back to Poland to find out who murdered his father during the war; and Jack Kuper's *A Day in the Warsaw Ghetto: A Birthday Trip in Hell* (Canada, 1992), a 35-minute display, with narrative commentary, of the extraordinary photographs illegally taken by a Wehrmacht sergeant during a visit on his 42nd birthday to the Warsaw Ghetto in 1941.

Among foreign-made feature films, there were Assaf Dayan's *Life According to Agfa* (Israel, 1992), an award-winning, if uneven, fiction film set in an all-night bar in Tel Aviv, whose staff and patrons bring with them the full array of social and political tensions in contemporary Israel; Jacek Bromski's *1968 — Happy New Year* (Poland, 1993), a fiction film about Communist Poland's anti-Jewish purges in 1968; Andrzej Wajda's *The Promised Land* (Poland, 1974), an epic film about the partnership of a Pole, a German, and a Jew who team up to build a textile factory in Lodz, Poland, in the late 19th century; Wajda's *Korczak* (Poland, 1990), a tender but unblinkeredly lucid portrait of Janusz Korczak, the Jewish physician who ran an orphanage in the Warsaw Ghetto and who perished at Auschwitz with the children under his care; and Jens Carl Eblers' *Republic of Dreams* (Germany, 1993), a surrealistic fantasy depicting a contemporary artist's efforts to commune with the late Polish-Jewish writer Bruno Schulz by traveling to Schulz's hometown of Drohobycz, Poland.

There were, as well, two classic films in the festival program: a beautifully restored version (with live organ accompaniment) of Frank Borzage's *Hu-moresque* (U.S., 1920), based on Fannie Hurst's novel, the melodramatic

tale of a young Jewish man who is pressed by his mother to become a concert violinist, then is injured in World War I and later enabled, through his mother's devoted love, to resume his career; and Robert Rossen's *Body and Soul* (U.S., 1947), mentioned earlier, which starred John Garfield, the story of a Jewish boxer from the Lower East Side who must deal with the efforts of a local crime boss to fix his fight.

What is especially intriguing about this array, apart from the intrinsic appeal of the films themselves, is its relative freedom from classical film paradigms of Jewish experience, as discussed in the foregoing pages. In all but the last two festival films mentioned, Jews are comfortably "out" in a variety of senses: as urban singles, elderly, liberated women, gays and lesbians; as working-class, ultra-Orthodox, Yiddish speakers, immigrants, refugees, survivors; as seekers of vindication, of bodily pleasure, of messianic redemption. If the festivals themselves have an ideological underpinning it is that of multiculturalism, except that here multiple cultures are shown to thrive *within* Jewish life itself. There is, to be sure, preoccupation with the Jewish catastrophe of the Holocaust, but it is not permitted to engulf the life of the present. One way or another, the film festivals have resulted in a refreshingly varied and richly informative selection of films, a format that will, in time, prove influential to future film of Jewish experience and to study of the subject.

One should also mention here important archives and collections in Jewish film that have been founded in recent years, notably the National Center for Jewish Film at Brandeis University in Boston, which has maintained a generally close connection with the film festivals. Under the direction of Sharon Rivo, the center has pursued restoration work on film materials in danger of disintegration, has amassed an important collection of films of Jewish experience (including silent film, Yiddish film, documentaries, and American film of the classical era), which it makes available through videotape and exhibition rentals, and has served as a valuable archive for researchers in film studies.

Also important in this context are the National Jewish Archive of Broadcasting, at the Jewish Museum in New York City, which has collected more than 2,000 television programs on Jewish subjects, and the closely allied Jewish Heritage Video Collection, a project of the Jewish Media Fund, sponsored by the Charles H. Revson Foundation, in New York City. The project has developed courses, programs, and video-library materials for Jewish community centers, Hillel organizations, the Jewish Y, family education curricula, public libraries, museums, synagogue youth groups, and adult education programs. This institutional maturation and productivity in Jewish media studies will eventually prove immensely helpful to the study of Jewish experience on film.

Conclusion: The Future of Jewish Film Research

The foregoing pages have aimed at providing a broad overview of films, film personnel, and trends that have played a major role in shaping American cinema of Jewish experience in this century. Some further reflections are in order on the tasks facing the investigator of Jewish experience on film, in the context of the disciplines of film studies and Jewish studies. It would be impossible to discuss in the present space the full range and depth of problems that await elucidation by the historian or theoretician of the subject, but a few brief suggestions can be offered.

First, much room exists at present for study in depth of particular films. This approach has, for good reasons, been called into question by some film scholars, both for its tendency to imitate slavishly the methods of literary textual study and for the film interpreter's frequent use of the individual film as a proof-text for some preconceived theoretical doctrine that the film is alleged to exemplify or confirm.⁶³ But close study of the individual film can, in fact, serve as a disciplining groundwork for understanding the full range of factors that create filmic meaning in a given historical era, and, as noted earlier, such study has been largely absent from existing histories of the Jewish image in film. Provided attention is given to the many dimensions that make up a film — its concrete devices of cinematic art; its historical and ideological context; its production and reception; its relation to other films of its era, genre, or subject; and the various philosophical and cultural problems arising from its interpretation — the individual film can serve as a vitally important focus for understanding the historical tensions and preoccupations that find their way to cinematic expression.⁶⁴ For Jewish film historians, this is true whether one is dealing with canonically momentous films like *Der Golem*, *The Jazz Singer*, *Gentleman's Agreement*, *The Diary of Anne Frank*, *Exodus*, *Shoah*, or *Schindler's List*, or with neglected or forgotten films like *Hungry Hearts*, *The Man I Married*, or *The Plot Against Harry*. Addressing the question of how it was possible for a particular film to be made and released (or withheld, or ignored) at a particular moment in history can shed light on important areas of Jewish history in the countries and environments where Jews have lived.

Second, the historian of Jewish experience on film will sooner or later have to confront the vast thicket of film theory and explore its usefulness for Jewish film studies.⁶⁵ As noted earlier, there is much that is wrong-

⁶³See, most recently, David Bordwell, "Contemporary Film Studies and the Vicissitudes of Grand Theory," in *Post-Theory: Reconstructing Film Studies*, ed. David Bordwell and Noel Carroll (Madison, Wis., 1996), pp. 3–36, esp. 24–26; Noel Carroll, "Prospects for Film Theory: A Personal Assessment," *ibid.*, pp. 37–68, esp. pp. 41–44.

⁶⁴Cf. Tom Gunning, "Film History and Film Analysis: The Individual Film in the Course of Time," *Wide Angle* 12, no. 3 (July 1990), pp. 4–19.

⁶⁵Major collections of essays in earlier and contemporary film theory include Gerald Mast,

headed about contemporary film theory, and many of its vogueish postures, stale dogmas, and esoteric excesses well deserve to be called into question.⁶⁶ But the philosophical ambition of this body of reflection is praiseworthy nonetheless, and its contentions have thus proven immensely challenging and stimulating. Integration of film study with the insights and preoccupations of linguistics, semiotics, psychoanalysis, anthropology, economic and social theory, philosophy, aesthetics, literary criticism, gender studies, and so forth should continue to be encouraged, and many of the dubious and unquestioned contentions of contemporary theory should be polemically challenged. Moreover, there is a great deal to be learned from rereading earlier film theoreticians (Eisenstein, Balasz, Bazin, Kracauer, et al.), by way of illuminating the horizons of film practice in former eras and by way of discovering unresolved problems that contemporary theory has mistakenly declared solved or obsolete.⁶⁷ Special realms of film theory can help us to illuminate certain specific areas — such as spectator identification with screen characters and situations; film's role in the shaping or undermining of belief and prejudice; film representation of gender, family relations, childhood, adolescence, and elderly experience, ethnicity, and social class; and ways that the historical reception of a film mirrors larger social forces — that have direct relevance for understanding the film of Jewish experience.

Thirdly, study of Jewish experience on film must seek to place its insights in the context of ethnic film studies as a whole and the study of various national cinemas, both for comparative purposes and for the sake of under-

Marshall Cohen, and Leo Braudy, eds., *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, 4th ed. (New York, 1992); John Ellis et al., *Screen Reader 1: Cinema, Ideology, Politics* (London, 1977); Bill Nichols, ed., *Movies and Methods*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976 and 1985); Philip Rosen, ed., *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Theory Reader* (New York, 1986); Pam Cook, ed., *The Cinema Book* (London, 1993).

⁶⁶See esp. the articles by Bordwell and Carroll cited in note 63, and David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (see note 5), esp. pp. 249–74. More sympathetic critiques have been offered by D. N. Rodowick, *The Crisis of Political Modernism: Criticism and Ideology in Contemporary Film Theory* (Berkeley, 1994), esp. pp. 271–302, and Robert B. Ray, *The Avant-Garde Finds Andy Hardy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), pp. 1–23. Cf. Robert B. Ray, “The Bordwell Regime and the Stakes of Knowledge,” *Strategies* 1 (1988), pp. 142–81.

⁶⁷See, among others, Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense* (New York, 1942, 1947), and idem, *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory* (New York, 1949); Bela Balasz, *Theory of the Film: Character and Growth of the New Art* (New York, 1970); Andre Bazin, *What Is Cinema?* 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1967, 1971); Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (Oxford, 1960). A 1936 essay by Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in idem, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York, 1969), pp. 217–51, has come increasingly to haunt contemporary film studies. Cf. Ray, *The Avant-Garde Finds Andy Hardy*, pp. 16–17. Contrast Bordwell, “Contemporary Film Studies and . . . Grand Theory,” pp. 9, 21, 33.

standing the broader relation of minority cultures to a cosmopolitan civil society.⁶⁸ Attention to the latter problem will enable ethnic film studies to escape the confines of narrow interpretive bailiwicks, defined by the life of a particular people, and will thereby unite specialists in individual cultures on questions of common interest. The problems America faces as a multi-ethnic society are not far different from those facing the bourgeois democracies abroad, and they must, as well, be evaluated in relation to the experience of various less bourgeois and less democratic nations that have recently come unmoored from their Cold War alignments. The ethnic and religious fanaticism that has shaken Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, for example, in the aftermath of the Cold War clearly demonstrates that the establishment of a viably cosmopolitan society is very much an open question for any nation, even for the most stable democracies. In such a context, current doctrines of multiculturalism, such as those popular at present in contemporary film studies, have been both a help and a hindrance. They have helped by widening the playing field, by insisting that the whole social tableau of a modern nation, and in particular its most marginalized components, be made relevant to that nation's cultural history. They have hindered by often reducing that history to a power game, to a scenario of subjugation and dominance; by failing to see a nation's mainstream culture as a flexible and protean organism; and by viewing films and other cultural artifacts as little more than ideological tracts. These difficulties can, I think, be transcended, and historians and interpreters of the film of Jewish, African, Hispanic, and Asian experience, among others, have much to teach one another.

This is true even where certain historical events, such as the Holocaust, have, as some might argue, placed Jewish experience beyond the pale of translatability. That very abyss of apparent incommensurateness puts the Jewish film scholar, more than ever, in need of common ground with other ethnic film studies specialists. Fortunately, film on Holocaust subjects has proven to be of interest to film scholarship at large, and forms a central subject for those interested in film's comprehension of 20th-century history.⁶⁹ Sooner or later, such study will prove useful for exploring the cine-

⁶⁸Useful (and often faulty) theoretical essays on the subject by various authors have been offered in Friedman, ed., *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity and the American Cinema* (see note 5). See also Wohl and Miller, *Ethnic Images in American Film and Television* (see note 7). A fine theoretical discussion on the relation of minority cultures to civil society is offered by Louis Menand, "Diversity," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago, 1995), pp. 336 – 53.

⁶⁹See, e.g., the recent important essay by Thomas Elsaesser, "Subject Positions, Speaking Positions: From *Holocaust*, *Our Hitler*, and *Heimat* to *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*," in *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*, ed. Vivian Sobchack (New York and London, 1996), pp. 145 – 83.

matic response, if it exists, to the mass slaughter of Armenians, Gypsies, Kurds, Bosnian Muslims, Rwandan Tutsis, and other peoples, and for understanding the moral, ethical, psychological, and philosophical problems of comprehending atrocity-survivor experience in modern society at large. This could lead to firmer insights about the role of cinema in both jeopardizing and enhancing human rights and intercultural understanding.

Finally, the film of Jewish experience should be plumbed for its specifically Jewish historical meaning. Jewish peoplehood has long evolved according to its own internal dialectic. It is perhaps to the historian Gershom Scholem that we are most indebted for that insight, and Scholem spent his life elucidating the texts of Jewish mysticism that manifested this process. Scholem, however, was deeply interested in the material circumstances of Jewish history, in secular Jewish culture, in the interaction of Jews with their environment, and in the emergence of a post-traditional Jewish society in modern times. He advocated close attention to what he called the "basement" areas of Jewish experience, such as the life of the Jewish underworld and other areas banned from the "salon"-centered history of the major 19th-century Jewish historians. As Scholem observed: "Such matters were simply disregarded [by the historians]. Today, we have to collect them with the greatest difficulty in order to gain a reasonably complete picture of how the Jewish organism functioned in relation to its actual environment."⁷⁰ The film of Jewish experience is a rich register of such "nonofficial" areas of Jewish history, and Scholem would perhaps have welcomed it as a serious topic of Jewish studies.

Only a few themes of classical Jewish tradition and folklore have found their way to filmic expression. This very scarcity is a problem of historical importance, and the few themes that have appeared are thus, for better or for worse, magnified in importance and suggestiveness. In particular, the legend of the Golem and that of the Dybbuk have spawned several film classics (the 1920 German film *Der Golem*; the 1937 French film *Le Golem*; and the 1938 Yiddish film from Poland *Der Dybbuk*). Understanding the shared preoccupations of these films, and the ways in which their respective legends served as parables or metaphors of modern history and of the film medium, and generated permutations in more "secular" film stories of Jewish experience, is a vitally important task. The 1920 *Golem*, for example, makes the golem figure a parable of film art itself (a parable facilitated by the traditional belief that the Golem's inventor, the 16th-century mystic Rabbi Judah Loew of Prague, was also the inventor of the camera obscura, predecessor to both photographic and motion-picture camera), and Paul Wegener, the film's co-director and star (who played the Golem), can be

⁷⁰Gershom Scholem, "The Science of Judaism — Then and Now," in idem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism, and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York, 1971), p. 309.

shown to have exhibited a remarkable prescience, conscious or otherwise, about the relation of film to modern catastrophe. Wegener himself would later make films under Nazi aegis, during the years of the Third Reich, and in some sense he already foresaw film's troublesome servitude to demonic forces in *Der Golem*.

Both the Golem and the Dybbuk legends, and their filmed portrayals, manifest interesting uses of motifs of disguise and metamorphosis, and these have had meaningful reverberations in the film of Jewish experience generally. So many Jewish film characters undergo disguise or temporary metamorphosis that deeper factors seem to be at play: Ben Hur as "the Unknown Jew"; Jake Rabinowitz as Jack Robin, Jack Robin as blackface minstrel; the Golem as a household servant; Khonnon as the Dybbuk; the Marx Brothers as four variegatedly costumed facets of a single personality; Bressart's Greenberg as Shylock; Ari ben Canaan as a British colonial official; Streisand's Yentl as a yeshivah boy; Schindler's Jews as wartime munitions workers; Woody Allen's Zelig as everybody. This fascination with disguise is not unique to the film of Jewish experience — it has affected other ethnic films' affinity for tales of "passing" in an alien society, or, in the case of Yentl and much screwball comedy, an alien gender, and underlies, as well, science-fiction film's fascination with androids, changelings, and liquid cyborgs. The preoccupation could, I believe, if investigated with appropriate caution and skepticism, be meaningfully connected with Jewish mysticism's themes of messianic disguise and apostasy, and the closely related Hassidic theme of "the descent of the Tzaddik," motifs that prompted Gershom Scholem to associate the failed 17th-century messianic movement of Shabbatai Ševi with the dawning of Jewish modernity — to Emancipation, Reform, Zionism, historicism, revolutionary politics, and Jewish secular culture.⁷¹ The broader issues of exile, catastrophe, and redemption that helped to shape early modern Jewish messianism, all major preoccupations of Jewish life and thought from the Middle Ages onward, have had, in their way, considerable impact on film history, both in general and in the film of Jewish experience, and more systematic and reflective attention to these connections is an important task for the Jewish cultural historian.

The early Hollywood moguls were themselves distant recipients of these vast historical tides. The East European immigrants who founded and shaped the studio system may not have known directly the stories and lore of a messiah's apostasy, the journey of disguise, or the exile of God. But they had it, as it were, in their bones. It was in the shrug of the schlemiel and in the haberdasher's trade; it was in their own assimilation to America, and ultimately it was in American film. It encompassed America's vision of

⁷¹See Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1941, 1961), pp. 287–324, esp. 306ff. Cf. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, pp. 78–175.

picket-fence respectability and small-town values, of Yankee decency, and, too, however muted, of Melting Pot harmony. These were messianic fantasies of a sort, but they were also a serious vision of America, and, more important, they helped open up a public space where fantasy, belief, and thought about America could thrive. The studio moguls were perhaps simply selling another kind of clothing, a clothing for the mind. But they had inadvertently helped to create something of incalculable value to civil society: a national cinema. Like Rabbi Judah Loew's troublesome Golem, however, it was a product haunted by catastrophe, and it did not weather innocently an era of catastrophe. These events, at a point of intersection between Jewish history, American history, and film history, form a significant part, though by no means the totality, of the complicated subject we call the film of Jewish experience.

Israelis in the United States

by STEVEN J. GOLD AND BRUCE A. PHILLIPS

The subject of Israeli Jews coming to settle in the United States is one that has generated considerable controversy over the years, focusing on two primary issues: the actual number of Israelis who have come here, and their acceptance by the American Jewish community. The first, although it might appear simple, is in fact extremely complicated, in part due to lack of adequate data but equally because of the very difficulty of deciding whom to include in such a count. In the words of Israeli demographer Sergio DellaPergola, "The problem of 'Who is an Israeli?' is no less, and probably quite more, complex than the issue of 'Who is a Jew?' " Depending on the definition used and on the available sources of data, "possibly as many as 15 or 20 different estimates can be reached."¹

The second issue, how American Jews relate to Israeli immigrants, is also complex. While American Jews have a long and impressive record of assisting newly arrived *landsmen* from overseas, their attitude toward the Israelis who have come to settle in the United States has been characterized by a mixture of suspicion, coolness, and even condemnation. Only recently has that attitude begun to moderate into something more accepting. It is true that every new immigrant wave has posed problems for earlier generations of Jews, with the already established, Americanized Jews typically viewing the newcomers as "wretched refuse," uncivilized, uncultured individuals who are likely to arouse anti-Semitism. The Israeli immigration, however, has presented an entirely novel situation.

For one thing, unlike nearly all Jews entering the United States before or since World War II, the Israelis could in no way be construed as "refugees," people who needed to be "rescued" or who were unable to return to their countries of origin. There were, apparently, no objective reasons why Israelis should come to this country or merit support from American Jews. To the contrary. American Jews had a large financial and emotional invest-

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¹Personal communication.

ment in the new Jewish state, which assumed almost sacred status as both a refuge for persecuted Jews and the fulfillment of the centuries-old Zionist dream of return to the biblical homeland. While most American Jews chose not to participate personally in the "ingathering of the exiles," they saw themselves playing a vital role by contributing money and insuring political support. The complementary role of Israelis, in this view, was to inhabit and develop the land and defend it. Thus, the very act of leaving the Jewish state was seen as abandonment and betrayal of both the Zionist dream and the unspoken compact between American and Israeli Jews.

Israel, too, has always viewed emigrants negatively. People who leave the country are commonly referred to as "*yordim*" — a stigmatizing Hebrew term meaning those who "descend" from the "higher" place of Israel to the Diaspora, as opposed to immigrants, or "*olim*," who "ascend" from the Diaspora to Israel. During the 1970s, Israeli politicians were especially vitriolic on this issue, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin calling Israeli emigrants "the fallen among the weaklings," others referring to them as "moral lepers" and "the dregs of the earth."²

Faced, thus, with a Jewish immigrant population that did not fit into the "refugee" category and about which it had considerable ambivalence, and bolstered by the Israeli government's hostility, the organized American Jewish community's reaction was "part denial and part outrage,"³ leading to a communal policy that effectively ruled out official contact with Israeli migrants. (Although the Soviet Jewish immigration of recent decades also prompted objections from Israel and its supporters, who believed all Soviet Jews should go to Israel, Soviet Jews were seen as unequivocally meriting a warm welcome and maximum support.)

Most of the literature on Israeli immigrants asserts that members of the group themselves accepted the negative "*yored*" stereotype, choosing to depict themselves as temporary sojourners, students, tourists, "anything but Jewish settlers seeking to build new lives for themselves and their families in the United States."⁴ As a result, they remained marginal both to Israel and to the American Jewish community, having little contact with Jewish institutions, and relatively little is known about them. As two researchers

²Paul Ritterband, "Israelis in New York," *Contemporary Jewry* 7, 1986, pp. 113–26; Shaul Kimhi, "Perceived Change of Self-Concept, Values, Well-Being and Intention to Return Among Kibbutz People Who Migrated from Israel to America," Ph.D. diss., Pacific Graduate School of Psychology, 1990.

³Steven M. Cohen, "Israeli Émigrés and the New York Federation: A Case Study in Ambivalent Policymaking for 'Jewish Communal Deviants,'" *Contemporary Jewry* 7, 1986, pp. 155–65.

⁴Sherry Rosen, *The Israeli Corner of the American Jewish Community* (American Jewish Committee, New York, 1993).

put it, "If Jews have been the proverbial marginal people, Israeli emigrants are the marginal Jews."⁵

The official Israeli view of *yordim* began to change in the mid-1980s to a more constructive position of both encouraging "re-*aliyah*" (return to Israel) and simply establishing good relations with American Israelis. In a 1991 interview Yitzhak Rabin recanted his earlier statement: "The Israelis living abroad are an integral part of the Jewish community and there is no point talking about ostracism."⁶ The change in Israel's attitude in turn opened the way for federations, Jewish community centers, and other organizations in this country to reach out to Israeli families — albeit still without official approval from national headquarters — "attempting to treat these Israelis and their families as members, or at least 'associate members,' of the American Jewish community with a shared stake in its future."⁷

By the mid-1990s, several demographic trends were in evidence: a continuing stream of Israeli immigrants to this country, a rise in the number of Israelis returning to Israel to live, and the emergence of a new category of "transnationals," i.e., individuals with footholds in both the United States and Israel. In the social/psychological sphere, Israeli émigrés showed evidence of growing self-acceptance along with signs of willingness to identify with American Jewish communal life.

This article presents a profile of Israelis in the United States based on a wide range of demographic and sociological studies, focusing on three related topics. The first is the demographics of the migrant population — its size and composition in terms of age, family structure, occupational and ethnic characteristics, and the like; the second is the motivation of those who choose to leave Israel. The third area concerns the adaptation of Israelis to American life. Are they becoming a viable American-Jewish subgroup, or do they remain marginal men and women who see their presence here only as a temporary sojourn?

Sources of Data

The primary quantitative data used in this article come from our own analyses of three sources: (1) The Council of Jewish Federations 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS); (2) the 1991 New York Jewish

⁵Drora Kass and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1967 to the Present: Israelis and Others," in *Understanding American Jewry*, ed. Marshall Sklare (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982), p. 289.

⁶Cited in Matti Golan, *With Friends Like You: What Israelis Really Think About American Jews* (New York, 1992).

⁷Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*, p. 3.

Population Study conducted by New York UJA-Federation (N.Y. Study); and (3) special tabulations run from the 1990 U.S. Census, using the 5-percent Public Use Microsample ("PUMS") files for New York and Los Angeles (New York City and Los Angeles County).⁸

Each of these sources has advantages and limitations. The NJPS, a national survey, has a relatively small sample of Israelis; the N.Y. Study a significantly larger one. Both NJPS and the N.Y. Study asked only place of birth, not country of last residence, thus excluding Israelis born outside the State of Israel. (Methods for compensating for this are discussed below.) However, these studies ask several questions regarding Jewish behavior and identification.⁹

The U.S. Census is rich in a variety of information, but is not very well suited to the accurate counting of small, tightly cloistered, recent migrant populations, like Israelis. In the words of demographer David Heer: "When American population statistics are inadequate, they will normally be found to be so in terms of underenumeration and underestimation of minority groups, defined in terms of race or national origin and concentrated in specific neighborhoods."¹⁰ The census also includes the responses of non-Jewish Israelis (e.g., Armenians and Palestinians) along with Israeli Jews. (How this is dealt with is discussed below.) Further, while the census provides data on economic status, it does not ask about religion and thus offers no information about Jewish behavior.

We also rely on the small number of published studies of Israelis that have been carried out, which are useful but suffer from various shortcomings.¹¹ Surveys with large samples of Israelis are built on problematic sample designs,¹² while surveys that employ reliable probability samples include

⁸The census files with the best data on Israelis are available only for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, "SMSAs." We chose New York and Los Angeles because these two cities have the largest populations of Israelis and also can be used to compare Israelis on the West and East coasts.

⁹See Barry Kosmin et al., *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (Council of Jewish Federations, New York, 1991) and Bethamie Horowitz, *The 1991 New York Jewish Population Study* (UJA-Federation, New York, 1993).

¹⁰Heer, David M., *Readings on Population* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 174.

¹¹Zvi Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); Moshe Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances: Israeli Immigrants in New York* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); Dov Elizur, "Israelis in the U.S.," *AJYB* 1980, vol. 80, pp. 53 – 67; Pini Herman, "Jewish-Israeli Migration to the United States Since 1948," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Israel Studies, New York, June 7, 1988; Ritterband, "Israelis in New York"; David Mittelberg and Zvi Sobel, "Commitment, Ethnicity and Class Factors in Emigration of Kibbutz and Non-Kibbutz Population from Israel," *International Migration Review* 24, no. 4, pp. 768 – 82.

¹²Snowball samples, for example, which rely on obtaining additional respondents through referrals from persons already contacted; and convenience samples, which fill a numerical

only a small number of Israelis. For example, the few studies devoted exclusively to the study of Israelis that have applied some form of random sampling techniques identified Israelis through records of persons who had become U.S. citizens.¹³ Because migrants from any nation who become U.S. citizens tend to be among the most established members of their group, these studies do not represent the totality of their population in the United States. In addition, because people tend to change residences with some frequency (causing address records to become rapidly outdated), respondents to these surveys were selected from those who had become citizens in the years immediately prior to data collection — thus excluding long-term residents.

A study sample drawn exclusively from the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens in New York — areas of heavy Israeli settlement but with a lower socioeconomic standing than other parts of metropolitan New York (with the exception of the Bronx) — excludes Israelis who live in more affluent neighborhoods.¹⁴ Thus, these sampling frames effectively exclude large fractions of the marginal (noncitizens) and the most successful (long-naturalized Israelis and residents of affluent communities).

Most studies of Israelis in the United States have been conducted in New York City,¹⁵ a few in Los Angeles¹⁶ and Chicago.¹⁷ New York and Los

quota of the needed type of respondent. Consequently, both of these sampling techniques are likely to include a selection bias.

¹³Pini Herman and David LaFontaine, "In Our Footsteps: Israeli Migration to the U.S. and Los Angeles," MSW thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1983; Mira Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants," Ph.D. diss., Fordham U., 1989.

¹⁴Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants."

¹⁵Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances*; Elizur, "Israelis in the U.S."; Nira H. Lipner, "The Subjective Experience of Israeli Immigrant Women: An Interpretive Approach," Ph.D. diss., George Washington U., 1987; Ritterband, "Israelis in New York"; David Mittelberg and Mary C. Waters, "The Process of Ethnogenesis Among Haitian and Israeli Immigrants in the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15, no. 3, 1992, pp. 412–35; Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants."

¹⁶Steven Gold, "Israelis in Los Angeles" (Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies, Los Angeles, 1992); idem, "Patterns of Economic Cooperation Among Israeli Immigrants in Los Angeles," *International Migration Review* 28, no. 105, 1994, pp. 114–35; idem, "Israeli Immigrants in the U.S.: The Question of Community," *Qualitative Sociology* 17, no. 4, 1994, pp. 325–63; Naama Sabar, "The Wayward Children of the Kibbutz — A Sad Awakening," *Proceedings of Qualitative Research in Education* (College of Education, U. of Georgia, Athens, 1989); Herman, "Jewish-Israeli Migration"; Herman and LaFontaine, "In Our Footsteps"; Michal Shachal-Staier, "Israelis in Los Angeles: Interrelations and Relations with the American Jewish Community," MBA thesis, U. of Judaism, Los Angeles, 1993.

¹⁷Natan Uriely, "Israeli Immigrants in Chicago: Variations of Ethnic Attachment Across Status Groups and Generations," Ph.D. diss., U. of Illinois, Chicago, 1993; idem, "Rhetorical Ethnicity of Permanent Sojourners: The Case of Israeli Immigrants in the Chicago Area," *International Sociology* 9, no. 4, 1994, pp. 431–45; idem, "Patterns of Identification and

Angeles account for roughly half of Israelis in the United States. The other half are dispersed throughout the United States, living in mid-sized and smaller Jewish communities. It may be that Israelis who gravitate to smaller communities or those furthest from the largest Jewish centers are different, that they have weaker ties to Israel and Jewishness than those in the large cities, and thus that studies including them would yield different findings.

Finally, much existing research on Israelis in the United States was carried out during the 1970s or early 1980s when (and often because) the relationship between both the Israeli government and the American Jewish community and Israeli émigrés was more hostile than currently. Such studies tend to overemphasize the role of conflict between Israelis and American Jews and slight the extent of communal organization and cooperation that has developed over the last decade.

The profile we provide also relies on qualitative data, much of it from work conducted in Los Angeles by Steven Gold emphasizing ethnic solidarity and adaptation strategies. It draws upon 94 in-depth interviews with Israeli immigrants and others knowledgeable about the Israeli community; participant observation data gathered at a variety of Israeli community activities; and a convenience-sample-based survey of Israeli immigrants collected during 1991–92.¹⁸ Natan Uriely and Moshe Shokeid have also conducted field studies of Israeli emigrants in the United States; Zvi Sobel studied departing Israelis in Israel.¹⁹

All told, the present study seeks to cast a wide net, encompassing and analyzing as broad an array of available data as possible.

HOW MANY ISRAELIS?

In 1981, Jewish Agency executive director Shmuel Lahis issued a report citing up to 500,000 Israeli emigrants in the United States, based on his own investigations.²⁰ A major study of Jewish immigration reported 300,000 Israelis in the United States in 1979, and revised this estimate upward to 350,000 Israelis by 1981.²¹ A few years later the Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles's Commission on Israelis put the number of Israelis in that

Integration with Jewish Americans Among Israeli Immigrants in Chicago: Variations Across Status and Generation," *Contemporary Jewry* 16, 1995, pp. 27–49.

¹⁸N=96. Gold, "Israelis in Los Angeles."

¹⁹Uriely, "Rhetorical Ethnicity of Permanent Sojourners"; idem, "Patterns of Identification and Integration"; Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances*; Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land*.

²⁰Shmuel Lahis, "The Lahis Report" (Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1981), reprinted in *Yisrael Shelanu*, Feb. 1, 1981.

²¹Kass and Lipset, "Jewish Immigration," pp. 272–94.

city in the range of 80,000 to 100,000.²² During the 1980s, common wisdom had it that New York had well in excess of 100,000 Israeli residents.

As the current debate about the impact of immigration on the larger American society demonstrates, it is virtually impossible to come up with an accurate and specific enumeration of any foreign-born population.²³ Although paucity of data — including the noted deficiencies of the census — presents problems for the study of all immigrants, especially for the smaller groups, in the case of Israelis there is also a problem of definition. As noted earlier, different definitions of “Who is an Israeli?” — depending on the availability of data sources — will yield quite different estimates. For Jewish purposes, for example, a count of Israelis should distinguish between Jews and non-Jews, since many Israeli Arabs (Christians and Muslims) as well as Armenians have come to this country over the years. But even definitions limited to Jews may be more or less inclusive, for example: Israeli-born Israelis (“sabras,” as the native-born are dubbed) who come here as immigrants, Israeli-born Israelis who come here as students or as professionals for unspecified periods of time; children born in Israel who come here at a young age; individuals born in Europe or elsewhere who lived for a year or two in Israel; individuals born in Europe or elsewhere who lived for many years in Israel; American-born individuals who lived in Israel for a year or more; Americans married to Israelis; American-born children of Israelis, and so on. Estimates based on any of these definitions could be considered legitimate, based on the researcher’s assumptions and purposes.

The approach of the present authors will be to present several estimates derived from analyses of different data sources. These are the entrance and exit data collected by Israeli border control; entrance and exit data collected by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS); the U.S. Census; and demographic studies of Jewish communities in the United States, in particular the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey and the 1991 New York Jewish Population Study. The estimates presented here provide what can be considered a plausible range for the number of Israelis in the United States.

Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (Border Control Data)

The Israeli Border Police record the exits and entrances of Israeli residents. However, since there is no legal definition of a “yored,” it is impossi-

²²Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Council on Jewish Life, Report of Commission on Israelis, June 1983, p. 2.

²³Michael E. Fix and Jeffrey S. Passel, *Immigration and Immigrants: Setting the Record Straight* (Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., 1994).

ble to know who has left permanently and who is traveling as a tourist, a student, or on business. The Israel Central Bureau of Statistics analyzed the border control data and computed a "gross balance" of 581,000 Israelis living abroad during the period 1948 – 1992.²⁴ In other words, there were 581,000 more exits from Israel than re-entries on the part of Israeli residents (i.e., persons living in Israel whether native-born or born elsewhere). About half of the persons leaving Israel named the United States as their destination. Assuming that they stayed in the United States, and that no other Israelis came to the United States via other countries, the "gross balance" of Israelis residing in the United States would be 290,500.

But not all "Israelis" are Jews. As Israeli sociologist Yinon Cohen has observed, there are significant economic pressures inducing Israeli Arabs to emigrate to the United States.²⁵ How many of the emigrants to the United States from Israel were Jews and how many were Arabs, Armenians, or other non-Jews? Zvi Eisenbach, working from Israeli data, has calculated that about 74 percent of American Israelis are Jews.²⁶ Thus, the gross balance of Israeli Jews in the United States over the period 1948 – 1992 is adjusted down to 216,000.

From this number the present authors subtracted 25,000 persons who would have died, leaving 191,000. Since the gross balance subtracts re-entrances to Israel from exits out of Israel, the authors subtracted 18,400 more persons who may be assumed to have returned to Israel in 1993 (the number that re-entered Israel in 1992), for an adjusted gross balance of 172,848 Jewish Israelis living in the United States.

U.S. Immigration

As noted, the Israeli exit/entrance data do not distinguish between travelers abroad and actual emigrants. On the other side of the Atlantic, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) does make this distinction. Israelis arrive in this country by ship or plane, and their arrivals are recorded by one or more official documents. Israelis who arrive on temporary visas are recorded separately from Israelis who apply for some sort of immigrant status. The "Application for Immigration Visa" is handled in Israel by the Consular Service of the State Department. After the arrival of the immigrant in the United States, the INS processes the "Immigrant

²⁴"Indicators of the Number of Israeli Residents Abroad, 1992," *Supplement to the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, no. 6, 1994.

²⁵Yinon Cohen, "Self-Selection and Economic Progress of Immigrants: Arab and Jewish Immigrants from Israel and the Territories in the U.S.," *Israel Studies*, forthcoming, 1996.

²⁶Zvi Eisenbach, "Jewish Emigrants from Israel in the United States," in *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985*, ed. U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola (Jerusalem, 1989).

Visa and Alien Registration" form. The INS also processes and documents permanent residence through the "Memorandum of Creation of Record of Lawful Permanent Residence" form. These are all applications for some kind of permanent residence status. Israelis can also apply for citizenship using the "Application to File Petition for Naturalization." Some Israelis who arrive as tourists and students overstay their visas and remain as "illegal immigrants." Conversely, some proportion of Israelis who have applied for permanent residency return to Israel.

Researcher Pini Herman, an expert on INS data, has estimated 93,000 Israelis in the United States.²⁷ He started with a figure of 140,500 Israelis who applied for immigrant status between 1948 and 1990. From this number he subtracted the estimated number of returnees to Israel, which he derived from two longitudinal studies of Israeli immigrants. In one study the return rate was 47 percent, and in the other it was 33 percent (which Herman considers too low). From this he derived a range of between 74,465 and 94,135 Israelis who remained in the United States after applying for immigrant status. Drawing upon other research on illegal immigration to the United States, Herman estimated 23,000 Israeli "illegals" who overstayed their visas for a resulting estimate of between 97,465 and 117,135 Israelis. Herman considers this an upper limit because it does not adjust downward for mortality.

Both the INS data and the Israeli border control data share a common source of uncertainty: how many Israelis returned to Israel after a sojourn in the United States? This uncertainty in the quantitative data is paralleled by a comparable uncertainty in the qualitative research. Many Israelis interviewed were uncertain about whether they wanted to live in the United States permanently, and if not, about how long they would remain before returning to Israel.

U.S. Census

The U.S. Census provides data on place of birth. In 1980 there were 67,000 Israeli-born persons enumerated who had lived in the United States for six months or more.²⁸ In the 1990 census this number had increased by almost 34 percent to 90,000.²⁹ The 90,000 figure must first be adjusted down

²⁷Pini Herman, "A Technique for Estimating a Small Immigrant Population in Small Areas: The Case of Jewish Israelis in the United States," in *Studies in Applied Demography*, ed. K. Vaninadha Rao and Jerry W. Wicks (Population and Society Research Center, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1994), pp. 81 – 99. Herman was the first to examine data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service on Israelis.

²⁸Eisenbach, "Jewish Emigrants from Israel."

²⁹U.S. Census, Special Tabulations, Foreign Born Population By Place of Birth, downloaded by Pini Herman from the U.S. Census "GOPHER" site on the Internet.

to exclude non-Jewish Israelis and then upward again to include an estimate of non-native-born Israelis. The census does have a question on "ancestry," in which non-sabras can identify themselves as Israelis and Arabs can identify as "Palestinians." However, these data were not available nationally,³⁰ so other sources were used for these estimates.

Using data which differentiate between Jews and Arabs leaving the country, Eisenbach found that the proportion of non-Jews in the Israeli population abroad was highest in the 1950s and 1960s, when Arabs who left Palestine in 1948 made their way to the United States³¹ (many settling, for example, in "metro" Detroit). Overall, he estimated that between 69 percent and 73 percent of the Israeli-born population in the 1980 census were Jews. In his analysis of the 1980 U.S. Census data, Eisenbach also calculated the proportion of non-native-born Israeli Jews for each period of immigration up through 1980. The present authors applied his procedures to the 1990 census for each period of immigration through 1990 and arrived at an estimate of 193,000 Jewish Israelis living in the United States as of 1990.

NJPS and N.Y. Study

The CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey included a question on place of birth. Phillips and Herman analyzed this data set to come up with an estimate of close to 90,000 Israeli-born persons — almost identical to the number in the 1990 census.³² To estimate the number of non-native-born Israelis, they used the question on time spent in Israel. They assumed that all North African-, Middle Eastern-, and European-born Jews who spent a year or more in Israel were émigrés, and came up with an additional 3,500 Israelis. However, the question was asked only of respondents, and thus spouses or other household members who may have lived in Israel were not counted. Assuming that the estimate of non-native Israelis was off by half, the Herman-Phillips estimate for the total number of Israelis would be 96,760.

For the present article Phillips did a similar analysis using the 1991 New York Jewish Population Study, which had a larger overall sample than the NJPS and, because Israelis are concentrated in New York, a larger absolute number of Israeli interviews to work with. The N.Y. Study did not have a question on time spent in Israel, so a different technique had to be employed

³⁰They were used to identify Israelis in the analysis of the New York and Los Angeles "PUMS" files.

³¹Eisenbach, "Jewish Emigrants from Israel."

³²Pini Herman and Bruce Phillips, "Israeli Jewish Population and Its Percentage of the American Jewish Population in the United States," paper presented to the Population Commission of the International Geographic Union, Los Angeles, Apr. 6, 1990.

to estimate the number of non-native-born Israelis. Each household with an Israeli-born person was examined individually. A foreign-born person married to a sabra who had married that person prior to moving to the United States was counted as an Israeli. This procedure produces an estimated 27,000 Israeli Jews living in the greater New York Jewish community — 22,000 Israeli-born persons, plus 5,000 non-native-born Israelis and children.

An estimate of the total number of Israelis in the United States can be arrived at from the N.Y. figures, as follows: Start with a figure of 30,000 in New York (knowing that the 27,000 figure is a conservative one); add 15,000 for Los Angeles (based on Herman and Phillips estimate that there are twice as many Israelis in New York as in Los Angeles³³; double that figure, since New York and Los Angeles account for half of the Israelis in the United States, to arrive at a national estimate of 90,000.

Although the estimates cited above use divergent data sources and employ different methods of calculation, they are all based on a common strategy. Each estimate begins with a known number from a *primary data source* that is relevant to, but not a direct or comprehensive count of, the Israelis in the United States. In each case, the source is missing some vital information. For example, estimates based on the "gross balance" of exits and entrances from and to Israel include both Jews and non-Jews and don't distinguish between emigrants and temporary travelers; estimates using the U.S. Census have only the number of native-born Israelis; and so forth. Each procedure then derives an estimate of the total number of Israelis in the United States by filling in the missing information from a separate and unrelated *secondary data source*.

There are two sources of divergence in the estimates. The first is the lack of comparability among the primary data sources (e.g., exits and entrances enumerated in Israel versus persons listing Israel as their place of birth in the U.S. Census). The second is the accuracy of the secondary data sources (e.g., the ratio of native-born Israelis to non-native-born Israelis), all of which have limitations.

The primary and secondary data sources for each estimation procedure are summarized in table 1. Given the number of steps where error is inevitably introduced, it is remarkable that the estimates fall into a relatively compact range of between 100,000 and 200,000 Israelis in the United States. Even the largest estimate is considerably smaller than the figures once widely publicized and accepted.

³³P. Herman and B. Phillips, paper presented to meeting of the Population Commission of the International Geographical Union, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1992.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATES OF NUMBER OF ISRAELIS IN U.S.

Author	Estimated No. of Israelis	Primary Data Source	Adjustments Made on the Basis of Secondary Data Source
Gold & Phillips	90,000	NY Study	(1) Distribution of Israelis nationally
Phillips & Herman	96,760	NJPS, 1990	(1) % Sabra
Herman	97,465 – 117,135	INS	(1) % Jewish (2) % who returned to Israel (3) Estimated number of illegal immigrants
Gold & Phillips	172,848	Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (Border Police Data)	(1) Proportion in United States (2) Proportion Jewish (3) Adjustment for mortality (4) % who will return to Israel
Gold & Phillips	193,000	US Census 1990	(1) % Jewish (2) % Sabra

CHILDREN OF ISRAELIS

Analyzing data from the NJPS, Phillips and Herman were able to break down the Israeli-American population by generation status in Israel and to identify American-born children of Israeli parents. They estimate that there are 12,000 Israeli-born children in the United States as compared with over 31,000 American-born children of at least one Israeli parent. The former are presumably included in the figures cited above. Should the latter be counted as Israelis? One argument for counting them is that they are being raised in an Israel-derived household, are exposed to Israeli influences, have Israeli relatives, and are often thought of by their parents as "Israeli." The data analyzed by Phillips and Herman suggest that this is not entirely the

case, however, since two out of three American-born children of Israelis have one American-born parent.

Patterns of Migration

The major data sources all show a steady acceleration of Israeli immigration, particularly after 1970. According to census data from New York and Los Angeles, one-third of Israelis came since 1985, and roughly two-thirds since 1975. Of the two communities, Los Angeles Israelis are more recent arrivals. (See table 2.) The growth of Israeli immigration is also evident in the INS data on arrivals from Israel and applications for citizenship. A review of 26 years of the flow of legal migration from Israel to the United States found that number slowly increasing from about 1,000 per year in 1948 to almost 6,000 a year by 1979.³⁴

It is much harder to measure the rate of return of Israelis to Israel, because there is considerable movement back and forth between the two countries and a growing class of "transnationals," sometimes referred to as "birds of passage," individuals who are citizens or legal residents of both countries and whose business or work has them living in both countries for longer and shorter periods of time.

Israeli government sources report that the number of Israelis returning home has increased substantially since 1992 — the year that marked the election of the peace-oriented Labor Party in Israel and a major economic recession in the United States — aided undoubtedly by an intensified official

³⁴Herman, "A Technique for Estimating," pp. 90 – 91.

TABLE 2. ISRAELIS IN LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK, BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL (PERCENTAGES)

Period	Los Angeles	New York
1985 – 90	37	30
1980 – 84	20	17
1975 – 79	17	12
1970 – 74	8	12
1965 – 69	5	8
1960 – 64	4	8
1950 – 59	6	9
Pre-1950	2	4

Source: 1990 Census.

outreach policy toward expatriates. During 1985 – 1991 the annual average number of returnees was 5,500; during 1992 – 1994, 10,500 returnees; and 14,000 returned in 1993 and in 1994.³⁵ A booming economy in Israel has clearly encouraged this increased return migration.

Motives for Migration

When asked why they came to the United States, most Israelis offer one of three overlapping responses: economic opportunities (including education), family factors, and a need for broader horizons.³⁶ A fairly large number, generally women and children, came to accompany their husbands and fathers who sought economic betterment and educational opportunity. Another family-based reason for migration was for unification with relatives already living in the States. Several respondents had links to America prior to their emigration, which initially made them consider moving and, once they did, facilitated the adjustment process. Among these were Israelis married to Americans.

Israelis who were self-employed prior to migration and retain their entrepreneurial pursuits here assert that the United States is a better location for capitalistic endeavors than Israel, because there are fewer regulations and controls and lower taxes.³⁷

While most Israelis enter the United States with specific goals of education, economic and career advancement, or family unification, some arrive as part of a “secular pilgrimage” of world travel that is a common rite of passage among Israelis following their military service.³⁸ This pattern has been less commonly observed in Midwestern locations like Detroit and Chicago than in coastal cities like New York and Los Angeles, because the former are unlikely stopping points for international travelers. Instead, migrants come to these “backwaters” for specific reasons: to take a job, attend school, or join friends or relatives.³⁹

Israelis interviewed in Los Angeles and New York described how they had come to the United States as part of their travels, picked up a job to earn some cash and then had “gotten stuck” — because of economic oppor-

³⁵“Going Home,” supplement to *Yisrael Shelanu*, 1995 (Hebrew). Produced in cooperation with the Office of Returning Residents, Israel Ministry of Absorption.

³⁶Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*; Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land*; Herman, “Jewish-Israeli Migration to the United States Since 1948.”

³⁷Uriely, “Rhetorical Ethnicity of Permanent Sojourners”; Steven Gold, “Patterns of Economic Cooperation Among Israeli Immigrants in Los Angeles,” *International Migration Review* 28, no. 105, 1994, pp. 114 – 35.

³⁸Ilan Ben-Ami, “Schlepers and Car Washers: Young Israelis in the New York Labor Market,” *Migration World* 20, no. 1, 1992, p. 22.

³⁹Uriely, “Rhetorical Ethnicity of Permanent Sojourners.”

tunities, relationships, or other factors — for a period longer than they had initially planned.⁴⁰ Isaac described this:

Israel is a country that is not easy to live in. Everybody finishes the army after three or four years. After the army, you understand life differently. So you are ready to try something else. I came to Los Angeles, and then I met my wife and that's how I started. I got into the clothing business and I stayed. We had kids. Since then, I'm in clothing. I haven't done anything but clothing.⁴¹

In Los Angeles, a number of Israelis commented that their travels to Latin America prior to arrival in the United States had allowed them to become competent enough in Spanish to communicate easily with Latino workers.⁴² This was a definite asset and an inducement to stay on, since many found work in labor-intensive industries such as garments or construction, which have a predominantly Spanish-speaking labor force.⁴³

Finally, like various groups in both previous and current migrant flows, Israelis are involved in chain migration. The presence of established co-ethnics in the host society is an attraction as well as a valuable resource for later migrants.⁴⁴ Israelis also ease their resettlement in the United States by residing in the Jewish neighborhoods of Queens and Brooklyn in New York City, and Beverly-Fairfax, West Hollywood, Pico-Robertson, and the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles; North Miami Beach, Florida; Troy and Farmington Hills, Michigan, and Devon and Skokie in the Chicago area.⁴⁵

DISILLUSIONMENT AND LIMITATIONS

An additional explanation for Israeli emigration is the desire to get away from the confines of the Jewish state. Because direct criticism of the Jewish state is regarded by those living beyond its borders as disloyal, it is voiced relatively infrequently by émigrés. However, in explaining why they left Israel, certain migrants describe feelings of disillusionment or a general attitude of not being able fit into the social order. According to an Israeli government estimate, about 5 percent of all permanent emigrants do so for ideological reasons.⁴⁶

⁴⁰Ben-Ami, "Schlepers and Car Washers"; Gold, "Israelis In Los Angeles."

⁴¹Quoted extracts are from interviews conducted by Steve Gold.

⁴²One building contractor placed ads in the Spanish-language press to hire helpers.

⁴³Gold, "Patterns of Economic Cooperation."

⁴⁴Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage* (New York, 1979); George J. Borjas, *Friends or Strangers* (New York, 1990); Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs* (Berkeley, 1988); Douglas S. Massey, Rafael Alarcon, Jorge Durand, and Humberto Gonzalez, *Return to Aztlan* (Berkeley, 1987).

⁴⁵Mehdi Bozorgmehr, Claudia Der-Martirosian, and Georges Sabagh, "Middle Easterners: A New Kind of Immigrant" (Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA, 1995), mimeo; Herman and LaFontaine, "In Our Footsteps"; Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*.

⁴⁶"Going Home."

Several respondents asserted that they left Israel in order to avoid the constant threat of war and violence. This motive was mentioned in terms of both the Yom Kippur War and the invasion of Lebanon, as well as by the descendants of Holocaust survivors. A Los Angeles-based Israeli psychotherapist describes many of her co-national patients as war refugees:

Those who come to my office now are the result of the first Lebanon war. This is a wounded group. For them, the idealism, the Zionist goals are gone. Now they are saying "I want to make money. I need time out, [away from] the pressure cooker [atmosphere]. How many more times am I going to go to war? I am sick and tired of going to the army, the reserves and everything."

Another reason for leaving is perceived ethnic discrimination. As a nation of immigrants, Israel is ethnically diverse. A significant distinction exists between the higher-status Ashkenazic (European-origin) group and the lower-status Oriental and Sephardic Jews, whose origins are North Africa and the Middle East.⁴⁷ Most Israelis assert that ethnic discrimination against Sephardic and Oriental Jews has been reduced significantly since the 1950s; however, "[t]he ethnic factor does play a role of some importance in some departees' decision to move."⁴⁸ A Yemeni-origin Israeli woman with a degree in education explains her decision to exit:

I remember one time my brother came to my mom and he asked her, "What is Ashkenazy?" And "What is Temany?" Another time we went to visit my aunt in Tel Aviv. And there the kids were telling us, "Black, black, you guys are black. Go from here, go from here."

I was trapped between the two worlds and I really had a rough time. Socially it was terrible for me. I did not find myself. I think that in a way I was afraid to face [Israeli] society. I was afraid not to fit in. Even though I had the knowledge and the education, I was afraid of not being accepted. . . . I didn't have the support system around me to fit me in. . . . discrimination was part of it. I just did not see myself teaching in Israel. I just thought that America would be better. I did not know too much about it. I just decided to come.

And an Oriental Jew in Chicago describes his motivation for leaving:

I am of Kurdish origin, and in Israel, the Polish elite treated us as trash. They acted as if they were better than us. Being Sephardic was associated with being primitive or being Chah-Chah [riff-raff]. When I came to Chicago, I left all of this behind. Nobody treated me as an inferior Sephardic. Here I see Polish people who are lower than me. I see a different reality, and it makes me angry about what I went through in Israel.⁴⁹

Finally, some émigrés maintain that they simply felt uncomfortable within the Israeli environment, that the nation is too small, conformist,

⁴⁷Uriely, "Patterns of Identification"; Sammy Smooha, *Israel: Pluralism and Conflict* (Berkeley, 1978); U. O. Schmelz, Sergio DellaPergola, and Uri Avner, "Ethnic Differences Among Israeli Jews," *AJYB* 1990, vol. 90, pp. 80–111.

⁴⁸Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land*, p. 217.

⁴⁹Uriely, "Patterns of Identification," p. 35.

competitive, and socially demanding for their liking. In his book on Israeli emigration, Zvi Sobel asserts: "Repeatedly I was struck by the extent and depth of frustration expressed by a wide range of individuals with respect to this factor of limited opportunity that is tied to a natural and unassailable limitation of smallness — physical and demographic."⁵⁰

Israeli Emigration in World Perspective

On the level of the individual, a decision to leave Israel can be explained in terms of personal situations and choices. On the societal level, emigration can be understood not merely as the sum of individual decisions but as part of a larger "world system" perspective that connects the experience of Israelis with the broad flows of contemporary international migration. In this view, isolated individuals moving from one place to another are part of a large-scale interconnected process wherein shifting social, economic, and demographic realities yield fundamental changes in social and economic relationships both between and within nations. Especially in recent years, the expansion of international links in capital, technology, transportation, and communication has accelerated the cross-national movement of information, finance, goods — and migrants.⁵¹

For a number of macrosociological reasons, Israelis can be considered likely candidates for international migration. First, because they are relatively recent arrivals to the Jewish state, their numbers probably contain many individuals with a propensity to move on.⁵² Second, as Jews, many Israelis have access to a long tradition as middlemen, entrepreneurs, and the like — skills that can be plied in various national settings. Third, many have direct connections to the United States — through relatives, education, the military, and work. These provide both information about opportunities and assistance in resettlement. Finally, the State of Israel has many social, economic, cultural, and political links with the United States which contribute to a sense of familiarity and make integration relatively easier.

Israeli demographer Sergio DellaPergola has shown that the post-World War II migration of Jews has generally followed a pattern of movement from less developed areas of the world (the periphery) to more economically central, advanced regions, demonstrating that economic improvement

⁵⁰Sobel, p. 77.

⁵¹Douglas S. Massey, Joaquín Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3, pp. 431 – 66.

⁵²Herman and Phillips, analyzing data from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, found that the majority of the Israeli-born Jewish population (69 percent) were themselves the children of immigrants to Israel.

ranks with nationalism as a major force behind Jewish migration. Since, in this analysis, the United States and other Western nations are more developed economically than Israel, emigration of Jews from Israel to the United States is consistent with the general trend in Jewish migration.⁵³ DellaPergola further suggests that the pattern of Israeli emigration does not appear "to reflect any major crisis that might have occurred" but is characterized "by frequent and short-term ups and downs, broadly comparable to those of the typical business cycle."⁵⁴

Given the incentives for migration, the proportion of immigrants who subsequently re-migrate from Israel is not as high as one might expect. It is comparatively lower than for countries like the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and New Zealand, which also experienced large-scale immigration. While the absolute number of Jewish emigrants from Israel has tended to increase over the years, the rate of emigration has been relatively low and stable, between 3 and 4 per 1,000 inhabitants per year.⁵⁵

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF AMERICAN ISRAELIS

Age, Sex, and Marital Status

Israelis are a young population. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, 79 percent of Israelis in New York and 81 percent of Israelis in Los Angeles are under age 45. The 1991 New York Jewish Population Study shows an almost identical age profile (table 3). Israelis in the New York survey are the youngest Jewish nationality group as well: 89.6 percent of Israelis in New York are under 50, compared with 75.2 percent of native-born Jews and 50.5 percent of the rest of the Jewish foreign-born population. On both coasts, there are more males than females. New York's community is 55 percent male, while Los Angeles's is 54 percent male.

FAMILY COMPOSITION

Based on 1990 data (N.Y. Study), Israeli households⁵⁶ in New York are more likely to consist of married couples than are foreign-born or native-

⁵³Sergio DellaPergola, "Israel and World Jewish Population: A Core-Periphery Perspective," in *Population and Social Change in Israel*, ed. Calvin Goldscheider (Boulder, Colo., 1992), pp. 39 – 63.

⁵⁴Sergio DellaPergola, "World Jewish Migration System in Historical Perspective," paper delivered at the International Conference on "Human Migration in a Global Framework," U. of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, June 1994.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶Defined as household headed by an Israeli or with an Israeli spouse.

TABLE 3. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ISRAELIS, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK (PERCENTAGES)

Age Group	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study
0 - 15	17	13	11
16 - 19	4	5	6
20 - 24	11	8	6
25 - 34	24	26	27
35 - 44	25	27	32
45 - 54	13	12	8
55 - 64	4	4	6
65 +	3	4	4
Total	100	100	100

Sources: 1990 Census, PUMS; 1991 N.Y. Jewish Population Study.

Totals may not add to 100% due to rounding.

born Jewish households (67 percent for Israelis as compared with 62 percent of non-Israeli foreign-born households and 52 percent of native-born Jewish households). Conversely, only 13 percent of Israeli households are single-person households as compared with 28 percent of other foreign-born as well as native-born households. The differences are even more dramatic when children are considered. Israeli households are more than twice as likely as other foreign-born households or native-born Jewish households to consist of a married couple with children under 18 (55 percent versus 23 percent for both foreign- and native-born).

Marriages between Israelis and Americans are fairly common. In 1986, over a third of all Israelis with immigrant status in the United States were married to an American citizen. "One out of four Israelis married the U.S. citizen outside the U.S., probably in Israel, and the rest married in the U.S."⁵⁷ A survey of naturalized Israelis in Los Angeles found that of the 80 percent who were married, 35 percent were married to American Jews; 49 percent were married to other Israelis; 8 percent to European or South American Jews; and 8 percent to non-Jews.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Herman, "A Technique for Estimating," p. 92.

⁵⁸Herman, "Jewish-Israeli Migration," p. 20.

Ethnic and National Origins

Different studies have found different proportions of Ashkenazim and Sephardim among Israelis in this country. The 1980 New York Jewish Population Study reported that 7 percent of Israeli-born immigrants were Sephardic/Oriental Jews, while the 1980 census data showed 16 percent.⁵⁹ In another New York study, 45 percent of respondents reported themselves as Ashkenazic, 42 percent as Sephardic/Oriental, and 13 percent as a mixture of both.⁶⁰ In one Los Angeles study, 58 percent of naturalized Israelis were of Ashkenazic origin, while 37 percent were Sephardic/Oriental, and 2 percent were mixed.⁶¹

While Israelis of diverse ethnic origins associate with each other in the United States, several studies suggest that patterns of social interaction, religious participation, economic cooperation, and adjustment to the States often take place within ethnic boundaries.⁶² (See "Subgroup Relations," below.)

Education and Mobility

Israelis in the United States are a relatively well-educated group. According to the 1990 census, 56 percent of men and 52 percent of women in New York and 56 percent of men and 62 percent of women in Los Angeles have at least some college, while fewer than 20 percent in either city are not high-school graduates. Moreover, Israeli women are as educated as Israeli men. The Israelis in the N.Y. Study have a higher educational attainment profile than those in the New York census file: 71 percent of Israeli men in the N.Y. Study had one or more years of college vs. 56 percent in the census data. Among Israeli women, the disparity between the survey and the census data is smaller, but in the same direction: 65 percent of the Israeli women in the N.Y. Study had completed one or more years of college as compared with 52 percent of Israeli women in the census file. The differences in educational attainment between the N.Y. Study and census data may reflect the studies' different sampling frames. The study includes only Jews and only Israeli-born Israelis, groups that are likely to have higher levels of education than the census sample, which includes Israelis born outside of the Jewish state as well as non-Jews. (See table 4.)

Israeli immigrants frequently report that they came to the United States in order to increase their education. This seems to be borne out by the data.

⁵⁹Ritterband, "Israelis in New York."

⁶⁰Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants."

⁶¹Herman, "A Technique for Estimating," p. 95.

⁶²Uriely, "Israeli Immigrants in Chicago"; Gold, "Patterns of Economic Cooperation"; Ben-Ami, "Schlepers and Car Washers," pp. 18 – 20.

TABLE 4. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, ISRAELIS AGED 24 – 65, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK (PERCENTAGES)

Schooling	Men			Women		
	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study
8th grade or less	5	6	(HS grad. or less:	5	6	(HS grad. or less:
Some high school	13	11	30)	8	14	32)
Finished high school	26	28	10	25	29	19
Some college	23	23	61	35	23	46
College grad or more	33	33	(71)	27	29	(65)
(One or more years college)	(56)	(56)		(62)	(52)	

Sources: 1990 Census, PUMS; 1991 N.Y. Jewish Population Study.

In one study of Israelis in New York, while 28 percent of those responding had a bachelor's degree or greater before leaving Israel, the proportion increased to 39 percent in the United States. Similarly, of respondents' spouses, the fraction with a college-level education increased from 28 percent in Israel to 45 percent in the United States.⁶³

Occupational and Economic Status

In both New York and Los Angeles, almost half of Israeli men are employed as managers, administrators, professionals, or technical specialists. Another quarter in either city are employed in sales. Other important occupational categories are gender-based: craft work (frequently in construction) for men and clerical occupations for women. On both coasts, the most common occupational category for Israeli women is professional/technical. In both New York and Los Angeles, female Israelis are professionally employed at nearly double the figure of their male counterparts: 41 percent of Israeli women are professionally employed in New York, 33 percent in Los Angeles. This reflects the large fraction of Israeli women who find employment in Jewish communal occupations, such as teaching in day schools and synagogues. (See table 5.) Recent studies have shown that 7 percent of all Hebrew school teachers in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee and 25 percent in Los Angeles were born in Israel.⁶⁴

While the image of the Israeli taxi driver in New York was a popular stereotype in the 1980s, census data reveal that this is no longer a major calling among the community (if in fact it ever was). According to the 1990 census, only 4 percent of Israeli men in New York and 2 percent in Los Angeles are employed in the field of transport. By the mid-1990s, taxi companies, for example, that were owned by Israelis, tended to employ an ethnically diverse labor force.

The occupational profile of Israelis in New York differs somewhat in the census data and the N.Y. Study. The latter shows many more Israeli males concentrated in the professional/technical categories than the former (44 percent vs. 21 percent) and many fewer in sales (8 percent vs. 29 percent). The N.Y. Study also shows more women in professional and technical occupations than does the census (63 percent vs. 41 percent) and fewer in sales (8 percent vs. 16 percent) and clerical (8 percent vs. 23 percent). The rest of the distributions are nearly identical. (See table 5.) The differences

⁶³Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants," p. 67.

⁶⁴Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education, "Policy Brief: Background and Professional Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools," n.d., Box 1; Bruce Phillips and Isa Aron, "Teachers in Jewish Schools in Los Angeles," unpublished report, Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, n.d.

TABLE 5. OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED ISRAELIS AGED 24 - 65, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK (PERCENTAGES)

Occupation	Men			Women		
	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study
Manager/administrator	23	23	24	23	13	19
Prof./tech.	17	21	44	33	41	63
Sales	22	29	8	11	16	8
Clerical	3	4	5	20	23	8
Craft	25	11	10	1	0	3
Operative	4	2	0	1	2	0
Transport	2	4	2	1	0	0
Laborer	2	1	6	0	0	0
Service	2	3	0	11	4	0
Farm	1	0	0	0	1	0

Sources: 1990 Census, PUMS; 1991 N.Y. Jewish Population Study.

in occupational distribution between the N.Y. Study and census data may reflect the studies' different sampling frames, as discussed above, with the less educated more likely to be employed in clerical and sales occupations. Further, since teaching Hebrew is a common professional occupation for Israeli women in the United States, we might surmise that non-native speakers of Hebrew (and non-Jews) are less likely to be working in this field.

The occupational profile of Israeli males in New York is very similar to that of other foreign-born Jewish males as well as of American-born Jewish men with two minor exceptions: Israelis are less likely than native-born males to be employed in sales and more likely to be employed in skilled occupations.

Research suggests that Israeli immigrants are extremely entrepreneurial. The 1990 census found that around a third of Israeli men in both New York (31 percent) and Los Angeles (36 percent) were self-employed. Nationally, Israelis have the second-highest rate for self-employment of all the nationality groups in the 1990 census. Only that of Koreans was higher. The rates of Israeli self-employment in the N.Y. Study are consistent with those tabulated in the 1990 census for New York City: 36 percent for males and 20 percent for females in the former; 31 percent and 14 percent in the latter. (See table 6.) Further, Israeli males and females are more likely to be self-employed than other foreign-born and native-born Jewish New Yorkers.

Other surveys have estimated the Israeli rate of self-employment to be even higher. A researcher in Los Angeles found that 77 percent of Israeli men and 37 percent of Israeli women in Los Angeles were self-employed; a New York study found that 63 percent of Israeli men and 23 percent of Israeli women in New York were self-employed; and an analysis of 1980 census data for California showed Israelis with the highest rate of entrepreneurship of any nationality in the United States.⁶⁵ Given that immigrants generally have higher rates of self-employment than the native-born, and that Jews — foreign-born and native-born alike — are also characterized by high rates of self-employment, this is not surprising.⁶⁶

⁶⁵Michal Shachal-Staier, "Israelis in Los Angeles: Interrelations and Relations with the American Jewish Community," MBA thesis, U. of Judaism, Los Angeles, 1993; Josef Korazim, "Israeli Families in New York City: Utilization of Social Services, Unmet Needs, and Policy Implications," Ph.D. diss., Columbia U., 1983; Eran Razin, "Social Networks, Local Opportunities and Entrepreneurship Among Immigrants: The Israeli Experience in an International Perspective" (Hebrew U. of Jerusalem, Dept. of Geography, 1991), mimeo.

⁶⁶John Sibley Butler and Cedric Herring, "Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship in America: Toward an Explanation of Racial and Ethnic Group Variations in Self-Employment," *Sociological Perspectives* 34, no. 1, 1991, pp. 79 – 94; Frank A. Fratoe, "Abstracts of the Sociological Literature on Minority Business Ownership (with additional references)" (Research Division, Office of Advocacy, Research and Information, Minority Business Development Agency, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1984); Ivan Light, "Disadvantaged Minorities in Self-Employment," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 20, nos. 1 – 2, 1979, pp. 31 – 45.

TABLE 6. ECONOMIC SECTOR, EMPLOYED ISRAELIS AGED 24 - 65, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK (PERCENTAGES)

Sector	Men				Women			
	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study	LA PUMS	NY Study
Private	58	64	57	71	76	54		
Public	6	5	7	13	10	26		
Self-employed	36	31	36	16	14	20		

Sources: 1990 Census, PUMS; 1991 N.Y. Jewish Population Study.

High rates of self-employment are maintained by extensive economic cooperation involving co-ethnic hiring, subcontracting, and ethnic economic specialization. In Los Angeles, Israelis are especially active in construction, jewelry and diamonds, retail sales, security, garments, engineering, and media.⁶⁷ One illustration of Israelis' entrepreneurial orientation can be found in the "Jewish/Israeli Yellow Pages of Los Angeles." Originally started as an offshoot of the Hebrew weekly *Hadshot LA*, the bilingual (Hebrew and English) directory grew to over 300 pages, advertising some 1,500 Israeli-owned businesses. The publisher estimated that there were closer to 3,500 Israeli-owned businesses in Los Angeles in 1995.⁶⁸

LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION

Israelis in New York and Los Angeles have generally high rates of employment and low rates of welfare use. Men have very high rates of labor-force participation, but a large fraction of Israeli women are not in the labor force.⁶⁹ (See table 7.) One survey of naturalized Israelis in New York found that "only 4 percent of the women indicated 'housewife' as their occupation in Israel, while 36 percent did so in the United States."⁷⁰ Another study found that while 30 percent of Israeli migrant women had not been in the labor force in Israel, 56 percent were not in the labor force in New York.⁷¹

Further, many Israeli women who work do so only part time. Israelis are different in this regard from many other immigrant women, who maintain high labor-force participation rates.⁷² While this trend may be an indicator of the migrants' improved economic status, it also undoubtedly reflects the decision of Israeli women to stay out of the labor market in order to compensate on the domestic and communal fronts for the support networks and services they enjoyed in Israel but find lacking in the United States. (See below, "Gender and Family Adaptation.")

⁶⁷Bozorgmehr et al., "Middle Easterners: A New Kind of Immigrant"; Gold, "Patterns of Economic Cooperation."

⁶⁸Personal communication, Jan. 1996. This figure accords with 1990 census data, which show some 14,000 Israelis living in Los Angeles, about 29 percent (4,000) of them self-employed.

⁶⁹This despite the fact that — as of 1984 — the United States had a higher female labor-force participation rate (44 percent) than Israel's (38 percent).

⁷⁰Mira Rosenthal and Charles Auerbach, "Cultural and Social Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants in the United States," *International Migration Review* 99, no. 26, 1992, p. 985.

⁷¹Korazim, "Israeli Families in New York City," p. 79.

⁷²Silvia Pedraza, "Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender," *Annual Review of Sociology* 17, 1991, pp. 303–25; Andrea Tyree and Katherine Donato, "A Demographic Overview of the International Migration of Women," in *International Migration: The Female Experience*, ed. Rita James Simon and Caroline B. Brettell (Totowa, N.J., 1986), pp. 21–41.

TABLE 7. LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION, ISRAELIS AGED 24 - 65, LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK (PERCENTAGES)

Status	Men			Women		
	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study	LA PUMS	NY PUMS	NY Study
In labor force (Employed)	88 (83)	88 (85)	— (86)	59 (55)	50 (47)	— (58)
(Unemployed)	(5)	(3)	—	(4)	(3)	—
Not in labor force	12	12	—	41	50	—

Sources: 1990 Census, PUMS, 1991 N.Y. Jewish Population Study.

INCOME

The earnings of Israelis in New York and Los Angeles are considerable, exceeding the average for the foreign-born and approaching those of native whites. Employed Israeli men residing in New York City were making approximately \$35,000 annually in 1990, while their counterparts in Los Angeles were making almost \$49,000. For purposes of comparison, the average income for all employed foreign-born men was about \$26,000 in New York and \$24,000 in Los Angeles in 1990, while employed, native-born white men in New York and Los Angeles earned approximately \$46,000.

Employed Israeli women made about \$25,000 in New York and approximately \$22,200 in Los Angeles. For purposes of comparison, the average income for employed, foreign-born women in New York in 1990 was \$19,000 and \$16,400 in Los Angeles; employed, native-born white women earned about \$31,000 in New York and \$26,000 in Los Angeles.⁷³

While the average income of former Israelis suggests a generally successful merger into the American middle class, it should be noted that the economic circumstances of this population cover a wide range, from poverty to significant wealth. In 1990, according to the census, between 1 and 2 percent of Israelis in New York and Los Angeles were on welfare. Also, when length of residence is taken into account, incomes tend to rise. In Los Angeles, Israeli men who had been in the country for ten years averaged almost \$72,000 a year. (Figures are for persons aged 24 – 65.)

Residential Distribution in New York

Israelis tend to live in older, established Jewish neighborhoods. In the New York area, Israelis are concentrated in Brooklyn and Queens.⁷⁴

Different kinds of Israeli households live in different parts of New York. Israeli singles, even more than native-born Jewish singles, are attracted to Manhattan (50 percent versus 40 percent). Married couples in which one or both partners are Israeli gravitate toward Brooklyn (39 percent) and Queens (20 percent), as do married couples in which one or both partners is foreign-born (but not Israeli) (39 percent to Brooklyn, 18 percent to Queens). Jewish couples in which both partners are American-born, by contrast, are most likely to live in the suburbs (40 percent), particularly Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester counties.

Israelis in Brooklyn and Queens tend to have the lowest socioeconomic status, and in this regard they are like other Jews in these boroughs. Israeli

⁷³PUMS for New York City and Los Angeles County, 1990 Census.

⁷⁴The 1991 New York Jewish Population Study.

males in Brooklyn and Queens, like other foreign-born as well as native-born Jewish males, are the least likely to be employed in management, administrative, professional, or technical occupations, compared to Jews living in all areas of New York City. The more affluent areas of Manhattan and Riverdale (in the Bronx) are the most likely to have Jews in higher-status occupations. This is also true of the suburbs, though Israelis in affluent areas may be self-employed rather than professionals.

A similar pattern is observed for females. Employed Jewish females in Brooklyn and Queens are the least likely to work in high-status occupations, regardless of their place of birth. Israeli women in the suburbs, however, have a decidedly higher occupational profile than suburban Israeli men. This is probably due to the fact that Israeli women often find jobs as teachers or other kinds of Jewish communal professionals.

Another difference between suburban and urban Israelis in New York has to do with religious observance. Israeli families in Brooklyn and Queens are the most likely to have moved there to be near a Jewish day school or yeshivah or a synagogue that appeals to them. Israelis in Brooklyn and Queens are more likely than suburban Israelis to engage in Jewish rituals, including attending synagogue one or more times per week, using separate dishes for milk and meat, fasting on Yom Kippur, refraining from using money on Shabbat, and observing the Fast of Esther. Suburban Israelis, on the other hand, are more likely to have attended a Yom Ha'atzma'ut (Israel Independence Day) celebration.

Language

Israelis make exceptionally good progress at learning English. One analysis of 1990 census data for Los Angeles found that only 5 percent of Israelis do not feel confident in their English ability. In interviews with over 100 Los Angeles Israelis representing all walks of life, Steve Gold encountered only one — a recently arrived Persian-born Israeli who worked in the heavily Iranian garment district — who could not speak fluent English. About 80 percent of Israelis in Los Angeles report speaking Hebrew at home, a figure that reduces to 60 percent for the generation of Israelis who came to the United States as young children and spent many years here.⁷⁵

In general, Israelis speak Hebrew at home, but the percentage who report speaking Hebrew at home declines with length of time in the United States. Israelis in New York are far more likely than Israelis in Los Angeles to report Yiddish as one of the languages spoken at home. (See table 8.)

⁷⁵Bozorgmehr et al., "Middle Easterners," pp. 31 – 32.

TABLE 8. LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME, ISRAELIS IN LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK (PERCENTAGES)

Language	Los Angeles	New York
Hebrew	75.0	67.0
English	11.0	15.0
Yiddish	0.7	13.0
Armenian	4.3	—
Arabic	2.3	—
Persian	1.2	—
French	1.1	1.3
Spanish	—	1.2

Sources: 1990 Census, PUMS.

PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION

Social Adaptation

Much of the literature on Israeli immigrants cited in this study asserts that, despite their economic well-being, many members of the group accept the negative *yored* stereotype, suffering from feelings of shame, guilt, and alienation, making frequent mention of their plans to return home, and refusing to call themselves Americans. The ambivalence experienced by many Israelis is reflected in interview comments such as these by a man living in a mostly Israeli apartment complex in the San Fernando Valley:

An Israeli is torn apart the minute he is leaving Israel [to come to the U.S. for an extended period]. It's not like people from other countries who come here and settle down, hoping for better life. An Israeli is torn apart the minute he leaves Israel and that's when he begins to wonder where is it better — here or there.

We Israelis come here and organize our lives as if we are going to stay for a short period and our life here is a make-believe. The reality is that we live here and at the same time we don't live here. That leaves the question for which I don't have an answer — what will happen and where are we?

According to one view, the kind of ambivalence just expressed blocks the formation of a viable Israeli ethnic community, making Israelis in this regard “out of tune with the mainstream of ethnic behavior in America.” They remain marginal both to Israel and the American Jewish community because of their “problem concerning the legitimacy of their emigration, their self-definition and self-esteem.”⁷⁶

⁷⁶Moshe Shokeid, “One Night Stand Ethnicity: The Malaise of Israeli-Americans,” *Israel Social Science Journal* 8, no. 2, 1993, pp. 23–50; idem, *Children of Circumstances*.

Without denying that many Israelis feel ambivalent about being in the United States, our research suggests that feelings of nostalgia and homesickness can function as an incentive for co-ethnic cooperation rather than only as a source of shame that discourages the maintenance of ethnic ties.

In New York, Los Angeles, and other locales the desire of Israelis to interact with each other and to maintain their ties to Israel is expressed in various ways: Israelis socialize with each other, live near co-nationals, consume Hebrew-language media (originating in both the United States and Israel), patronize Israeli restaurants and nightclubs, attend formal social events and celebrations, observe Israel Independence Day together; they work in jobs with other Israelis, consume goods and services provided by Israeli professionals and entrepreneurs, keep funds in Israeli banks, send children to Israeli-oriented religious, language, recreational, and cultural/national activities; they raise money for Israeli causes (e.g., the Macabees/L.A. Kings fund-raising basketball game), call Israel on the phone, host Israeli visitors, and make frequent trips to Israel.

They patronize Israeli-style day-care centers. In Los Angeles there are two types — one run as a social service by formally organized groups, such as the Gan-Chabad Israeli Center; the other, home-based day-care businesses organized by Israeli women. The 1992 – 1993 Los Angeles Israeli Yellow Pages lists ten such centers, among them Ariella's Day Care, Dorit's Day Care, Hila Day Care, and Kids' Gym.

And they belong to a variety of associations. In addition to synagogues, these include clubs of various sorts and Hebrew-speaking chapters of American or international organizations such as ORT, B'nai B'rith, and WIZO (the latter reportedly brought to Los Angeles by Israelis).⁷⁷ The 1993 – 1994 Jewish Yellow Pages of Los Angeles devotes six pages to 30 such organizations. While some of these groups, such as ADL or the Simon Wiesenthal Center, are clearly not limited to the immigrant community, a number are exclusively oriented toward immigrants.

Among these are the Israeli Flying Clubs (there are two), the Israeli Musicians' Organization, the Israeli Organization in Los Angeles (ILA), the Israeli-Yemenite *minyan* at Temple B'nai David Judea, the Summit political club, YELI (an organization of Israeli mental health professionals who assist co-nationals), several sports organizations, and Israeli folk-dance groups. These, as well as various informal networks of business people, were created by immigrants themselves. Youth activities like Hetz Vakeshet (summer in Israel program) and Tzofim (Israeli scouts) are sponsored by the Israeli government. Still other activities — the Jewish Community Center's Israeli program, the AMI (Israeli Hebrew) school, the B'nai B'rith Shalom Lodge, the Jewish Federation's Israeli Division, the Chabad Israeli

⁷⁷Shachal-Staier, "Israelis in Los Angeles: Interrelations and Relations"; Gold, "Israelis In Los Angeles."

Program, and WIZO Shaked — are linked with American or international Jewish organizations. Regardless of their affiliations, these groups reflect Israelis' desire to interact with each other and enjoy being in a setting where they can exchange information, share social and economic support, and develop common perspectives on life in the United States.

A case can be made that the sizeable Israeli population in Los Angeles, along with the many institutions that serve it, constitutes what Canadian sociologist Raymond Breton calls an "institutionally complete" community.⁷⁸ Within this collectivity, an Israeli immigrant or visitor can satisfy nearly all of his/her needs in Hebrew.

While Los Angeles may well have the most organizationally active Israeli community in the United States, other communities reveal a similar if less intensive communal pattern.⁷⁹ Chicago, Miami, San Francisco, and New York all have Tzofim and Tzabar programs (the latter involves "education in Jewish tradition without an emphasis on religion") and a variety of Israeli associations and clubs. With the exception of Miami, each city also has an Israeli-oriented Hebrew school program. Further, these cities, along with Detroit, have all made efforts to include Israelis within the local Jewish Federation and other communal activities.⁸⁰

Israelis clearly possess a desire to associate with and help one another. They become each other's families — celebrating holidays together, for example — and helping each other get established. But the examples cited above demonstrate a stronger communal orientation than was believed to exist, contrasting with the image of the conflicted *yored* who is too ashamed to make contact with his or her co-nationals.

SUBGROUP RELATIONS

While Israelis in the United States cooperate among themselves and with other Jewish groups, various subgroups of the Israeli immigrant population (based upon common background, outlook, and the like) have developed more extensive forms of cooperation than exist in the Israeli community as a whole.⁸¹ For example, in Los Angeles, groups based on ethnicity — such as Persians and Yemenis — organize many of their own social events and religious activities and occupy economic niches that they share with others of a common background. This is how one Israeli of Persian (Iranian) origin

⁷⁸Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 84, 1964, pp. 293 – 318.

⁷⁹Mittelberg and Waters, "The Process of Ethnogenesis Among Haitian and Israeli Immigrants."

⁸⁰Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*, p. 14.

⁸¹Uriely, "Rhetorical Ethnicity of Permanent Sojourners"; Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances*; Gold, "Patterns of Economic Cooperation."

describes the high level of economic cooperation that exists among members of his group:

For us it is very easy to find out a job only on the downtown. Before I went downtown, I tried to look at the ads in the American newspapers, like the *Times*. My son was looking with me. But I couldn't get into the business. But the minute I went to downtown L.A., there are a lot of Israelis and Persian guys, we contract between each other and start business.

While Yemeni- or Persian-origin Israelis tend to know their co-ethnics, their social networks and community knowledge do not extend to prominent Ashkenazi Israelis. Another strong network is made up of former kibbutz members who cooperate in economic and social activities.⁸² For example, Avi, a former kibbutz member who now runs a large construction company, describes his motives for hiring other Israelis:

I think that it hurts me and it takes away from my power to see another Israeli without work and without any way to make his living and that's why we are helping them. My company now has at least 35 to 40 "children" and "grandchildren" in various aspects of the business. I had many foremen who decided to go on their own and they even got a job from me as a subcontractor.

Long-established Israelis have their own social circle, which revolves around a Hebrew-speaking lodge of B'nai B'rith; and the more recently arrived are involved with WIZO and a federation-affiliated business association.⁸³

Finally, the boundaries between subgroups also reflect some of the ethnic prejudices carried over from life in Israel. For example, a Hungarian-born graduate student confides that he did not want to attend a Yom Ha'atzma'ut (Israel Independence Day) celebration because "too many Chach Chachim" (a Hebrew slang term for a flashy, working-class person, often of Oriental ethnicity) would be there. While he explains that "there are white Chach Chachim," most are Oriental or Sephardic. For their part, Moroccan, Yemeni, and Persian-origin Israelis in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, who made a relatively easy transition to Orthodox and Hasidic synagogue life in the United States, often criticize the antireligious outlook of secular Ashkenazi Israelis.⁸⁴ A Chicago study found that Sephardic Israelis had higher rates of synagogue membership, attendance at High Holy Day services, and keeping a kosher home than did Ashkenazim.⁸⁵

⁸²Gold, "Patterns of Economic Cooperation"; Naama Sabar, "The Wayward Children of the Kibbutz — A Sad Awakening," *Proceedings of Qualitative Research in Education* (College of Education, U. of Georgia, 1989); Ben-Ami, "Schlepers and Car Washers."

⁸³Steven Gold, "Israeli Immigrants in the U.S.: The Question of Community," *Qualitative Sociology* 17, no. 4, 1994, pp. 325–63.

⁸⁴Uriely, "Patterns of Identification"; Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances*; Gold, "Israelis in Los Angeles."

⁸⁵Uriely, "Patterns of Identification," p. 37.

Similarly, Middle Eastern-origin Israelis are active participants in Chabad activities in New York.⁸⁶ In fact, judging by the number of photographs of the late Lubavitcher Rebbe displayed in Israeli businesses and other immigrant settings, Chabad has made strong connections with Israelis in Los Angeles as well.

Gender and Family Adaptation

In nearly every study of Israelis in the United States, including our own field interviews, one finds that while migration was a "family decision," and the family as a whole enjoys economic benefits as a result of migration, the decision to migrate was made by the men seeking the expanded educational and occupational opportunities available in the United States.⁸⁷ In the words of Rachel:

For most of the people that came here, the men came and the women came after them. Like when I came, my husband came for a job. I had to leave my job and I had to find a new job and it was very painful. I think more and more now there are women coming on their own, but if you look at most cases, it is the men coming after jobs and it means that the women are the ones that have to take care of finding apartment, finding schools for kids and they get depressed, very badly depressed.

A study of Israeli immigrant women in suburban New York found that all 22 of "the women who left Israel with their Israeli spouses, except one, put the onus of the decision on 'his' education, 'his' career or business plans. As a group of immigrant women they can in fact be seen as adjuncts to their spouses' immigration."⁸⁸

Once in this country, men often enjoy the benefits of their expanded opportunities and accordingly feel more comfortable with the new environment. One study of former kibbutzniks found that women, especially those with children and established careers, have more negative views of the new society, are less satisfied with America, and retain a stronger sense of Israeli and Jewish identity than men, who increasingly see themselves as American. Even when these Israeli women work in the United States, they have less of a professional identity than men and would prefer to return home.⁸⁹

These findings appear to apply to a large segment of the Israeli population. Once in the United States, through their immersion in education and work, men develop a social network and a positive sense of self. Women,

⁸⁶Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances*.

⁸⁷Kimhi, "Perceived Change of Self-Concept"; Lipner, "The Subjective Experience"; Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants"; Rosenthal and Auerbach, "Cultural and Social Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants."

⁸⁸Lipner, "The Subjective Experience of Israeli Immigrant Women," p. 142.

⁸⁹Kimhi, "Perceived Change of Self-Concept," p. 95.

however, because they are responsible for child rearing and many of the family's domestic and social activities, are the family members who most directly confront alien American social norms and cultural practices — but without the knowledge or the family, friendship, and neighborhood resources to which they had access at home. Thus, Israeli immigrant women find their domestic and communal tasks — such as building social networks, finding appropriate schools and recreational activities, dealing with teachers and doctors, obtaining day care, and the like — to be quite difficult.

According to one researcher, an Israeli woman's family status and prior work involvement have much to do with her feelings about being in the United States. Younger women who had few social attachments prior to migration (i.e., no children or established careers) looked forward to migrating and enjoyed being in America. However, women who had children and who were forced to give up good positions in Israel to come to the United States had a much harder time, experiencing their exit as "devastating."⁹⁰

The presence of young or school-age children in Israeli immigrant families often heightens their ambivalence about being in the United States. The New York women in Lipner's study experience the environment in which their children are growing up as entirely antithetical to the Israeli one in which they were socialized. Essentially, they see the dominant values of the adult world, competition and individualism, replicated in the children's reality, and they are critical of it.⁹¹

In reflecting on their experience, many Israelis contrast this country's positive economic and occupational environment to its communal and cultural liabilities: immigrants almost universally regard Israel as a better place for children. It is safer, they maintain, has fewer social problems, and does not impose the generational conflicts Israelis confront when raising children in the United States. Further, in Israel, Jews are the culturally and religiously dominant group. The institutions of the larger society teach children Hebrew and Jewish history and help them to shape their basic national, ethnic, and religious identity. (More on this below.)

Role reversals sometimes occur between parents and children, with the younger generation gaining in power at the expense of the older. This is because children generally become Americanized and learn English much faster than their parents. One woman reported that her teen-age son would react to her advice by saying, "What do you know about it? You're from Israel."

Another source of conflict occurs when family members disagree over their country of residence. These problems are most dramatic when one

⁹⁰Lipner, "The Subjective Experience of Israeli Immigrant Women," pp. 144 – 145.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 232.

spouse is American-born or has many American relatives, while the other's family resides in Israel. Similarly, children who have spent much of their lives in the United States often prefer to remain, while their parents may wish to return to Israel. Conversely, parents may wish to remain in the United States for career opportunities, while children may wish to return to Israel. Such is the case for Dan, an active member of the San Fernando Valley Tzofim chapter:

On Yom Kippur, we went to the synagogue and it was so different because we prayed and then we went home and people were driving by on the street and people were eating in restaurants and it was very hard. It was very different. I felt that I am not in the right place; I shouldn't be here. I told my parents and they said "You are in the United States, you are not in Israel. You should expect that."

Israeli vs. American Jewish Identity

For many Israelis — particularly those with children — the issue of their basic identity as Israelis and as Jews is a highly charged one. The identity of many Israelis is ethnic, secular, and nationalistic. While they appreciate Jewish holidays and speak Hebrew, they connect these behaviors to "Israeliness" rather than Jewishness. They are not accustomed to participating in organized religious activities and depend on the larger society and public institutions to socialize their children. But the very fact of living in a non-Jewish society presents new challenges, as the following anecdote illustrates. It was told to research assistant Debra Hansen by Gili, who was stationed in Los Angeles by an Israeli company.

Gili's oldest daughter, who attended a Jewish day school, was asked by her teacher if she would marry a non-Jew. She replied "yes," because her parents had taught her not to judge people by their background but only by their character. When informed of this reply by their child's teacher, Gili and his wife were shocked. They had imparted their principle in the context of Israel, so that she would not judge people according to their Ashkenazi or Oriental/Sephardic origins, but they never intended her to apply it in a non-Jewish environment.

While Israeli parents may seek to impart a Jewish/Israeli identity to children whom they see assimilating quickly to the non-Jewish folkways of American life, they find no easy way to do so. The "synagogue-based, ethno-religious identity of Diaspora U.S. Jews"⁹² is foreign to them (particularly those identified with the Ashkenazi elite), and they are unfamiliar with the uniquely American forms of Judaism, specifically, the Reform and

⁹²Mittelberg and Waters, "The Process of Ethnogenesis Among Haitian and Israeli Immigrants," p. 416.

Conservative movements, with which the great majority of American Jews affiliate, because those movements have only a small presence in Israel.⁹³

The dilemma of many Israeli parents is described by Batia, a psychologist and mother of two teenagers:

Israelis are born secular citizens. Most of us are raised secular, non-religious. And that's the point. Because if we're not religious, we are not identifying ourselves with the Jewish community here. Therefore, we are not Jews, we're Israelis.

So, Israelis send their kids to public school and they have this little American running around at home that is not Jewish. And remember, the Israelis also are not Jewish, so where do we meet in the family? On what value system do we meet? There is no value system that Israelis can give to their children as Americans because they don't know it. The children bring home the American culture, their parents don't know it. None of them meet on the Jewish arena, which is the healthiest, because it gives you a value system and lifestyle and it does not exist in Israeli family and that's why the breakdown occurs.

Many Israeli parents feel forced to choose between having their children socialized in either (or perhaps both) of two unfamiliar cultural traditions — those of non-Jewish Americans and those of Diaspora Jews. Those Israeli parents who try to remedy the situation by enrolling children in parochial day schools and other American Jewish institutions are confronted with a foreign culture and identity, one that is religious rather than nationalistic. Some are troubled by what they describe as the excessive religiosity of day schools. They object to the children's school-inculcated demands for a kosher kitchen, family synagogue attendance, and strict Sabbath adherence. Committed to secularism, such parents comment on their own dislike of the growing power of religious parties in Israel and do not want to raise their children to become supporters of Orthodoxy. But they are torn between their rejection of too much religion in Israel and the threat posed in America by too little.

Thus, despite complaints about excessive religiosity, and about the high cost of Jewish day schools and synagogue membership, some secular Israelis decide that the only reasonable means of resolving the gap in generation and culture is to raise their children as religious American Jews. As a result, some Israelis who present themselves as having been radically secular prior to migration claim that they are more religiously observant in the United States than they ever had been in Israel.

It is important to point out that the desire of Israeli parents to expose their children to Israeli or Jewish culture is only partly because they value these traditions. Many also want their offspring to understand "where they are coming from," so that there can be some shared experience that permits Americanized children to relate to their parents and relatives. Added to

⁹³Ritterband, "Israelis in New York."

this, parents' fears about public schools and the perceived negative elements of American youth culture (drugs, individualism, excessive sexuality, low achievement motivation) also make Jewish schools look like desirable alternatives.

The solution for many Israeli immigrant families who wish to escape the polarities of assimilation and Orthodoxy,⁹⁴ but want to give their children some form of Jewish and/or Israeli training, is to establish connections with Israeli and/or Jewish life through special family activities of their own creation or involvement in specially designed Israeli-American programs.

Many Israeli youngsters attend after-school Hebrew programs and various Israeli clubs that seek to provide Israeli-American children with some notion of an Israeli identity. Starting in 1983, New York's Board of Jewish Education, with UJA-Federation funding, developed "a secular experimental educational program" that eventually resulted in a number of after-school programs throughout the city as well as an array of cultural activities for all ages: folk-dance groups, parent workshops, summer camps, even bar/bat mitzvah training. Chana Silberstein, director of the program, estimates that some 2,500 Israeli families have been involved in Jewish educational programs. She stresses the need of Israelis living outside of Israel "to redefine their Jewish identity, making the necessary transition from being part of a Jewish majority to part of a Jewish minority."⁹⁵

An Israeli staff member in a Los Angeles Hebrew school program explained her goals this way:

When I put the program together, I was trying to think what does an Israeli . . . a child that was born to an Israeli family that lives in the United States . . . when he graduates this school, what does he need in order to feel comfortable in his community? So, one of them, of course, is Hebrew . . . to feel comfortable at home. They must know about the culture in which . . . we grew. Like the poems and the riddles and the rhymes and the stories that these parents recite at home.

They should be able go to a synagogue and feel comfortable with the Jewish community so we have lessons for the Holy Days and Shabbat. Of course, they have to know about the geography of Israel to know what's going on political wise. They have to know the history and they should know about the different Jewish heroes from the Biblical time to modern history. Who was Trompeldor, Hanna Senesh, all the way . . . back to Rabbi Akiva and Rabbi Hillel. And we celebrate the Holy Days the way we would in Israel.

Tzabar, the American branch of Tzofim (Israeli Scouts) has groups for youngsters aged 10 – 19 in eight states and a membership of some 1,500. Each summer, 200 Israeli-American youth spend a summer in Israel as part

⁹⁴While they exist between the polarities of assimilation and Orthodoxy, "middle ground" approaches to Judaism such as Reform and Conservative are very American and, accordingly, may have little more appeal to recently arrived Israelis than the extremes.

⁹⁵Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*, pp. 18 – 19.

of Hetz Vakeshet, a program that combines “elements of summer camp, Outward Bound, and army training all in one.”⁹⁶

Jewish Involvement

Although the issue of identity is clearly central for many Israelis, it remains to be seen how and to what extent they will become involved in the American Jewish community. One school of thought suggests a growing trend toward assimilation to non-Jewish cultural patterns. Largely secular and unaccustomed to American Jewish life, Israeli émigrés’ very departure from the Holy Land signifies a move away from the Jewish ideal. Even their participation in ethnic activities is limited and oriented toward secular pursuits with little religious content — meals, parties, dancing, and sports. Moreover, their poor relations with, and social and cultural distance from, American Jews suggests little potential for integration into the larger community.⁹⁷

Another school of thought sees Israelis increasingly participating in American Jewish life and becoming involved in a variety of Jewish institutions. While survey data on the Jewish involvement and behavior of Israelis are limited and overrepresent the well-established, existing studies indicate that Israeli émigrés engage in many Jewish behaviors at higher rates than those of American-born Jews.

When comparing Israeli immigrants’ observance of Jewish customs — lighting candles on Shabbat and Hanukkah, attending synagogue on the High Holy Days and Shabbat, and fasting on Yom Kippur — with their patterns of practice in Israel, several studies of naturalized Israelis in New York and Los Angeles found that these practices increased in this country. A study of Israelis in Los Angeles that did not draw from a sample of those with U.S. citizenship noted a slight reduction in these religious practices. Overall, based on the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), it appears that Israelis are more likely than American Jews to observe the above-mentioned Jewish practices, both in Israel and in the United States. (See table 9.)

In Los Angeles, 80 percent of Israeli parents provide their children with some form of Jewish education; 50 percent of Israeli youth in Los Angeles attend day schools.⁹⁸ In one New York study, over 30 percent of Israeli children in Brooklyn and Queens attend day schools. This latter rate is quite high, considering that Israeli residents of Brooklyn and Queens are among

⁹⁶Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*, p. 10.

⁹⁷Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances*.

⁹⁸Ibid.

TABLE 9. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OF ISRAELIS PRIOR TO LEAVING ISRAEL AND IN U.S. AND COMPARISON WITH AMERICAN JEWS, BASED ON VARIOUS STUDIES (PERCENTAGES)

Observance*	In Israel			In U.S.		
	LA- Herman	NY- Rosenthal	LA- Shachal-S.	LA- Herman	NY- Rosenthal	LA- Shachal-S.
						American Jews NJPS
Light Shabbat candles	73	68	67	85	87	61
Light Hanukkah candles	95	85	—	100	91	—
Attend synagogue on High Holy Days	81	78	69	83	87	58
Attend synagogue on Shabbat	44	53	55	45	70	55
Fast on Yom Kippur	71	66	78	84	79	73

*Always, usually, or sometimes

Sources:

Herman: Data collected from 40 randomly selected Israelis naturalized between 1976 and 1982 in Los Angeles County. (Herman and LaFontaine; see text note 13.)

Rosenthal: Data collected from 205 Israelis in Brooklyn and Queens, 1984 – 86, consisting of sub-samples of 155 randomly selected naturalized Israelis and 50 snowball-sampled non-naturalized Israelis. From the 205 questionnaires, data on 870 individuals were collected. (Rosenthal; see text note 13.)

Shachal-S.: Data collected from 100 Israeli immigrants in Los Angeles in 1991 – 92. (Shachal-Staier; see text note 16.)

NJPS: CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey.

the least affluent Jewish New Yorkers, and that many come from secular backgrounds.⁹⁹

Communal Response

Until the 1980s, much of the organized American Jewish community and the Israeli government either ignored or actively condemned the Israeli population in the United States. One top Israeli government official referred to the émigrés as *zevel* (garbage) and urged consulates worldwide to have "little if anything to do with them." In order to discourage further emigration and to foster re-immigration, from the early 1970s until the mid-1980s, the Israeli consulate in New York "repeatedly urged the federation to provide no special services to Israelis."¹⁰⁰

In the late 1980s, however, this relationship began to change. Subtly and without grandstanding, the Israeli government encouraged its consular officials to initiate the development of relations between Israeli immigrants and American Jewish institutions. Yossi Kucik of the Jewish Agency reported that he attended a 1985 meeting wherein "it was agreed that the State could no longer afford to ignore these citizens abroad." A consular official asserted, "It is preferable to see these Israelis participating in American Jewish life rather than for them to be isolated Jewishly." Early in 1990, Los Angeles consul-general Ron Ronen approached the Jewish Federation (which had been offering some outreach activities since 1984) to develop a new and more inclusive policy toward Israeli émigrés.¹⁰¹

In 1992 the Israeli government announced that "because of the importance it attaches to the re-emigration of Israelis to Israel," it was taking responsibility for "re-*aliyah*" from the Jewish Agency and establishing an Office for Returning Israelis in the Ministry of Absorption. It offered émigrés a package of benefits including cash assistance, low-cost air fair, suspension of import duties, education, assistance in finding jobs and housing, financial aid for schooling, and reduction in military duty for Israelis and their families who return.¹⁰²

Following Israel's lead, American Jewry took steps to acknowledge both the existence of an Israeli immigrant community and the importance of

⁹⁹Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants." On the other hand, given the poor reputation of urban public schools and the many Jewish day schools located in these neighborhoods, Israelis living in Brooklyn and Queens may have both the motive and the opportunity to provide their children with a religious education.

¹⁰⁰Steven M. Cohen, "Israeli Émigrés and the New York Federation: A Case Study in Ambivalent Policymaking for 'Jewish Communal Deviants,'" *Contemporary Jewry* 7, 1986, p. 159.

¹⁰¹Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*, p. 3.

¹⁰²"Going Home."

outreach. Since that time, major American Jewish communities — New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, and the San Francisco Bay Area — have supported a series of programs to aid and incorporate Israelis. These include social activities, secular Israeli-style education, and Israeli divisions of federations.¹⁰³ However, because of the ongoing controversy surrounding the presence of Israelis in the United States, these services are sometimes provided with little official acknowledgment, even though federation dollars support them.¹⁰⁴

RELATIONS WITH AMERICAN JEWS

Significant differences between Jewish Israelis and Jewish Americans are normally obscured because of the limited and selective nature of contact between these two groups. Despite their common religion and often shared ancestral origins in Eastern Europe, Israelis and American Jews speak different languages, maintain different cultural norms and practices, eat different kinds of food, have contrasting political outlooks, and like different kinds of sports, music, and entertainment. Further, although both support Israel, they have differing national allegiances. Finally, the two groups often express their common religious identification in disparate ways.¹⁰⁵

Existing literature and our own research indicate that as individuals, Israelis and American Jews often get along well in social, workplace, and organizational settings, but on the group level some friction exists. For example, Israelis and American Jews create good friendships and happy marriages, hire each other, and work together. Major Jewish organizations have Israeli employees and members, and Israeli students attend institutions of Jewish learning.

American Jews admire Israelis' chutzpah, idealism, and military prowess. However, they often consider them to be boorish, arrogant, and overly aggressive. In Rosenthal's study of naturalized Israelis in Brooklyn and Queens, 47 percent had been invited to American Jews' homes fewer than three times, and, while 18 percent of Israeli-Americans reported their two closest friends to be American Jews, 78 percent said their best friends were fellow Israelis. Given that these Israelis had become U.S. citizens, and therefore had lived in the United States at least three to five years and knew English, this would appear to be a low rate of interaction.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances*; Gold, "Israelis In Los Angeles"; Urieli, "Rhetorical Ethnicity."

¹⁰⁴Rosen, *The Israeli Corner*.

¹⁰⁵Avi Kay, *Making Themselves Heard: The Impact of North American Olim on Israeli Protest Politics* (American Jewish Committee, New York, 1995).

¹⁰⁶Rosenthal, "Assimilation of Israeli Immigrants," pp. 113 – 14.

Just as American Jews have mixed feelings about Israelis, Israelis are ambivalent about their American cousins, whom they sometimes portray as affluent but soft Diaspora Jews who exist as a minority in a bland and potentially hostile Christian country.¹⁰⁷ In Israeli eyes, "Diaspora Jews are plagued by a 'galut' (exilic) mentality that precludes them from freely expressing themselves as proud, self-confident and self-respecting Jews."¹⁰⁸

An Israeli perspective on American life is summarized in the following quote from Yoram, an engineer employed in Detroit's auto industry. Yoram and his family speak fluent English, have an impressive suburban home, belong to a temple, and are active in the federation. Further, his children are popular campus leaders in the high school and university they attend. Nevertheless, Yoram expresses distance from his adopted country.

I would say that I feel more like an outsider. I've never been discriminated against, at least that I have felt it. I was sometimes treated like an oddity, you know, "You come from the Middle East where they are still riding camels." But basically, we lack the understanding and the feeling of being an American. An apple pie is just a cake; Halloween is an American version of Purim and Thanksgiving is a little bit like Succot. Thank God there is Hanukkah.

I don't have a problem with feeling like a minority because I have my roots. I think American Jews have it in a much more difficult way. They might feel as a minority — to cry for more opportunities or to say that they have been discriminated against. But I always have the option. I mean, I can always get up and go and whenever I go, I go home.

And I'm not the only one. I think what you'll find very interesting is that Israelis, the majority of them always maintain their house in Israel. They never sell their house in Israel.

American Jews' view of Israeli immigrants is often conflicted. On the one hand, at least until recently, many American Jews felt that Israelis should return home to support the cause of Zionism.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, when confronted with Israelis' ambivalence about being in the United States — expressed in refusal to call themselves Americans, praise their new country, accept American social codes, and participate in American-style Jewish communal life — American Jews resent the newcomers' lack of patriotism and reluctance to assimilate. One federation leader in a Midwestern city complained:

¹⁰⁷Lipner, "The Subjective Experience of Israeli Immigrant Women"; Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land*.

¹⁰⁸Steven M. Cohen, "Israel in the Jewish Identity of American Jews: A Study in Dualities and Contrasts," in *Jewish Identity in America*, ed. David M. Gordis and Yoav Ben-Horin (Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies, Los Angeles), p. 122.

¹⁰⁹Cohen, "Israeli Émigrés and the New York Federation"; Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land*.

We have several thousand Israelis and there's minimal involvement. It's very, very frustrating. They get involved in those things that the community does for them that are Israel focused — like Israel Independence Day or if we bring an Israeli singer. But we've really outreached and we haven't been very successful.

Israelis are often sensitive to the negative views held by the American Jewish community. Some feel rejected, even bitter, complaining that they are viewed as stereotypes, not as individuals. On the level of personal interaction, some Israelis describe being initially impressed by American Jews' politeness. However, they also feel that Americans are fundamentally less friendly and sincere than Israelis.¹¹⁰ Israelis see themselves as being open to spontaneous sociability. To them, Americans appear distant and reserved, people who socialize only formally and infrequently. However, as Israelis live in the United States longer, they often find themselves taking on similar social patterns, at least partly because of demanding work schedules. Nevertheless, the open sociability of Israelis seems to be a deeply rooted norm.

Interestingly, Israelis see both Americans and themselves as materialistic, but in different ways. Young Israelis may view affluent American Jews as snobbish and more concerned with possessions than with human relationships. This is the opinion of a second-generation Israeli-American in Chicago:

There is something that I don't like in American Jews. They are so . . . "JAP" [Jewish American Princess]. They have money and that is very important for them. They are spoiled kids who think about themselves most of the time.¹¹¹

Poorer American Jews, while considered by Israelis as more "down to earth," are seen as being "not very Jewish," perhaps because their lack of income deprived them of a Jewish education. At the same time, Israelis see their own peers as *nouveaux riches* — constantly trying to impress each other with shows of extravagant consumerism. Taking a psychoanalytic tack, some respondents in our studies attribute this behavior to Israelis' need to compensate for the status loss and insecurity associated with life in the "Golah" (outside of Israel).

As these examples suggest, Israelis feel significant social distance from American Jews in language, values, sociability, and life-shaping experiences. One of the most revealing differences between Americans and Israelis involves the observance of Yom Hazikaron, the Israeli Memorial Day, which occurs the day before Israel Independence Day. Although religiously identified American Jews typically know all about Jewish holidays and have visited Israel, they have little awareness of or feeling about Yom Hazikaron,

¹¹⁰Lipner, "The Subjective Experience of Israeli Immigrant Women."

¹¹¹Uriely, "Patterns of Identification," p. 41.

which to Israelis is one of the most solemn and moving occasions of the year, when they remember the Israelis whose lives were sacrificed in combat — many of them friends and relatives — during their nation's short history. Accordingly, it is at the time of Yom Hazikaron that many Israelis feel most distanced from American Jews and closest to each other.

Recognizing these differences with American Jews, nearly all Israelis hope nevertheless for improved relations. In the words of David, an Israeli community activist:

The Israelis here have to come into the Jewish community. I don't like the fact that some of them want to be independent. I'm not against them organizing, but we should become a part of the mainstream of Jewish-American life because we are not separate.

Take for example my own family. I don't see that somebody's grandmother left the same village in Poland that my grandmother lived in 80 years ago and came to New York, and my relatives came to Israel, that I'm that different from that person. So, since we are the same people, we should not have a separate Israeli Federation. For two reasons. The main reason to me is that most Israelis will not admit that most of them will stay here forever. Most of them will end up living here, and 90 percent of their children will end up living here.

I mean, all Israelis somewhere harbor the hope that they will go back to Israel. But the truth is that all of them are here temporarily, and then they die. And that's the reality. I've been here 18 years, I would like to go back, I don't know if I will. You have your businesses, people have families, you know, they cannot just pick up and leave. And they have gotten used to the way of life here and that's their reality.

So these two communities need each other. And I'm not saying the Israelis should assimilate into the Jewish community and become Americans because they won't. Their children probably will, but they won't. And they can keep their uniqueness, but in total cooperation. I think that instead of having their divisive or divided Jewish community, we need to have one strong united community, because here, you're bringing new Israeli, precious Israeli blood into the Jewish Federation. The Federation will get stronger and I'm going to tell you that some of the nicest people I know work in the Federation and it will do a hell of a lot of good for Israelis to meet these people and become one community. Not show the resentment of Americans to Israelis and Israelis see themselves as outsiders. I mean it will take time. This is not a process that will happen overnight, but it will happen.

Reconsidering Israeli Immigrants' "Unique Status"

While various studies have made much of Israelis' mixed feelings about being in the United States, even a cursory review of the literature demonstrates that the ambivalence of immigrants is far from unusual. The "sojourner" (temporary) perspective of Israeli migrants resembles that of many American immigrants, ranging from 19th-century Italians and Chinese to

today's Caribbeans and Latin Americans.¹¹² Indeed, the image of the patriotic "new American," Stars and Stripes in hand, is far from the norm, even if it is a dominant cultural myth.

A perceptive scholar noted recently that the popular notion that immigrants came to the United States ready to assimilate "is a myth. The specter of 'Americanization' troubled more immigrants than historians have been willing to admit."¹¹³ Accordingly, if Israelis maintain a desire to return home, this outlook is neither unusual nor — judging from the experience of other migrant groups — does it preclude the possibility of their creating viable ethnic communities in the United States.

TRANSNATIONAL ISRAELIS

Transnationalism, a new approach in the field of migration studies, enables us to understand better international migrant communities, which, like Israeli-Americans, maintain social, cultural, and economic links to other countries on a more or less permanent basis.¹¹⁴ From the perspective of transnationalism, migration is a multilevel process rather than a discrete event consisting of a permanent move from one nation to another. This theory suggests that by retaining social, cultural, and economic links with multiple settings, people can avoid the impediments traditionally associated with long distances and international borders and remain intensely involved in the life of their country of origin, even though they no longer reside there.

A number of factors make the movement of Israelis from the Jewish state to the United States relatively easy and suggest that Israelis might be considered a transnational people. They are well educated, often possessing occupational and cultural skills that are useful in both countries. They generally have access to networks in both countries that can provide a broad variety of services ranging from pretravel information to job opportunities, child care, housing, and social life. While some Israelis in the United States lack legal-resident status, as a group they are likely to become naturalized and are among a select few allowed to have dual citizenship.¹¹⁵ Even prior to migration, Israelis are apt to be familiar with American society from their

¹¹²Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, and David M. Reimers, *Natives and Strangers: Blacks, Indians and Immigrants in America*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1990); Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Berkeley, 1990).

¹¹³Dinnerstein et al., p. 139.

¹¹⁴Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration," in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*, ed. Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (New York, 1992), pp. 1–24.

¹¹⁵Guillermína Jasso and Mark R. Rosenzweig, *The New Chosen People: Immigrants in the United States* (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1990).

exposure to popular culture, American visitors, and intergovernmental relations. As Sobel put it, "America, it might be posited, has become the alter ego of Israel in political, economic, and cultural terms."¹¹⁶

A large proportion of the Israeli population has resided in the Jewish state for fewer than two or at most three generations. Accordingly, their family lore and cultural background are rich in stories of life in other settings as well as techniques for coping with the challenges that displacement presents. Many émigrés we interviewed had lived in other countries — as wide-ranging as Japan and Hong Kong, Switzerland, England, Italy, South Africa, and Latin America — prior to their settlement in the United States. This group included not only professionals and high-level entrepreneurs but also less skilled and educated migrants such as carpenters and restaurant workers. Hence, many Israelis possess a cultural orientation and life experience compatible with an existence beyond the borders of the Jewish state.

Finally, while the literature asserts that transnational groups are often lacking a vocabulary to describe their experience — "Individuals, communities, or states rarely identify themselves as transnational" — Jews are in fact accustomed to seeing themselves in this way.¹¹⁷ "Extranational" identity is expressed when non-Israelis proclaim themselves to be Zionists, when Jews say "next year in Jerusalem" during the Passover Seder, when they refer to "world Jewry," or when Jewish families who had lived in Poland for generations refuse to identify themselves as Polish.

Further facilitating Israeli-American transnationalism are the good political relations and extensive links between the United States and Israel. The U.S. government and American Jewish agencies have developed an active presence in the Jewish state. American firms have branches there, and American companies sometimes hire professional and skilled workers directly from Israel. At the same time, Israeli government agencies, banks, and industrial enterprises have offices in New York, Los Angeles, and other American settings. These not only inject an Israeli flavor into the American environment but also provide employment for migrants.¹¹⁸ At the same time, we noted a variety of Israeli-oriented activities that allow migrants to maintain a semblance of Israeli life in the United States.

Travel between the two countries is easily arranged. Israeli immigrants often report making frequent trips from the United States to Israel, and it is not uncommon for children to return to Israel to spend summer vacations with relatives. A Los Angeles obstetrician describes the great value he places on his trips back to Israel:

¹¹⁶Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land*.

¹¹⁷Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism," p. 8.

¹¹⁸Sobel, *Migrants from the Promised Land*, p. 196.

I was talking to my accountant two days ago — he is also an Israeli — he says “What is going on?” And I said “What can I tell you, we are in a concentration camp.” Okay — this is the way you describe it, and it is so true. We are in a concentration camp and we get a relief once a year when we go to Israel for a vacation. This is the bottom line.

Sociologist Zvi Sobel, in his 1981 – 1982 pretravel survey of 117 Israeli emigrants (most of whom planned to enter the United States), found evidence of a transnational outlook. About half denied “that leaving Israel and moving to the U.S. was an act of emigration.” Instead, they defined the travel as “temporary” or “commuting.” Moreover, “almost all interviewees denied that their leaving meant a cessation of contributing to the development of Israel. . . . Almost all saw their departure as . . . to Israel’s good.”¹¹⁹

In all of the ways cited, the context, history, and culture of Israel have prepared its citizens for transnationalism. For some individuals, at least, the distinction between being an Israeli or being an American may not be nearly as clear-cut as the literature on international migration generally suggests. Instead, such factors as flexible notions of ethnic and national identity, access to and participation in social and occupational networks, and the ability of people to sustain cultural competence and legal status in more than a single society allow these individuals to maintain meaningful forms of involvement in multiple national settings at one time.

While transnationalism is a reality for many Israelis, this does not mean that it is an easy way of life. Even as these migrants build communities and networks that help them cope with the social and cultural dimensions of ties to two places, and enjoy the economic benefits of migration, most are not quite comfortable with this status. In the words of a Los Angeles accountant: “Israel is my mother and America is my wife, so you can imagine the way I must feel.”

CONCLUSION

The presence of Israeli immigrants in the United States provides the world Jewish community with unique challenges. While American Jews have achieved a long and enviable record in aiding their co-ethnics, Israelis have been largely excluded from this tradition. This is linked to American Jews’ support for Israel as the national home of the Jewish people — a country that fellow Jews should go to but never think of leaving. The émigrés themselves, who seldom conceive of themselves as permanent immigrants, have also discouraged being incorporated into the American Jewish community. During the late 1970s, hostile statements and inflated

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 209.

population estimates reflected the low esteem with which Israelis in the United States were regarded by both the Israeli authorities and the American Jewish establishment.

Differences in religious, national, and cultural identity, language, and other factors also separate American Jews and Israelis. However, following the recent change in Israeli government policy toward its expatriates, the American Jewish community has become more open to these migrants. As a result, several informal and formal programs to both support and include these migrants have been established.

This new perspective has also permitted the American Jewish community to notice that, in contrast to statements depicting Israeli émigrés as a marginal and alienated noncommunity, Israelis have already become involved in American Jewish life — living in Jewish neighborhoods, working in traditionally Jewish occupations, supporting communal institutions, and serving as teachers and communal functionaries.

An important contribution made by Israelis, along with other Jewish immigrants, is the role they play in retaining the Jewish character of older Jewish neighborhoods. Recent arrivals occupy real estate, patronize shops, purchase existing neighborhood businesses, and create new ones. They attend neighborhood synagogues and public and day schools and congregate in local parks. For example, in Los Angeles, directly across Robertson Boulevard from the Workmen's Circle building (Workmen's Circle is a fraternal secular/socialist organization created by European Jewish immigrants early in this century) is located the relatively new Orthodox Gan Chabad Israeli program, staffed by a Yemeni rabbi. In like manner, Hebrew and Farsi conversations echo Yiddish ones of decades past in the garment center and jewelry districts. One can see Israelis and other Jewish migrants talking over news of American Jewish life, just as East Europeans did early in this century. In this way, they are maintaining but also transforming the institutions of Jewish life, changing the nature of the American Jewish community.

Despite the sometimes stigmatized status of Israelis and their own reluctance to consider themselves immigrants, Israelis as a group have done relatively well in their social and economic adjustment to the United States. Their community has many accomplishments to show in entrepreneurship, the arts, the professions, and the academy. Further, they have created a number of community organizations, some of which benefit not only Israelis but the larger American Jewish community as well. For example, the Israeli film festivals in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, and elsewhere are important events for Israelis, American Jews, and film buffs of all stripes. This is but one example of Israelis providing a vital communal service to the entirety of a Jewish community. As Jewish fund-raisers discover that

Israelis are both affluent and strongly Jewish, the notion of an Israeli division of the local Jewish federation no longer appears to be an oxymoron, as it did only a decade ago.

Despite their presence in the United States, Israeli émigrés tend to maintain a strongly positive view of their country of origin. They keep abreast of Israeli issues, maintain contact with Israeli friends and relatives, and visit frequently. When they become U.S. citizens, eligible to vote in U.S. elections, their central political concern is supporting Israel.

Given the accomplishments of Israeli immigrants in the United States and the newly benign attitude with which they are regarded by both Israel and American Jewry, it is not unreasonable to predict a positive future for them, one yielding many benefits for the relations between Israel and American Jews — in contrast to the negative feelings surrounding their presence in the recent past.

Finally, as we evaluate the place of Israeli immigrants in American society, it might be worthwhile to look for parallels in the long history of Jewish migration to the United States. Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, the European Jewish elite — including both its rabbinical and intellectual wings — condemned America as a place unsuited for Jews. Their reason? American Jews were not concerned with religious traditions but only with personal gain. Writing from San Francisco for a journal published in Russia in the 1880s, Hebrew scholar Zvi Falk Widawer asserted, “Jews came here only to achieve the purpose which occupied their entire attention in the land of their birth. That purpose was money.” A few years later, a similar report appeared in an Orthodox journal from Galicia, railing that “[t]he younger generation has inherited nothing from their parents except what they need to make their way in this world; every spiritual teaching is foreign to them.”¹²⁰

As these quotations indicate, two of the major accusations leveled at Israeli emigrants in the 1970s and 1980s — that they were obsessed with material gain and that their children would lose their Jewish identity — were leveled at European Jews in the United States by the elites in their home countries a full century before. During the same period, voices were also raised in both Europe and the United States against Jewish migration to what would eventually become Israel. In the 1920s and '30s, Elazar Shapira, a European Hassidic leader, preached that both America's materialism and Jerusalem's secular Zionism were “gates to hell.”¹²¹

¹²⁰Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History* (New York, 1989), pp. 156 – 57.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, p. 158.

These historical observations highlight the fact that international migration has always presented a major challenge to the Jewish status quo, and that while it seldom occurs without acrimonious debate, it also opens new horizons of growth and potential.

Review
of
the
Year

UNITED STATES

United States

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1994 AND the first half of 1995 was a watershed for many of the core concerns of the American Jewish community. Not least of the portents of change was the upheaval in the U.S. Congress, with Republicans taking control of both houses for the first time in 40 years. Troubling rumblings continued during this period in the relationship between the black and Jewish communities, most especially—from the Jewish perspective—in the inadequate response of many black leaders to expressions of anti-Semitism by Nation of Islam spokesmen and others. Also on the agenda were church-state issues, relations with other religious and ethnic communities, and terrorist attacks in Israel, the United States, and abroad.

THE POLITICAL ARENA

Congressional Elections

Throughout 1994 there were indications that the political climate was unusually volatile. A growing number of incumbents, in what would turn out to be near-record proportions, declined to seek reelection. One of the most notable of these was Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D., Ohio), a longtime champion of many foreign and domestic issues important to the Jewish community.

As the 1994 elections approached, polling data suggested an increase in the general population's disaffection from the administration and the Congress. Many commentators suggested that one or both houses of Congress might be turned over to Republican control. In the end, the conjectures about possible changes in congressional leadership were vastly understated. On November 8, 1994—for the first time in 40 years—the electorate handed over control of both houses of Congress to the Republican Party. As the smoke cleared, and before taking into account the switch by several members in both houses from the Democratic to the Republican column (a phenomenon that began immediately after the election with Alabama senator Richard Shelby's change of party on November 9 and continued throughout 1995), Republicans had a majority of 230–204—with one independent—in the House of Representatives and 52–48 in the Senate.

The 104th Congress elected in 1994 included a total of nine Jewish senators and 23 representatives, as compared to ten senators and 31 representatives in the 103rd Congress. The four Jewish senators up for reelection—Dianne Feinstein (D., Calif.), Herbert Kohl (D., Wis.), Frank Lautenberg (D., N.J.), and Joseph Lieberman (D., Conn.)—all managed to survive sometimes tough races, with the reduction by one ascribable to Senator Metzenbaum's retirement. In the House, however, there were a significant number of losses: Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky (D., Pa.), who lost to Republican Jon Fox, the only new Jewish member in the 104th Congress, Eric Fingerhut (D., Ohio), Dan Hamburg (D., Calif.), Herb Klein (D., N.J.), Lynn Schenk (D., Calif.), Dan Glickman (D., Kan.), and David Levy (R., N.Y.), who lost to a challenger in the Republican primary and ran as a third-party candidate in the general election. Jewish returnees to the Congress whose races had been in doubt included Nita Lowey (D., N.Y.) and Martin Frost (D., Tex.). Two Jewish members—Jane Harman (D., Calif.) and Sam Gejdenson (D., Conn.)—prevailed with such slim margins that their victories were subjected to challenge after the election, but ultimately their claims to retain their seats were upheld or the challenges withdrawn.

The Republicans elected to the 104th Congress were, of course, not monolithic. Nevertheless, the broad policies and principles of that group, elaborated in the ten-point "Contract with America" on which many of them ran, made it immediately evident that there would be a struggle between the Clinton administration and the Congress as to the future of domestic and foreign policy. For the Jewish community, which by and large voted Democratic and was politically active as part of a liberal-leaning coalition of ethnic, religious, urban, liberal, and labor groups, the election raised questions about the future of its domestic and foreign agenda. Some, in particular Jewish Republicans, argued that the election results presented another, even more fundamental question—whether the time had come for the Jewish community to rethink some of the positions and alliances to which it had long been committed. They urged that more Jews begin to support the GOP or "be left outside."

THE NEW MAJORITY TAKES CONTROL

The Republican majority's ascension to power was marked in its first half-year by marathon sessions, particularly in the House of Representatives, as leaders of that body moved to make good on their pledge to hold floor votes within the 104th Congress's first 100 days on the items described in the "Contract with America." While many aspects of the contract were not high on the Jewish community's agenda, pro or con, there were several items, such as proposals for welfare reform, as to which that community had substantial concerns. In addition, it was expected that various other troubling issues not part of the contract would arise later in the session, among them school prayer, repeal of the assault weapons ban passed by the 103rd Congress, immigration reform, and foreign aid.

To be sure, there were several areas in which the Jewish community had reason to hope for support in the new Congress, such as aid for Israel, antiterrorism legislation, and the Workplace Religious Freedom Act. Further, that part of the Jewish community which supported vouchers for parochial and other private education had reason to expect support from the 104th Congress. Some argued that representative Jewish agencies had become too identified with a liberal agenda, and, in particular, that of the Democratic Party. At the February 1995 plenum of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC), an umbrella organization encompassing 117 local and 13 national agencies, a past chairman of one local council complained that "our organization is viewed as the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, and as such we are less and less relevant."

The Religious Right

The rising political strength of the religious right was tellingly demonstrated by the results of the 1994 election. Even before 1994 it was widely accepted that the role of the religious right in the Republican Party was a significant reason why American Jews, alone among non-Hispanic whites, continued to vote by such strong majorities for Democrats. Nothing about the campaigns of 1994 nor the clear role of the religious right in its result alleviated those concerns.

Thus, 1994 saw Christian "religious right" groups achieve substantial success within state Republican parties in procuring the nomination of candidates representing their viewpoints, most notably the nomination of Oliver North as the Republican candidate for senator from Virginia. The Republican National Committee estimated that persons affiliated with the religious right constituted as much as 25 percent of the party's active members, even though they were not even 12 percent of the total party membership.

Jewish concern over the increased influence of the religious right within the Republican Party was not simply a function of differences over particular political issues. Rather, there was a substantial fear that the religious right's apparent opposition to the principle of separation of church and state—articulated by some in the religious right as a belief that the United States is a "Christian nation"—constituted a threat to religious pluralism in America. Of course, these concerns were not solely those of the Jewish community. With the growing strength of the religious right, the opposition attempted to better mobilize at the grassroots level, including projects to identify candidates for school-board seats and other local bodies with ties to the religious right. Increasingly, these grassroots efforts were undertaken by local groups in coordination with national groups as part of a unified strategy.

Leaders of the Jewish community, both within and without the Republican Party, sought assurances during the summer of 1994 from Republican National Committee chairman Haley Barbour that the Republican leadership shared their concerns. Instead, Barbour denied that there was any danger of a "takeover" of the Republican Party. In another forum, he asserted that those raising alarms of an assault on

the Republican Party by the religious right were themselves engaged in a "Christian-bashing campaign," seeking to use the religious right as a wedge issue to drive voters away from the Republican Party.

This response was exemplified by the controversy that arose in the summer of 1994 after the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) published *The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America*. Conservative columnists and religious-right groups accused the ADL of anti-Christian bigotry and of working on behalf of the Democratic Party to undermine Republican candidates. For its part, the Christian Coalition—a political organization founded by Pat Robertson in 1989 that is closely identified with the religious right's agenda—steadfastly maintained that it was, in any event, not a partisan organization, and that its members would support candidates from either party so long as those candidates' views were consistent with the coalition's policy positions. In August the Christian Coalition circulated to its membership, members of Congress, and the media a 29-page document, "A Campaign of Falsehoods: The Anti-Defamation League's Defamation of Religious Conservatives," refuting the ADL report.

Questions as to the implications of religious-right activism for the Republican Party did not all come from outside the GOP. In a late October speech before the Anti-Defamation League, Sen. Arlen Specter (R., Pa.), who is Jewish, warned of far-right excesses as exemplified when delegates to the 1994 Texas Republican convention held up signs saying, "A vote for [a named candidate] is a vote for God." He also took on Christian Coalition president Pat Robertson when, in April 1995, he disputed as "flatly untrue" Robertson's claims that he had never called the United States a "Christian nation." Nevertheless, Specter indicated at various points his difference with many in the Jewish community in his estimate that what he termed the "far-right fringe" constituted no more than 5 percent of Republican voters. In addition, he criticized the ADL's 1994 report as "painted with too broad a brush in comments that could be construed as critical of religious citizens' participation in politics and public life." Senator Specter's differences with the religious right became a theme of the campaign for president that he launched in 1995.

Not all Jewish groups perceived the Jewish community's interests as antithetical to those of the religious right. Americans for a Safe Israel pointed to the religious right's support for Israel as a reason for American Jews to adopt a less confrontational attitude toward that political movement. On August 2, 1994, a group of 75 Jewish conservatives, many of whom were aligned with the Christian Coalition on such issues as efforts to limit the size of government and opposition to teaching about homosexuality in public schools, signed onto an advertisement in the *New York Times* that called the ADL publication "defamation" and "bigotry." The advertisement was taken out by Toward Tradition, a group founded by Rabbi David Lapin to provide a forum for Jewish conservatives. Rabbi Lapin regularly appeared at meetings of the Christian Coalition, and Ralph Reed, the Christian Coalition's executive director, appeared at the Toward Tradition conference held in Washington, D.C. in October 1994.

A separate but related issue was the accusation made by some Jewish leaders that the religious right was linked to anti-Semitic elements. Thus, the ADL report cited writings and statements of Pat Robertson in which he attacked Jews for persecuting Christians and warned that they were endangering Christian support for Israel. Another much-cited article by Robertson had him making a comparison between the "plight" of evangelical Christians in the United States and that of Jews under the Nazi regime. In a June 22, 1994 letter, Robertson asserted that what he described as "false charges of anti-Semitism" were "an obvious attempt to discredit the role of people of faith in the civic process." ADL national director Abraham Foxman responded in a letter of July 13 that his organization's focus was "on political positions and statements held by the Coalition and other religious right groups on certain issues—not with the role of religious people in the civic process."

An attempt to clear the air, or at least lower the level of rhetoric, took place in late November in the form of a Washington, D.C. "summit" between representatives from approximately 30 mainstream Jewish and religious right organizations. The conference was sponsored by the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews. At the end of the session, Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein, president of the fellowship, said, "We agreed to disagree without maligning or impugning the motives or character of others," and also agreed to work on "finding a middle ground between theocracy and a naked public square." Representatives of Jewish organizations came away from the session feeling, for the most part, that it provided an opportunity for each side to listen to the other but not to arrive at agreement on the policy issues that divided them. (See also below, "Evangelical Christians.")

In addition, during the first half of 1995, Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, spoke before large gatherings of the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee in an attempt to move the relationship of Jews and evangelical Christians "beyond the pain of the past and the uneasy tolerance of the present towards a genuine friendship in the future." Reed asserted that, while the coalition supported "voluntary, ecumenical and nondenominational" prayer at school functions, his organization did not favor prayer in classrooms because that is a "compulsory setting"; he also renounced the notion that the United States is a "Christian nation," stating that "the separation of church and state as an institution is inviolable." Still, leaders of the Jewish organizations continued to express skepticism.

The prominent role of the religious right in the Republican Party was once again underlined when, on May 17, 1995, the Christian Coalition unveiled its "Contract with the American Family" at a Capitol Hill press conference. Sen. Phil Gramm (R., Tex.) and Speaker Newt Gingrich (R., Ga.) were among the Republican leaders who appeared at that event to endorse the ten-point "contract." Modeled on the prior year's "Contract with America" and intended to press the Christian Coalition's social-issues agenda, the "Contract with the American Family" called for, among other things, a "religious equality" constitutional amendment, vouchers for private school education, a \$500 per child annual tax credit, dismantling of the U.S.

Department of Education, and anti-abortion measures.

Many Jewish organizations and a number of other religious and civil-liberties groups, together with Democrats and some Republicans (including Senator Specter), were quick to condemn many of the "contract's" provisions. The American Jewish Congress, at a press conference called by religious leaders opposing the initiative, termed the document a "Contract with Some of America's Families" that "runs roughshod over the diversity of American family and religious life." Orthodox Jewish groups, however, indicated that they would deal with the "contract" issue by issue, as they had in the past supported at least of some of its particulars. The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, for instance, supported vouchers even while it joined other Jewish organizations in opposing the constitutional amendment that the "contract" proposed.

The Clinton Administration

A sign of the friendly relationship between the Jewish community and the Clinton administration was the fact that President Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton attended Rosh Hashanah services at a Martha's Vineyard synagogue in September 1994. The president, believed to be the first chief executive ever to attend a High Holy Days service, wished congregants "Shana Tovah," sang along with several of the prayers—using a transliterated prayer book—and listened as the congregation's rabbi blew a long blast on a shofar. It's "sort of like a Jewish saxophone," Rabbi Joshua Plaut explained to the president.

In early December, President Clinton named Robert Rubin, one of his chief economic advisors and director of the National Economic Council, to replace Lloyd Bentsen as secretary of the treasury. This was followed later that month by the designation of Dan Glickman, who had been defeated in his bid for reelection to a Kansas congressional seat, to succeed Mike Espy as agriculture secretary. Taken together with sitting labor secretary Robert Reich, these appointments brought the number of Jewish members of the cabinet to three. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the number of Jewish members at this high level of the administration was the lack of note that anybody—in the Jewish community or in the community at large—seemed to take of it.

Also noteworthy was the Senate's confirmation in March 1995 of Martin Indyk, by voice vote and with no debate, as U.S. ambassador to Israel. The first Jew ever to serve in that position, the Australian-born Indyk was a former consultant for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and founding executive director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, a pro-Israel think tank.

(See also "Supreme Court Appointment," below.)

Terrorism

On April 19, 1995, a car bomb exploded in front of the Alfred P. Murrah federal office building in Oklahoma City, injuring hundreds and killing 177 in the worst act of terror committed on American soil in the nation's history. The casualties included 15 dead children who attended a day-care center located on the second floor of the nine-story building. For days after the blast, the nation and the world watched, collective breath held in the agonized hope that survivors would be found in the building's ruins.

While law-enforcement officials and Jewish agencies were quick to caution against any rush to judgment as to responsibility for the blast, there was immediate speculation—based in part on similarities to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing—of some connection to radical Islamic fundamentalism. But there were other speculations as well. Nine days before the attack, the American Jewish Committee, in a report issued by Kenneth Stern, its program specialist on anti-Semitism and extremism, had warned that April 19—the two-year anniversary of the raid that led to the destruction of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas—“is a day of extreme importance to the militia movement.” Stern's warning proved sadly prescient, as, within days of the attack, federal authorities arrested a suspect, Timothy McVeigh, a man with links to paramilitary groups. Also held for questioning were Terry and James Nichols, brothers and friends of McVeigh, the former of whom was ultimately charged as well.

The Oklahoma City bombing focused public attention on the militia movement, which claimed the loyalty of more than 10,000 members in at least 13 states. Many of these groups subscribe to a virulently antigovernment ideology linked to paranoid theories of conspiracy. This ideology—which Stern characterized as “really a rewrite of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion” in which “anti-Semitism is recast as anti-governmentalism”—views the federal government as fundamentally illegitimate and engaged in a concealed effort to cede American sovereignty to international authority. Although the militia leaders were to some extent allied with such hate groups as the Aryan Nation and the Ku Klux Klan, their ideology targeted the U.S. government and not necessarily blacks, Jews, or foreigners.

The need to address the threat of terrorism and the desire to strengthen the hand of law-enforcement authorities—if necessary—in combatting the activities of terrorists were on the agenda of Jewish groups and public officials even before the events in Oklahoma City. In March 1994 the House Banking Committee approved an amendment sponsored by Rep. Douglas Bereuter (R., Neb.) and Peter Deutsch (D., Fla.) to provide the Federal Bureau of Investigation with access, for investigatory purposes, to the credit reports of terrorists and terrorist groups. These questions were also taken up by the Clinton administration, which, in the latter part of 1994, began to seek ways to stop the flow of millions of dollars annually from the United States to Islamic extremist terrorists in the Middle East. At the same time, an eight-agency federal task force formed after the World Trade Center bombing—

including representatives of the State Department, FBI, Justice Department, and White House—was charged with putting together a proposed package of antiterrorism legislation to deal with those areas for which it concluded the law was inadequate.

As 1995 began, the Clinton administration acted on the work done by its inter-agency task force. With public attention heightened by the terrorist bombing at Beit Lid Junction in Israel on January 22, the administration announced a ban on charitable contributions to 12 Middle East terrorist groups and the freezing of their assets in the United States. The action, applauded by many in the Jewish community, encompassed Arab groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad and two Jewish militant groups, Kach and Kahane Chai. At about the same time, the administration unveiled its proposal for omnibus antiterrorism legislation intended to strengthen the hand of law-enforcement authorities.

Formally introduced in Congress on February 10, 1995, the omnibus bill included provisions for expanding federal jurisdiction over terrorist acts in the United States and abroad; special closed-door handling of classified information in deportation hearings for aliens accused of terrorist activity; restricting transfer of funds to organizations designated by the president as engaged in terrorist activities; and relaxing of the standards under which law-enforcement officials may launch and continue investigations of persons suspected of supporting terrorist activity. Even as the bill was introduced, its sponsors noted that there were constitutional concerns about certain of the initiative's provisions and promised to address those as hearings went forward. Many Jewish groups expressed their support for the initiative, although some noted civil liberties concerns about certain aspects of the legislation. Those concerns were expressed more vociferously by a variety of civil rights and ethnic organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association of Arab Americans, which urged that the bill should be defeated as a blatant violation of constitutional protection.

The smoke from the Oklahoma City bombing had not yet cleared before calls issued for swift passage of the pending legislation, and the administration proposed a revised version of the bill, with additional provisions intended to strengthen the ability of law-enforcement authorities to counter domestic terrorism.

As the legislation moved through the hearing and mark-up process in both houses, new versions were substituted by the House and Senate leadership for those introduced at the behest of the administration. The Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee were among the most prominent voices in the Jewish community calling for strong legislation to respond to the threat of terrorism, both following up on their respective initiatives in late 1994 in which each had proposed a multipoint program of responses at international and domestic levels. The two organizations had different approaches, however, to the specific legislative packages moving through Congress. The ADL urged certain changes in response to the constitutional concerns that had been raised, but wanted to see the antiterrorism legislation enacted whether or not those changes were made. The AJCommittee

more strongly expressed its civil-liberties concerns, noting in testimony before Congress that there were many urgently needed provisions in the bills but that other provisions it could not support "as written."

On June 7, 1995, the Senate passed a substantially revised version of the legislation, introduced by Sen. Bob Dole (R., Kan.) and shepherded by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R., Utah), that went some distance in addressing civil-liberties concerns. By the reckoning of some in the Jewish community it went too far in that direction, raising doubts, for example, that the bar on fund-raising by or for "designated" organizations would even be enforceable. On the other hand, many in the Jewish community were alarmed at the Senate-passed bill's inclusion of provisions that would vitiate the role of the federal courts as a protector of constitutional rights in state criminal proceedings. On the House side, on June 20, the Judiciary Committee approved a substitute prepared by Chairman Henry Hyde (R., Ill.) by a vote of 23-12, a tally that reflected support and opposition from both sides of the aisle. As with the Senate bill, it made improvements vis-à-vis some civil-liberties concerns but left others unaddressed.

Soviet Jewry, Refugees, and Immigration

The organized Jewish community continued its long-standing commitment to maintain legislation that allowed Jews from the former Soviet Union to obtain asylum in the United States without, in each case, having to satisfy the individualized burden of proof that is usually applicable to those who seek refugee status. The legislation in question, first enacted in 1990 and generally known as the "Lautenberg Amendment," afforded this eased standard to refugees considered members of "historically persecuted groups," a status that encompassed not only Soviet Jews but also, among others, some Indochinese. The amendment was extended through fiscal 1996 by Congress in 1994, but by mid-1995 a proposed extension through fiscal 1997 had not yet been passed.

At the same time, because of a \$100-million budget shortfall, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Office announced in June 1994 that beginning on July 1, the number of refugee interviews would be nearly halved from 84 a day to 48. By June 1995 it was noted that some 25,000 Jews were expected to arrive over the course of the year from the former Soviet Union, as compared to the 32,000 permitted entry under prevailing law.

For the first time ever, Russia was declared by the president in 1994 to be in compliance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, thereby exempting Russia from the annual presidential review of its emigration practices that the statutory provision would otherwise require. Although Jewish groups had earlier in the year opposed a repeal of Jackson-Vanik, they by and large supported the president's September action as "appropriate." "It's about recognizing progress when progress takes place," said Mark Levin, executive director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. It was noted by Jewish representatives that Jackson-Vanik would remain in

effect should the improvement in treatment of Jews by the Russian government not continue.

The 104th Congress brought Sen. Alan Simpson (R., Wyo.) to the chair of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, with Rep. Lamar Smith (R., Tex.) chairing the House's counterpart subcommittee. From the start, both men pushed proposals to cut the number of refugees allowed into the United States each year by more than 50 percent, with substantial reductions also contemplated for the number of immigrants to be allowed into the country and the elimination of certain relatives of American citizens from eligibility for family reunification. Alarmed at the impact these initiatives would have on Jewish refugee programs and motivated by a long-standing general commitment to fair and generous immigration policies, the Council of Jewish Federations and a number of other Jewish organizations mobilized in opposition.

Jewish concern about U.S. treatment of refugees was not limited to those fleeing persecution in the former Soviet Union. A coalition of 16 Jewish local and national organizations supported the efforts of Haitian refugees fleeing from their island country's military regime to be granted status as political refugees or, if not ultimately granted asylum status, to be afforded "safe haven," possibly in a third country. The situation changed completely, and these urgings were largely mooted, when, in September 1994, the ruling junta—in the face of an imminent American invasion—agreed to depart the country and allow deposed president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to return to power.

The widely shared view within the Jewish community that the world generally, and the United States in particular, was not responding adequately to the atrocities in Bosnia—heightened by that community's sense of a special obligation to speak out because of the Jewish people's experiences during the Holocaust—continued to manifest itself throughout 1994 and into the next year. Thus, the National Hillel Foundation conceived, and played a leading role in organizing, a national day of education on college campuses early in the year about the Bosnian civil war and its implications. On February 16, 1994, approximately 200 Jews gathered outside the White House and listened to the blowing of shofars intended to draw greater attention to the ongoing crisis. The American Jewish Congress used the occasion to reiterate its call for stronger U.S. action to combat the "ethnic cleansing" being carried out by Serbs against Bosnian Muslims. The American Jewish Committee, which had earlier sought a more direct and active U.S. involvement, urged in December 1994 that the U.S. government and the international community take a more active role in ending "ethnic cleansing" and Serb military aggression.

In the meantime, Jewish organizations engaged in efforts to help victims of the violence in Bosnia. Some of these initiatives, such as Hesed International's, were meant to provide general relief for the populace at large, while others, such as American ORT's, were intended to assist Jewish victims of the conflict. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago established a joint program to resettle Bosnian Muslim refugees in Chicago.

Foreign Aid

Much of the Jewish community was committed to the maintenance of foreign aid, both out of concern to preserve aid to Israel at its prevailing \$3-billion-a-year level and in the belief that the modest level of U.S. foreign aid serves the national interest. Throughout 1994, the pro-Israel constituency kept a close watch over proposals by the Clinton administration to overhaul the nation's foreign aid program so as to link the aid to broad international concerns, as opposed to the existing practice of designating specific amounts of aid for specific countries. By year's end, however, there had been little movement in the direction sketched out by the administration.

With the arrival of a new Congress, the weight of concern over the future of foreign aid shifted to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. There seemed little danger that Israel would be denied the \$3 billion in direct assistance recommended by the administration in February 1995, but other portions of the foreign aid package were quickly placed in question. The Jewish community, generally supportive of foreign aid, was split as to how to respond to legislation that gave the community what it wanted on aid to Israel but not in other crucial areas. AIPAC urged Congress to vote for the package; the American Jewish Committee, in contrast, advised legislators that, notwithstanding the provision for aid to Israel at current levels, the agency could not support a bill that so slashed foreign aid. By June 1995 the U.S. Congress had passed an authorization bill that drastically cut foreign aid other than to participants in the Middle East peace process. In an unusual turnaround, it carried only because of Republican support. Many Democrats, including the pro-Israel Congressional Black Caucus and Jewish House members, voted against it, arguing that, together with its other flaws, it would undermine future aid to Israel. The president vetoed the authorization bill, leaving Congress to set foreign aid levels for the coming year in the foreign aid appropriations bill.

Arab Boycott

As the peace process continued, there were signs that the Arab boycott against Israel, in place since the Jewish state's founding in 1948, was beginning to deteriorate, particularly the "secondary" and "tertiary" boycotts directed at companies doing business with Israel and not at the state itself. Nevertheless, it remained necessary for the U.S. Commerce Department to bring enforcement actions for violations of American law prohibiting cooperation with the boycott. In May 1994 the Atlanta branch of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro paid a civil fine of \$475,000 for providing information to Iraqi banks about foreign companies' relationships with Israel and for its failure to report to the Commerce Department on requests for boycott-related information from various Arab countries. At various times throughout the year, the Commerce Department continued to announce the levy of fines assessed against U.S. companies for allegedly complying with the boycott.

A sign of the times: in October 1994 the American Jewish Congress announced

that after 18 years it would be ending publication of its *Boycott Report*, a newsletter that kept tabs on the Arab boycott and steps taken against it. "We think the boycott is on its last legs," said AJCongress general counsel Will Maslow, the guiding hand behind the newsletter from its beginning. AJCongress indicated that it would instead be issuing a new publication, this time focused on radical Islamic fundamentalism. Similarly, the inclusion of antiboycott provisions in the House-considered version of legislation to ratify the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade drew only cursory support, if at all, from Jewish groups.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND EXTREMISM

Assessing Anti-Semitism

The Anti-Defamation League released its annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents in early 1994 and 1995. The 1,867 incidents reported for 1993, as compared with 1985's 1,044 incidents, was the highest number since 1980, the year ADL began preparing the audit; the 1994 report saw yet another increase, this time to 2,066 incidents. A particularly troublesome trend was the increase in numbers of incidents reported on college campuses: 122 incidents on 81 campuses for 1993 and 143 incidents on 79 campuses for 1994, as compared to 114 incidents on 60 campuses in 1992.

While the number of incidents reported in these audits reached a new high, the number of reported incidents of anti-Semitic graffiti and violence declined in 1993 for the third straight year—only to rise to 869 in 1994, a higher number than in recent years. Commenting on the 1994 numbers, Jerome Chanes, co-director for domestic concerns of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, asserted that, notwithstanding the new high in overall incidents, "you have a very dramatic, well-documented decline in attitudinal anti-Semitism over many years which continues. [But] the relatively few individuals who harbor anti-Jewish attitudes have had in recent years a greater propensity to act out their views."

Also released in the first part of 1994 was the annual Hate Crimes Report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the year 1992, according to which Jews were by far the most frequent targets of hate crimes based on religion. Crimes against Jews constituted an overwhelming 87 percent of all reported crimes motivated by bias against religious groups, with crimes motivated by religious bias making up 15.4 percent of all hate crimes reported. Anti-Jewish crimes made up 13.4 percent of all hate crimes of any category, followed (not very closely) by anti-Protestant crimes at 0.4 percent and anti-Muslim crimes at 0.2 percent.

The process by which the FBI compiled its report was open to criticism. Collected pursuant to the directive of the 1990 Hate Crimes Statistics Act, the information upon which the report relies was collected from state and local law-enforcement authorities on a voluntary basis. Fewer than half the nation's law-enforcement

agencies provided information on hate crimes for 1992. Moreover, for some states the numbers were so low as to suggest that the standards propounded by the FBI as to what does and does not constitute a hate crime had not been fully understood and applied by the responsible agencies.

Notwithstanding the apparent recent upward trend in acts of anti-Semitism, there were other indications of a long-term favorable trend. A report published by the American Jewish Committee in June 1994 indicated that anti-Semitism in the United States had decreased appreciably over the last half-century, and that circumstances were not ripe for its resurgence. The author of the report, Tom W. Smith, director of the General Social Survey at the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, reviewed public-opinion polls going back to 1948 and found that, while "virulent anti-Semitism persists among fringe hate groups," it lacked a "critical mass" to become significant in the general population. Rather, the indications were that over the decades there have been "direct or indirect decreases in anti-Semitism." Nevertheless, the report cautioned that "Jews are still recognized as an ethnic and religious group and are evaluated as such. While stereotypes have ebbed and social distance has narrowed, anti-Semitic prejudices still survive and anti-Semitic activities are all too common."

Acts of Violence

There was substantial concern about the potential for violence against Jews after the February 25, 1994, murder by a Jewish settler of over 40 Arabs praying in a mosque at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron. Security was tightened at Jewish institutions around the country in the wake of the shooting, especially so in New York, where jury deliberations had begun in the trial of several of the persons accused in the World Trade Center bombing.

The validity of these fears seemed borne out the very week after the massacre with the drive-by shooting attack on a van of Lubavitch Hassidim en route to Brooklyn from Manhattan, reportedly by an Arab male who shouted "Death to the Jews" as he fired. Of four victims injured in the shooting, one, 15-year-old Ari Halberstam, later died; another, 18-year-old Nochum Sossonkin, was injured so seriously that his later substantial (if not complete) recovery and return home were hailed as nothing less than a miracle by his community.

Police quickly arrested and charged Rashid Baz, a 28-year-old Lebanese national, in the shooting. There was immediate concern that the American Arab community not be stigmatized by this incident. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani stressed that "this act of evil is not the act of a people, it's the act of a person or persons," a point that was made by the Jewish community as well. Baz was convicted of murder and attempted murder at trial, and in January 1995 was sentenced to a total of 141 years and eight months.

A Torah academy in suburban Chicago was gutted in a late January 1994 arson, a crime in which three Palestinians were charged. The fire was allegedly set in

protest of Israeli treatment of Palestinians. It was one of five separate acts of vandalism and arson that took place on the same date, but no connection was conclusively established. The incident was condemned by local public officials and community organizations, including local Arab leaders.

In March 1994 Kansas City police arrested three young men who had engaged in a two-month rash of anti-Semitic vandalism. These acts of vandalism included spray-painting graffiti at two synagogues and a shopping mall and planting a Molotov cocktail—that failed to explode—at a local Chabad House. While there was no initial evidence that the arrested youths (two of them young enough to be referred to juvenile court) were connected to any hate group, the spray-painted slogans reflected awareness of the organized white supremacist movement (these included a shield, the symbol of the Aryan Nations movement, and the words “White Power” with a line through the “o”).

Two members of local skinhead gangs in Eugene, Oregon, were arrested in April for their role in a drive-by shooting in which bullets went through two stained-glass windows of a local synagogue. Representatives of several local churches and community groups, including the NAACP and the Eugene Human Rights Commission, made a show of support at a press conference held the day after the shooting, and local Christian leaders held nightly vigils at the synagogue for several days thereafter. In other incidents, a Jewish cemetery was desecrated twice in two months in Bayside, Queens, in New York City, with approximately 50 headstones knocked over and anti-Semitic epithets such as “kill the Jews” and “hate Jews” scrawled on them.

A long-standing, but declining, Jewish community was dealt a harsh blow when, in July 1994, the Congregation Derech Emunoh synagogue in the Arverne section of Queens, New York, was gutted in an early-morning arson fire. That same week, a synagogue on Chicago’s North Side was hit by a makeshift bomb, with minimal damage, yet another in a series of anti-Semitic acts of vandalism in that neighborhood.

An 18-year-old case of anti-Semitic murder was resolved in November 1994 when a white supremacist, already sentenced to life in prison for the murder of four other people, confessed to the 1977 killing of a Jewish St. Louis resident. Joseph Paul Franklin admitted that he had killed Gerald Gordon as he left a synagogue and wounded two other men in the attack, because he had “planned to kill as many Jews as he could that day.” Franklin was charged with murder and related counts after the confession and could face the death penalty if convicted. Franklin was a former member of the Ku Klux Klan and a neo-Nazi party.

CROWN HEIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS

On January 25, 1994, U.S. attorney general Janet Reno announced that the Justice Department was willing to empanel a federal grand jury to investigate the murder of Yankel Rosenbaum, the Hassidic scholar who was stabbed to death

during the 1991 Crown Heights riots. This announcement received an ambivalent reaction from the New York Jewish community. While welcoming it as a step forward, many agreed with the comment of Judah Gribetz, president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York, that the inquiry was but an "important first step into the long overdue federal civil rights inquiry" into not just the Rosenbaum murder but also the Crown Heights riots generally.

Similar ambivalence greeted the report in August 1994 that Lemrick Nelson, Jr., had been indicted on federal criminal charges of violating Rosenbaum's civil rights. Nelson, who was the only person ever arrested in connection with the Rosenbaum killing, was acquitted on state murder charges in 1992. Some in the Crown Heights community questioned whether, notwithstanding the indictment, federal investigators were pursuing leads and interviewing witnesses vigorously enough. In addition, a spokesperson for the Crown Heights Jewish Community Council, joined by a number of national Jewish organizations, called for indictments for the "hundreds of [other] acts of violence" that were committed against "Jewish citizens of Crown Heights" in the course of the riots.

The continuing disappointment in the handling of the Rosenbaum case deepened in April 1995 with the decision by U.S. district court judge David Trager that Nelson would be tried as a juvenile. Various Jewish groups, area congressional representatives, and other local political leaders weighed in with statements asserting that the court had failed to treat this offense with the appropriate seriousness. If convicted after trial as a juvenile, Lemrick would be subject to a maximum sentence of five years, whereas if tried and convicted on all counts as an adult, he would receive a mandatory life sentence. In May 1995 the Justice Department filed an appeal from Judge Trager's decision.

Extremist Groups

High-technology had come into play as a new means for promoting anti-Semitism, according to reports issued in 1994 by the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs (IJA). The IJA report asserted that electronic dissemination of anti-Semitic material through computer networks and bulletin-board systems and distribution of anti-Semitic computer games, video cassettes, and radio and television programs had increased substantially. The IJA also indicated that the National Socialist German Workers Party—Overseas Organization, an American neo-Nazi group, was distributing its publications by computer to Austria, Germany, France, and the Netherlands. Much of the anti-Semitic material that found its way into Europe originated in the United States, which, unlike many other countries, had not enacted restrictions on hate speech.

Holocaust Denial

Responding to the practice of many university newspapers of accepting ads for publication that denied the Holocaust or distorted its extent, the Synagogue Council of America (SCA) joined together with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) in March 1994 in a statement that described the notion that there is any obligation to publish this material as a "perversion of the First Amendment."

Some university newspapers published the advertisements based on the premise that even Holocaust deniers have a right to express their views, while others published the text of the advertisements accompanied by an editorial refutation. In their statement, the SCA and NCCB urged that neither of these responses was appropriate, that newspaper advertisers should simply refuse to run these ads and not operate on the basis of misguided notions of freedom of speech. "If someone has stated that the world is flat, we don't have to give it publicity as an alternative view," said Rabbi Shel Schiffman, executive vice-president of the Synagogue Council.

In January 1995 advocates of Holocaust education considered their cause strengthened when House Speaker Newt Gingrich announced—and quickly withdrew—the appointment as House historian of an educator who had opposed funding a Holocaust education program for not reflecting "the Nazi point of view." Gingrich fired Christina Jeffrey within hours of learning that she had opposed a middle-school and high-school Holocaust curriculum as "biased." The Speaker's action, said Benjamin Meed, president of the American Gathering of Holocaust Survivors, "sends an important message that there's no place for this type of view in the country." Jeffrey denied being a Holocaust denier and vowed to seek vindication.

Bigotry on the Campus

The ongoing controversy over Prof. Leonard Jeffries continued to unfold. Jeffries was discharged in March 1992 from his position as chairman of the Black Studies Department of the City College of the City University of New York (CUNY) because of the anti-Semitic content of a speech given by him in 1991. The speech was part and parcel of a racist and anti-Semitic ideology that he had been expounding for years, but it received greater attention because of the public forum in which it was delivered. Jeffries was reinstated to his post, one he had occupied since 1972, when a federal trial court ruled that the university had violated his First Amendment rights. This determination was upheld in April 1994 by a federal appeals court. The appeals court reversed, however, the earlier determination that Jeffries was entitled to \$360,000 damages.

In November 1994 the U.S. Supreme Court issued a two-sentence ruling that required the appeals court to reconsider its ruling in light of a decision earlier that year by the high court suggesting that public employers have some latitude in disciplining employees whose speech disrupts the workplace. Jewish groups ap-

plauded the Supreme Court's action, expressing their belief that a university has the right to deny a bigot a position that makes him or her, in effect, the institution's spokesperson. During the period between the appeals court's and the Supreme Court's rulings, the City University announced the creation of the CUNY Institute for Research on the Diaspora in the Americas and Caribbean. This new black research institute was to be operated independently of Jeffries' department and to be headed by Edmund Gordon, the professor who led the Black Studies Department during the period between Jeffries' ouster and reinstatement.

Against the backdrop of this Supreme Court ruling, in April 1995 the federal appeals court for the Second Circuit reversed the earlier ruling reinstating Jeffries as head of City College's Black Studies Department. Samuel Rabinove, legal director of the American Jewish Committee, noted that this decision reflected an appropriate distinction between a professor and a department head: "Department heads represent the university much more visibly, so a university should have much greater latitude in terms of deciding who will lead a department." In June 1995 the department faculty announced that it had elected Prof. Moyibi Amodo to succeed Jeffries as its head. Jeffries indicated that, while he would continue as a tenured professor at the university, he would not seek another term as department chair. Representatives of various Jewish organizations noted their satisfaction that there was now some closure to this long-standing controversy.

Howard University, generally recognized as the nation's leading black university, received some unwelcome attention in 1994, in February as host—by invitation of a student group—for one of Khalid Muhammad's fiery racist diatribes, and then in April as the site of a series of anti-Semitic presentations, as Muhammad, Jeffries, and Wellesley College professor Tony Martin spoke at a student-sponsored event to an enthusiastic crowd of 2,000. University officials indicated that they had consented to the event only because they felt bound to do so by the First Amendment. With hatred of Jews a leitmotif of the evening, the already familiar accusations of Jewish dominance of the slave trade were joined by fresh rhetoric diminishing the horrors of the Holocaust and claiming that Jewish Holocaust memorials were nothing more than an effort to divert attention from the "black Holocaust" of Africans under slavery.

In the aftermath of these events, Howard University officials were left to fight the perception in some quarters that its student body supported the views of anti-Semites and racists. The controversy was heightened by the news in early April that Yale University historian David Brion Davis, an expert on the history of slavery, who happens to be Jewish, was asked to postpone a scheduled lecture because of fear that he would be heckled. Local Jewish groups criticized the university for not moving quickly enough to distance itself from the views expressed by Muhammad, Jeffries, and Martin. The university was faced with threats from various sources of cutoffs in personal or institutional support. University officials insisted at a press conference held after the Muhammad-Jeffries-Martin event that most of those attending the speeches were not students but area residents, and that the views

expressed by the speakers did not enjoy widespread student support.

Clear across the country, San Francisco State University was the scene of perhaps the year's most widely reported clash between Jewish and black students. On May 19, 1994, a black student group unveiled an on-campus mural of Malcolm X, which included Stars of David surrounded by dollar signs, skulls and crossbones, and the words "African blood." Jewish students attacked the mural as anti-Semitic and called for removal of the offending portion; African-American students responded by closing ranks in support of what they asserted was a symbol of the black struggle for self-determination. In the end, university president Robert Corrigan declared that "if we were to allow the mural to remain as it is, we would be contributing to a hostile campus environment, one which says to students: 'We tolerate intolerance; we are silent in the face of bigotry.'" He directed that the mural be painted over.

Legislative and Judicial Activity

Legislation to establish hate-crime prevention programs in schools around the country was approved in March 1994 as an amendment to the House of Representatives' major education bill. Under this legislation, sponsored by Rep. Nydia Velazquez (D., N.Y.), the Department of Education would award grants to local education and community groups to develop training programs and curricula to fight prejudice.

In a decision that surprised virtually nobody, the New Jersey Supreme Court overturned the state's hate-crimes law in May 1994 on the grounds that it violated the First Amendment's protection of free speech, while upholding another law that allows for enhanced penalties for individuals who harass others on the basis of racial or ethnic bias. The stricken law, which made it illegal to burn a cross or display a swastika or any other symbol on another person's property if it exposed that person to increased fear of physical harm caused as a result of ethnic bias, tracked in many respects the statute overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 1992 opinion. The law the New Jersey high court upheld, in contrast, was substantially similar to a Wisconsin municipal regulation upheld by the U.S. high court in 1993. Rather than punishing the expression of hate, the upheld New Jersey law increases the level of the crime and the penalty when an individual acts on such beliefs and intentionally carries out an act of harassment based on the victim's race, religion, or ethnic background.

The controversial \$30-billion federal crime bill signed into law by the president in 1994, while containing some provisions to which many Jewish groups were opposed (in particular, its expansion of the death penalty), included measures directed at terrorism and hate crimes. One provision, the Hate Crime Sentencing Enhancement Act, enhances the penalty for federal crimes in which the victim of the offense is selected by reason of such categories as religion or race. The bill also establishes new categories of federal crimes associated with terrorism and makes it a crime to provide "material support" for carrying out designated terrorist offenses.

These antiterrorism measures, while not widely noted, drew opposition from Irish-American and civil-liberties groups concerned that the portions directed at fund-raising activities would penalize Americans who want to support the legitimate charitable activities of groups that also engage in (depending on one's point of view) terrorism or armed resistance. In the end, in response to the advocacy of those groups, certain of those latter provisions were somewhat weakened.

Other Anti-Semitic Incidents

There were, as usual, a number of instances in which prominent persons let slip comments invoking anti-Semitic stereotypes that generally resulted in an apology from the offender when protested. Thus, after a complaint from the ADL, country singer Dolly Parton apologized for asserting in a magazine interview that she had abandoned the idea of doing a television series about a gospel singer "because most of the people out here [in Hollywood] are Jewish, and it's a frightening thing for them to promote Christianity."

In another case, Phillies pitcher Steve Carlton denied remarks attributed to him to the effect that "the elders of Zion rule the world." The reporter who made these comments public stood by his story, and Carlton stood by his denial. In the end, Jewish groups, while reacting with concern to the nature of the reported remarks, described as a positive development Carlton's rejection of the legitimacy of racist remarks.

Michael Jackson's June 1995 album was not even in the stores when it was enveloped in controversy. The lyrics of "They Don't Care About Us," a song in the album, included the phrases "Jew me" and "kike me." Jackson's initial reaction, when questioned about the lyrics, was to assert that the song symbolized all victims of prejudice. He soon apologized and promised to include a paragraph with all copies of the album not already shipped expressing regrets "to anyone who might have been hurt," and stating that "unfortunately, my words have unintentionally hurt the very people I want to stand in solidarity with." By the end of the month, it was announced, later editions of his album would be revised so as not to include the objectionable lyrics.

Ed Rollins, the well-known political adviser and a senior consultant to Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole in the latter's presidential run, was strongly criticized by Jewish groups when, in May 1995, he referred to Representatives Howard Berman and Henry Waxman, both Democrats from California, as "those two Hymie boys." Rollins apologized for his remarks as without "justification or excuse," but sought to mitigate the offense by asserting that the comments were made "with great irreverence and attempt at humor." The Dole campaign apologized for Rollins' comments as "totally inexcusable" and then, within days, Rollins resigned from his role in the campaign.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Black-Jewish Relations

LOUIS FARRAKHAN AND THE NATION OF ISLAM

1994 saw the further unfolding of a theme that had been a discordant note in black-Jewish relations for several years—the disappointment of the organized American Jewish community at the legitimacy afforded the Nation of Islam (NOI) and its leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan, by much of the black community, notwithstanding the rampant anti-Semitism and racism of that movement's teachings.

Late in 1993, Nation of Islam spokesman Khalid Muhammad delivered a speech at New Jersey's Kean College in the course of which, along with other anti-Semitic, anti-white, anti-Catholic, and anti-gay comments, he referred to Jews as "the blood-suckers of the black nation," claimed that they controlled the White House, the media, and the Federal Reserve, and said that they had brought the Holocaust on themselves. These remarks initially received little attention outside of the Jewish community, but the picture changed dramatically when, on January 16, 1994, the Anti-Defamation League ran a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* with extensive verbatim excerpts from Muhammad's speech.

Almost immediately there was a chorus of condemnation from many leaders in the black community. Rep. Kweisi Mfume (R., Md.), who, as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, had some two months earlier spoken of a "sacred covenant" with the Nation of Islam, condemned Muhammad and called on Farrakhan to disavow him. Benjamin Chavis, Jr., executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asserted that he was "appalled that any human being would stoop so low to make such violence-prone anti-Semitic statements." Jesse Jackson described the speech as "racist, anti-Semitic, divisive, untrue and chilling" and called on Farrakhan to distance himself from its assertions.

Farrakhan did nothing of the sort. Instead, during a speech given in late January, he made his own conspiratorial accusations of Jewish plotting against him, suggesting in response to black condemnation of Muhammad that his enemies "want to use some of our brothers and some of our brothers are willing to be used." Any hope that Farrakhan would distance himself from the repugnant ideology of his lieutenant was given its final interment at a press conference held on Thursday, February 3. Announcing that he was disciplining Muhammad, "not for the message but for the manner in which it had been delivered," Farrakhan went on to deliver remarks that were themselves racist and anti-Semitic. These included a substantial dose of conspiratorial allegations explicitly directed at the Anti-Defamation League, claiming that the ADL "seeks total control of the Jewish people, many of whom would have dialogued with us if it were not for the wicked aim and purpose of the ADL and its leadership." David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Com-

mittee, characterized Farrakhan's comments as "the same old bone-chilling hate delivered with a smile."

The day before the press conference, Mfume announced that the Congressional Black Caucus disavowed the "sacred covenant" with the Nation of Islam, citing "a question by some of our membership about the NOI's sensitivity to the right of all people and all religions to be free from attacks, vilification and defamation." That same day, the Senate voted 97-0 to pass a resolution, sponsored by Senators John Danforth (R., Mo.) and Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.), condemning the Muhammad speech. The House later adopted a similar resolution by a vote of 361-34, as did the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by a unanimous vote of its eight-member panel.

If the day before the Farrakhan press conference offered evidence of the distancing from the Nation of Islam leader for which the Jewish community had long been arguing, the days after his remarks were a letdown. Many African-American leaders declined to respond to Farrakhan's espousal of hateful views as forcefully as they had those of Muhammad. The starkest example of this was the statement of Benjamin Chavis that the NAACP was "satisfied" with Farrakhan's disciplinary action against Muhammad. "The NAACP is prepared to believe Minister Farrakhan's statement that he is neither anti-Semitic nor racist," said Chavis. The American Jewish Committee, in an unusually direct criticism of the actions of the leader of another civil-rights organization, sharply criticized this statement, asserting that the NAACP's failure to repudiate Farrakhan's speech "not only turns a deaf ear to bigotry, but also seeks to rehabilitate the bigot."

There were, to be sure, contrary voices in the black community, as witnessed by those who, together with representatives from a diverse array of racial, ethnic, and religious groups, signed on to an ad, placed by the American Jewish Committee in the *New York Times* on February 25, that condemned the racism of the NOI and reminded readers that "with all our differences, we are indeed united, as Americans."

At the same time, some within the Jewish community suggested that an ongoing confrontation with the black community over Farrakhan detracted from more productive aspects of black-Jewish relations, such as coalitional work on pressing public-policy issues. "We should not allow Farrakhan to define relations between Jews and African Americans," commented Karen Senter, co-director of national concerns for NJCRAC. "It's time to move on."

In the weeks and months following the Farrakhan press conference there were ongoing attempts by many in the Jewish community to do exactly that. Leaders of the ADL and the NAACP met for two-and-a-half-hours in mid-February, but emerged with little to say except that both organizations wished to continue to work together on "issues of mutual concern." At the annual plenum of NJCRAC later that month, a number of Jewish communal officials questioned the wisdom of pressing black leaders to condemn Farrakhan, since blacks who denounced anti-Semites in their community came to be seen as bowing to outsiders and therefore

lost credibility. Instead, it was suggested, it might be best not to raise a fuss when mainstream civil-rights organizations reached out to Farrakhan, but instead make the point that the relationships of those organizations with the Jewish community were long-standing and secure. Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, suggested at the NJCRAC plenum that it was necessary for the Jewish community "not to legitimize and give attention to propagators of hate," on the one hand, and "not allow bigotry to be sanctioned by silence," on the other.

The Jewish community attempted a tempered response to the NAACP's June 1994 African-American leadership summit in Baltimore. Farrakhan was invited by the NAACP, along with some 100 other black community, political, and religious leaders, to participate in this conference on strategies for economic development, community empowerment, and moral and spiritual renewal in the black community. Jewish groups expressed their distress at the inclusion of Farrakhan in this meeting of mainstream black leaders, while not treating his inclusion as a "line in the sand," the crossing of which would damage black-Jewish relations.

Nevertheless, protests were held outside the conference, led by Michael Lerner, editor of *Tikkun* magazine. The tensions between blacks and Jews arising out of Farrakhan's continuing leadership role did not go unremarked upon at the Baltimore summit, notwithstanding that Jewish protests of Farrakhan's participation in the conference had been relatively muted. Reportedly, the word "Jew" was not spoken at that meeting, but there were allusions by summit organizer Benjamin Chavis to "intimidations and threats," and Chavis stated at a concluding press conference that "never again will we allow any external forces to dictate to the African-American community who we will meet with." Some Jewish observers were disturbed by these remarks, reflecting as they did the focus on an external "enemy," without so much as a condemnation of all bigotry and hate, whatever its source.

A particular sore point for the American Jewish community was the ongoing assertion by the Nation of Islam that Jews had played a disproportionate role in the slave trade, a claim made by Muhammad and Farrakhan in their speeches and "documented" in *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, a 334-page book published by the Nation of Islam in 1991 and cited by Farrakhan at his February 3 press conference. Substantial evidence was adduced by a number of experts to disprove the NOI's charges, showing, instead, that Jews had played a very minor role when compared with their Christian counterparts. Critics, including prominent black leaders, pointed out that the NOI's claims were an attempt to distort history so as to suit the movement's political agenda. Nevertheless, the libelous charges had, by all reports, gained an unfortunate level of legitimacy within the black community, even influencing many unaffiliated with Farrakhan.

The 104th Congress brought with it renewed attention to the security-services business run by Nation of Islam-affiliated organizations, serving federally funded public-housing projects, with contracts valued at an estimated \$10 million. Several Jewish organizations had, without success, earlier called for the U.S. Housing and

Urban Development Department (HUD) to investigate whether these NOI security agencies discriminated against whites and Jews in their hiring practices and proselytized on the premises of the housing projects. In January 1995, apparently responding to pressure from the new leadership in Congress and the ongoing urgings of Jewish organizations, HUD secretary Henry Cisneros announced that there would be an investigation to identify any such discriminatory conduct.

The initial results of that investigation, announced by Cisneros at an early March oversight hearing by a House banking subcommittee, far from satisfied those Jewish organizations or several of the members on the subcommittee, notably Rep. Peter King (R., N.Y.). Cisneros asserted that his department's inquiry had found no evidence of wrongdoing and that continuing the investigation "would simply be using government resources to persecute" the Nation of Islam, and questioned whether HUD had authority to deal with claims of employment discrimination by the security services. Jewish groups testifying at the hearing differed with the assessment, asserting, in the words of American Jewish Congress counsel Marc Stern, that this is "an HUD responsibility" and that "HUD did not ask the right questions." Secretary Cisneros backed off somewhat from the positions asserted at the hearing when, in communications with the World Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith approximately one month later, he denounced Farrakhan's injection of hatred into the "national discourse" and pronounced HUD's investigation of alleged violations of contracts with NOI security agencies to be "ongoing." It was also reported at about the same time that the Department of Health and Human Services had begun its own investigation into allegations of patient discrimination at the NOI-linked Abundant Life Clinic, an AIDS treatment facility in Washington, D.C., that received federal funding through contracts with the District of Columbia.

MAINSTREAM CIVIL-RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

The tensions between the Jewish and black communities aroused by Farrakhan's continued, even increased, prominence threatened to eclipse other, more conciliatory voices and the ongoing day-to-day cooperation between Jews and blacks on a variety of issues at national and local levels.

Hugh Price, who became president of the National Urban League in July 1994, began his tenure by immediately praising Jews as "long-standing allies" of the black community and by stressing that a weakened economy and a lack of communal infrastructure—not white racism—were the major obstacles to progress for poor blacks. While calling for measures to promote economic self-sufficiency that, at least in broad strokes, recalled some of the themes struck by Farrakhan, Price clearly referred to Farrakhan in emphasizing the importance of denouncing racism, whatever its source. Price differed, however, with those who suggested that blacks ought not to be engaged in dialogue with all segments of their community, however objectionable some of their views. Price's appointment and the themes he struck, notwithstanding the obvious disagreement by many in the Jewish community on the

issue of meeting with Farrakhan, drew praise and support from Jewish organizational leaders.

Among his other outreach efforts, Price met in October with the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, at which time he stressed his "agenda of racial inclusion" and called for focus on public education and the needs of young people as an area in which NJCRAC member agencies and the Urban League could work together. He expressed his hope that he would "not have to make a career out of" talking about Farrakhan.

Jesse Jackson paid a six-day visit to Israel in April 1994 during which he was greeted with significantly greater warmth by Israelis and representatives of American Jewish organizations than had been the case with his disastrous trip 15 years earlier. The 1979 trip, which included a snub by Menachem Begin and a famous embrace between Jackson and Yasir Arafat, contributed greatly to the sense of distrust that many in the Jewish community felt about Jackson for a number of years. In contrast, in 1994 he was afforded the trappings of an official visit by both the Israeli government and its now recognized negotiating partner, the Palestine Liberation Organization. For Israel, Jackson's visit presented an important opportunity to cultivate a relationship with one of the best-known figures in the increasingly important black leadership. For Jackson, the trip provided an opportunity to claim a leadership role in moving the Mideast peace process forward, and to lay another building block in the more positive relationship with American Jews that he had established in recent years.

American Jewish groups distanced themselves from the NAACP in the first part of 1994, largely because of executive director Benjamin Chavis's outreach to Farrakhan. Relations improved, however, after Chavis was ousted by the agency's board of directors in August, with questions about his handling of the NAACP's financial affairs as the precipitating factor.

This brightening outlook was reinforced in March 1995 with the election of Myrlie Evers-Williams as NAACP chairwoman. Evers-Williams, widow of slain 1960s civil-rights leader Medgar Evers and widely seen as a proponent of close cooperation between the Jewish and black communities, narrowly defeated Dr. William Gibson in his bid for reelection. Gibson had brought Chavis on as executive director and sided with him in the vote that led to the latter official's ouster. Nevertheless, Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism and a member of the NAACP board, took pains to assert that the March vote had not been cast on the question of future relations with the Jewish community. "Dr. Gibson was always very friendly with the Jewish community," he said. "These were not policy issues. These were internal administrative issues," largely having to do with the need to repair the NAACP's disastrous financial situation.

Not everyone agreed on the road to follow in dealing with the tensions between the black and Jewish communities. Murray Friedman, director of the American Jewish Committee's Philadelphia chapter and a former U.S. civil rights commis-

sioner, argued at an intergroup conference held in New York in September 1994—anticipating themes articulated in a book he would publish in 1995 (*What Went Wrong? The Creation and Collapse of the Black-Jewish Alliance*)—for a “cooling-off” period of “separation” between the communities. Asserting that the “black-Jewish alliance that once existed is gone,” he suggested that blacks and Jews should simply work jointly on issues of common interest and agree to disagree on other issues. This approach was rejected by the Reverend Calvin Butts, senior minister of Harlem’s Abyssinian Baptist Church; he argued against the notion that there is “strong anti-Semitism among African Americans” and urged not disengagement but joint efforts to improve social conditions.

A study conducted by the American Jewish Congress in 1994 indicated that at the congressional level black and Jewish members remained closely aligned on key issues. The voting patterns of the 39 members of the Congressional Black Caucus and the 32 Jewish members of the House of Representatives on issues such as foreign aid, public funding of private schools, and school prayer showed that “Jewish members of Congress were far more likely to support votes by the [Caucus] than the other members of the [House].” And, similarly, black members were more likely than members in general to support the positions of the “Jewish community.” Jesse Jackson, speaking at the press conference announcing this report, stressed the importance of the black-Jewish coalition outside the halls of Congress as well, asserting that David Duke would have won his 1991 race for governor of Louisiana if not for the “black-Jewish coalition.”

CIVIL-RIGHTS ISSUES

While the black and Jewish communities continued to cooperate in many areas, the Jewish community was far from of one mind on two issues viewed by many African-Americans as crucial to their interests: redistricting and affirmative action.

In redistricting decisions handed down in 1994 and 1995, in both instances on the last day of the term, the U.S. Supreme Court cast in doubt the practice of delineating election districts so as to promote minority representation. Those decisions brought a mixed reaction from the Jewish community, with some supporting limitations on race-based districting practices while others agreed with Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg’s assertion in the 1995 case that the Court had imposed an unmanageable standard that would spawn endless challenges to state districting decisions.

As with developments on redistricting, the Jewish community was divided over the implications of the Supreme Court’s June 1995 ruling that racially conscious federal affirmative-action programs are presumably unconstitutional unless the government is able to show a “compelling state interest” for the challenged practice. Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, termed the decision “disappointing,” while noting that the import of the case was “an affirmation of affirmative action, but a limitation of the circumstances where it is appropriate to apply it.” The ADL saw the decision as consistent with its position,

that "government preferences or benefits based upon race, religious beliefs or ethnic origin are as threatening to the American ideal as the historic discriminatory practices used to justify those preferences."

In both the redistricting and the affirmative-action cases, the close decisions of the Court and the lack of clarity about the types of practices that would be upheld left the door open for continuing litigation.

YOUTH INTERGROUP EFFORTS

Interactions between Jewish and black students on high-school and college campuses were not all confrontational. At a grass-roots level, nearly 200 teenagers from around the world, including 90 Jewish high-school students attending under the banner of the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (BBYO), attended a gathering in Washington in February 1994 to promote understanding and tolerance among various ethnic groups. The convocation, taking place under the banner of "Stop the Hate" and initiated by BBYO, conducted interviews about prejudice with members of Congress, spoke out against hate in various public locations, and attended a discussion about the ethnic conflict in Bosnia.

Similar efforts by young people at intergroup understanding took place throughout the year. In March 1994, 12 Jewish undergraduates from Yeshiva University and 12 black undergraduates from the City College of New York met to exchange views on the recent tensions between the black and Jewish communities. In the course of the discussion, some of the CCNY students expressed disagreement with the ideas presented by Khalid Muhammad at various college campuses and rejected the notion that he spoke for the African-American community. Students from both schools agreed on the need for further communication and for blacks and Jews to learn more about each other's histories.

A joint effort of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) and several Jewish educational institutions, including the World Jewish Congress, the World Zionist Organization, and the Israeli Consulate Office of Academic Affairs in the United States, was undertaken to implement an exchange program between Jewish and black college students. The program was carried out during the 1994-95 academic year through a number of components: student summer and full-semester exchanges; a faculty exchange; expansion of the National Center for Black-Jewish Relations at Dillard University in New Orleans; a UNCF mission to Israel; and a college-level "Operation Understanding," a long-standing program under which black and Jewish students travel together to Africa and Israel.

Asian-Jewish Relations

Ongoing efforts to maintain, and expand upon, relations between Jewish and other ethnic groups continued throughout the year, with trips by leaders of non-Jewish groups to Israel often a focal point for building understanding and relation-

ships. Thus, in February 1994, 11 Asian-Americans of varying backgrounds, including Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese, traveled to Israel under the auspices of Project Interchange and the Pacific Rim Institute, divisions of the American Jewish Committee. Jews and Asian-Americans had long been coalition partners on such issues as immigration, responses to hate crimes, and civil rights, and it was hoped that this might be expanded to support by Asian-Americans for Israel-Asian political and trade relations.

Interreligious Relations

MAINLINE PROTESTANTS

In a dramatic development in the evolution of Christian teachings about Jews and Judaism, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America announced on April 18, 1994, that it had formally rejected the anti-Semitic writings of Martin Luther, the communion's founder. The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the largest branch of the Lutheran denomination in America.

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS

As relations between the Christian Coalition and its supporters, on the one hand, and the organized Jewish community, on the other, continued to simmer, representatives of Jewish and evangelical Christian organizations met in Washington soon after the 1994 elections. The meeting, convened by Yechiel Eckstein, president of the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, was intended as a vehicle "to shatter stereotypes." "There is a common ground," he said, "even on moral values between evangelicals and Jews which hasn't been discerned yet."

The delicate nature of relations between evangelical Christians and Jews was underlined, however, when, in March 1995, the National Jewish Coalition (NJC) pulled out of a conference on Israel scheduled for May on the grounds that several of the Christian groups participating "have as their chief purpose the conversion of Jews to Christianity." The action of the coalition, an organization representing Jewish Republicans, followed withdrawal by the Israeli embassy from the same Washington-based conference. "Their active support of missionizing," wrote NJC executive director Matthew Brooks, "is, in practice, a determined effort to destroy the Jewish people. I cannot in good conscience participate in an event, even one dedicated to support for Israel, which includes organizations whose primary goal I vehemently oppose." Rabbi Daniel Lapin, on the other hand, director of the conservative group Toward Tradition, indicated that he had no concern in working in common cause with missionizers, asserting that "to whatever extent they succeed, the indictment is not on them, but on us."

MORMONS

A dispute between Jewish Holocaust survivors and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was resolved when, in April 1995, the church agreed to halt its practice of posthumously baptizing Jews. Mormon tenets call upon that faith's adherents to research their own ancestry and to have their forebears baptized; some adherents have gone further, however, collecting the names of, and then baptizing, prominent people and Holocaust victims. Ernest Michel, chairman of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and a son of Jews murdered at Auschwitz, approached the Mormon leadership upon discovering that his parents had been listed as members of the Mormon faith in this fashion. With apologies for any unintended offense to Holocaust survivors, the church agreed not only to cease the practice but also to expunge from its records the names of all Jews who were "improperly included."

CATHOLICS

In a series of interviews and public statements, Pope John Paul II placed Catholic-Jewish relations high on his ecumenical agenda, terming Jews "elder brothers in the faith" to Catholics and attacking anti-Semitism as "anti-Christian." While building on the foundations laid down by the Second Vatican Council some 30 years earlier, the pope broke significant new ground when, in an interview given shortly before Easter 1994, he recognized the right of Jews to settle in Israel—this following only a few months after the Vatican and Israel established diplomatic relations. In addition, 1994 saw the first official Vatican commemoration of the Holocaust, in the form of a Yom Hashoah concert on April 7 in Rome, attended by dignitaries from around the world. Rabbi A. James Rudin, director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, hailed these developments as having removed what had been stumbling blocks in the relations between Catholics and Jews. What is significant, Rabbi Rudin commented, is that the pope is "not talking to Jews about the Jewish people; he's speaking to Catholics."

In February 1995, Pope John Paul II met in private audience with leaders of the American Jewish Committee, who urged that he issue a formal encyclical against anti-Semitism. At the meeting, which took place in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Second Vatican Council's "Nostra Aetate" declaration, AJCommittee president Robert S. Rifkind expressed gratification for the strides made since 1965 in Jewish-Catholic relations, with hopes that the two communities would continue to build "on the foundations already laid."

MUSLIMS

In February 1994, Rabbi Arthur Schneier, head of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, brought together a convocation in New York of Jewish, Eastern Ortho-

dox, Roman Catholic, and Muslim clergy for an interfaith Conference on Peace and Tolerance, with a major focus on the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. The convocation was cosponsored by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Bartholomew I, leader of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Although reportedly faced with significant division on a number of issues, the conference did issue a statement condemning "ethnic cleansing" and rejecting "the concept that it was possible to justify one's actions in any armed conflict in the name of God."

A series of interfaith initiatives followed the Hebron massacre the same month. Interfaith services were held at a church, a synagogue, and a mosque in New York, and in Los Angeles Jewish and Arab organizations held a joint memorial service and press conference. Jewish students at colleges throughout the nation condemned the killings and held interfaith services and vigils with Muslim students and others. The Reform movement sent out packets to its member congregations urging, among other things, that Jewish leaders make condolence calls to Muslim leaders and write letters to local newspapers condemning the attack.

In a further development in Jewish-Muslim relations, a ground-breaking conference on "Women, Families and Children in Islamic and Judaic Traditions" was held in Denver in late October 1994. Although the conference was framed as an academic event, broader issues of intergroup relations were addressed. The conference was organized by Rabbi Rudin of the AJCommittee and Salam al-Maryati, director of the Los Angeles-based Muslim Public Affairs Council. As part of the program, participants began to explore public-policy issues of common concern on which their respective communities might work together.

Although interest in building a relationship had increased with developments in the Middle East peace process, there were still tensions arising out of differences on fundamental issues. Muslims viewed government investigations of American Muslim groups for possible links to Mideast terrorism, with the intent of cutting off the flow of American funds to Hamas, as a form of scapegoating. American Jewish groups largely supported those efforts, while urging that they should be undertaken with due regard for civil liberties and due process concerns.

CHURCH-STATE MATTERS

Legislative Activity

In 1994 the organized Jewish community continued its long-standing battle to preserve separation of church and state. Dissenting positions were taken by the Orthodox, not on the broad commitment to that principle but on certain specific applications, in particular the Jewish community's opposition to federally funded school vouchers for parochial and other private schools.

Throughout much of the year, Jewish organizations worked together with such coalition partners as the Baptist Joint Committee and Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

tion of Church and State to oppose efforts, spearheaded by Sen. Jesse Helms (R., N.C.), to add a school-prayer amendment to major education legislation. The amendment would have subjected schools to cutoffs of their federal funding if they did not protect the rights of students voluntarily to engage in "constitutionally protected prayer." After an initial defeat—the Senate adopted the Helms amendment in March as part of the "Goals 2000" education bill—the coalition succeeded in blocking the initiative from being enacted into law. "Goals 2000" emerged from conference without any school-prayer amendment, and the education appropriations legislation enacted into law later in the year included, instead, a far less problematic alternative sponsored by Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R., Kan.). (The Kassebaum language subjects a school to a funds cutoff only if it violates an actual court order with respect to religious expression.)

Less threatening but still problematic was the Senate's passage in February, by a vote of 78–8, of a resolution supporting a moment of silence during the school day that would allow students a moment for voluntary prayer. No action was taken in the House on this initiative, which was, in any event, a nonbinding resolution. Richard Foltin, legislative director and counsel for the American Jewish Committee, suggested that the provision served little purpose as, in any event, "there is no serious question of a school's right to provide for a truly voluntary moment of silence and of a student's right to engage in nondisruptive prayer during such a moment, or, in fact, at any other time during the school day." Rabbi Abraham Shemtov, national director of the American Friends of Lubavitch, on the other hand, endorsed the initiative. "A moment of silence brings about the awareness in children of the existence of the Supreme Being," he said.

An initiative introduced in both the 103rd and 104th Congresses by the bipartisan team of Senators Joseph Lieberman (D., Conn.) and Dan Coats (R., Ind.) would allow federal funds to be used to support parochial and other private schools on a pilot-project basis. Opposed by most Jewish groups, among others, as a violation of separation of church and state and a threat to the public-school system, it was supported by the Orthodox Jewish community as an important resource to enable children to attend religious schools. The bill failed to win approval in the 1994 session and had not moved by midyear 1995.

As the 1994 congressional year closed out, and even before the election returns had come in, advocates of separation of church and state were concerned about the future of their cause. After all, even though ultimately defeated in both cases, the Helms school-prayer provision was attached to the "Goals 2000" education bill—in a Democratic Senate—by a 75–22 vote, and was accepted as part of another education bill in the Democrat-controlled House by a landslide vote of 345–64. These votes suggested that "we have a lot to do as far as educating members of Congress about school prayer in particular and the separation of church and state in general," commented Mark Pelavin, Washington representative of the American Jewish Congress.

That work was clearly expanded by the election results. Within days of the

election, soon-to-be House Speaker Newt Gingrich alarmed the Jewish community when he indicated that he favored a vote by July 1995 on an amendment to the Constitution permitting officially sanctioned school prayer. President Clinton touched off a firestorm when, later in November, he made a statement that appeared to express a willingness to consider a school-prayer constitutional amendment. Shortly thereafter, the president clarified that he was against any school-prayer amendment to the Constitution, although he was prepared to consider legislation providing for a neutral moment of silence—a position he had long held.

By the end of November, the organized Jewish community had joined together with a broad-ranging group of religious and civil-liberties organizations to form the Coalition for Preservation of Religious Liberty, the mission of which was to oppose the proposed amendment. The coalition, co-chaired by Rabbi David Saperstein of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism and the Reverend Brent Walker of the Baptist Joint Committee, included organizational representation from all the major movements of American Judaism, including the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. Agudath Israel of America also spoke out in opposition to a school-prayer amendment to the Constitution.

As the 104th Congress began, the coalition, with Jewish groups continuing to play an important leadership role, urgently began its task of trying to keep on top of what the school-prayer initiative would look like and of canvassing the new Congress in a search for allies on both sides of the aisle. The new year had hardly begun when Rep. Jon Fox (R., Pa.), the only Jewish freshman, announced that while he would support a moment of silence in schools, he would oppose amending the Constitution to allow school prayer.

The new Congress saw several school-prayer initiatives put forward, but given the other priorities established by the Republican majority in the "Contract with America" and the opposition of a number of Republican moderates to any quick action in this area, it seemed unlikely that there would be early votes on any of these initiatives. Perhaps most crucially, early in 1995 reports began to filter out that proponents of a constitutional amendment were rethinking exactly what form an amendment ought to take.

That rethinking received a public airing when the Christian Coalition included as an item in its ten-point "Contract with the American Family" a call for a "religious equality amendment," and no reference to a "school-prayer amendment." The premise of this amendment was that religion had somehow become the subject of unfair discrimination, both in the courts and by virtue of government practice, and that the drastic measure of amending the Constitution was necessary to alleviate the situation. The proposed amendment would allow for prayer at graduations, for student-led prayers in schools, and for religious symbols in public places, protection of other forms of religious speech, and equivalent funding of sectarian and secular institutions. By mid-1995 the "religious equality amendment" remained a work in progress. Although there were no votes in either house, whether on the floor or in committee—and, in fact, not yet even a proposed text—initial hearings were held

on "religious liberty issues" before the House Judiciary Subcommittee in June 1995, with more to follow. The hearings demonstrated that advocates of the amendment were at loggerheads over what its final language should be and even, to some extent, over just what aspects of existing church-state doctrine ought to be revisited.

If the proponents of the amendment had not come to agreement by midyear, there was, for once, strong consensus virtually across the spectrum of the Jewish community that the "religious equality amendment" was a dangerous and unnecessary initiative packaged with an attractive name. Thus, even though it opposed much of the rest of the Jewish community in its support for vouchers, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations joined with its coreligionists in opposition to the constitutional initiative. And, for the most part, those who did not join in the opposition, such as Agudath Israel of America, took a "wait-and-see" attitude rather than weigh in on the side of the Christian Coalition.

Judicial Action

In March 1994, on one of the middle days of Passover, the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments in *Board of Education of Kiryas Joel v. Grumet*. The result of this case was somewhat comforting to the "strict" church-state separationists, but it also demonstrated the thin margin by which any Court decision in this area was likely to be rendered. In addition, the case demonstrated the divisions within the Jewish community as to the principles on which these issues ought to be decided.

The case involved a challenge to New York State's creation of a special school district, its borders congruent with those of the existing village of Kiryas Joel, in order to provide remedial educational services for handicapped Hassidic children. The school district was created because the state was prohibited by Supreme Court precedent from providing the federally funded remedial services on the premises of Kiryas Joel's parochial schools, even while the Hassidic parents asserted that they could not send their children to nearby public schools for these services because they believed the children would be harassed.

The state and the Satmar Hassidim, represented by Washington lawyer Nathan Lewin, argued that creation of the school district was a constitutionally appropriate accommodation of the needs of a particular religious community. The two taxpayers bringing the challenge countered, and the New York Court of Appeals held, that the state's action had created a "religiously segregated environment" that violated the constitutional prohibition on government establishment of religion, and that there were other, more appropriate, means of accommodating the concerns of the Hassidic parents. Orthodox groups, including Agudath Israel of America and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, filed friend-of-the-court briefs in support of the district's creation, with briefs on the other side filed by the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, among others.

As the Supreme Court neared the end of its term in June 1994, it issued a 6-3

ruling sustaining the lower courts' finding that the Kiryas Joel school district was unconstitutional. Most Jewish groups other than the Orthodox hailed the ruling. Even so, those claiming victory acknowledged that the problem yet remained as to how to accommodate the needs of the Hassidic children in a fashion that would not violate separation of church and state.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas dissented from the majority opinion and would have ruled in favor of the school district. Their opinions reiterated a theme from earlier cases—their view that it was time to revisit a church-state doctrine that they viewed as hostile to religion. Of the remaining justices, four—Justices Harry Blackmun, John Paul Stevens, Sandra Day O'Connor, and Ruth Bader Ginsburg—joined in the majority opinion of Justice David Souter that struck down the district. They did so, however, on a relatively narrow basis, that civil authority may not be delegated on the basis of religious criteria. Broader questions with respect to traditional church-state analysis remained unresolved. The concurring opinion of Justice Anthony Kennedy, the remaining justice in the majority, revealed that he had voted to strike down the district not out of Establishment Clause concerns, but because he opposed the creation of the district as equivalent to the creation of election districts on the basis of race, a practice whose constitutionality he questioned.

Justice Souter's opinion for the Court, stressing that the ruling did not prevent appropriate accommodations of religious practice, set forth a number of ways in which the Hassidic children might receive the remedial services without the Constitution being violated. Instead of following Justice Souter's suggestions, the New York State legislature, pointing to language in Justice O'Connor's concurrence which found a problem in the Kiryas Joel district because it was created by the legislature to benefit Hassidic children directly, passed a law—within a week of the decision—that allowed any village to form a school district if certain conditions were met. Opponents challenged this enactment as a subterfuge, claiming that these supposedly generic conditions were in fact applicable only to Kiryas Joel. They warned that this step would invite a Balkanization of communities in which diverse religious, racial, ethnic, and sexual groups would all want their own school districts.

A challenge to the constitutionality of the new statute was turned back in March 1995 by a New York State trial level court, the same court whose decision overturning the earlier legislation had earlier found its way to the U.S. Supreme Court. This left the Kiryas Joel Village School District in place as the case once again began to wend its way through the appellate process. Meanwhile, the U.S. Supreme Court heard argument on two new church-state cases and, on the last day of the term in June 1995, rendered potentially ground-breaking decisions.

One case, *Rosenberger v. Rectors of the University of Virginia*, involved a challenge by the editor of a student-run Christian magazine to the university's refusal to allocate it funds generally available to student publications on the grounds that this action violated his freedom of speech. The university had refused the funding because, in its view, to do otherwise would violate church-state separation. Voting

5-4, the majority held that the "viewpoint discrimination" on the part of the university was not justified, even if the motive of the school officials was to avoid a violation of the establishment clause. The opinion of the Court, written by Justice Kennedy, made much of the fact that the funding program was "neutral toward religion," not a general tax levied "for the direct support of a church." He also referred to the fact that the funds would be paid to the printer and not to the religious club. Justice Souter wrote for the dissenters, contending that the Court had "for the first time, approve[d] direct funding of core religious activities by an arm of the State." Evenhandedness in distributing benefits, he asserted, was not sufficient to overcome the constitutional ban on such an action by the state.

The other case, *Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board v. Pinette*, argued in April, saw the Court hold by a 7-2 vote that the Ku Klux Klan had a free-speech right to display an unattended wooden cross on the Ohio statehouse lawn because other religious and nonreligious displays had been allowed. There was no majority opinion, however, as to the rationale for this decision. Justice Scalia, writing for four of the majority justices, argued that purely private religious expression that occurs in a "public forum" open to all on equal terms is, by definition, not a violation of the Establishment Clause. Justices Stevens and Ginsburg dissented, contending, among other things, that a reasonable observer would infer government endorsement of even a private religious expression.

Faced with complex questions about the relationship between the Constitution's prohibition on establishment of religion and its protection of free speech, the organized Jewish community seemed nearly as split as the Supreme Court on these two cases, particularly with respect to *Pinette*. "These two cases together shrink the Establishment Clause," asserted Samuel Rabinove, legal director for the American Jewish Committee. "Thomas Jefferson, who disestablished the Anglican Church in Virginia and who founded the University of Virginia must be turning over in his grave." The American Jewish Congress expressed less alarm about the long-term impact of the cases even though it had filed on the same side as AJCommittee. Attorneys for the Orthodox community, in contrast to both of the AJCs, hailed the decisions as a welcome recognition by the Court that, in the words of attorney Nathan Lewin, "religious expression is entitled to the same respect as secular expression." Agudath Israel general counsel David Zwiebel argued as well that the *Rosenberger* case was "a step closer" to the upholding of voucher programs as constitutional.

SUPREME COURT APPOINTMENT

With the retirement of Justice Harry Blackmun at the close of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1993 term (in the summer of 1994), the organized Jewish community lost a strong supporter of its positions on such issues as religious liberty and abortion rights. In naming Justice Blackmun's successor—his second appointment to the high court—President Clinton once again named a Jewish jurist, this time Judge

Stephen Breyer of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. Justice Breyer was confirmed in July 1994 by a Senate vote of 87-9. The Harvard Law School-educated Breyer brought with him a reputation for high legal competence, even brilliance, and for consensus building.

Following nearly two-and-a-half decades in which no Jew sat on the Supreme Court—a period that ended only with the 1993 appointment of Ruth Bader Ginsburg—Justice Breyer's appointment meant that, for the first time since 1938, there were two Jewish justices. In the view of many Jewish commentators, Clinton's second Jewish appointment was particularly gratifying because the decision had clearly been made based on merit and not on religion. In addition, they were reassured by statements made by Judge Breyer at his confirmation hearing that placed him firmly in support of the principle of separation of church and state.

“Free-Exercise” Developments

Religious harassment in the workplace became an issue, starting in March 1994, when the Christian Coalition attacked guidelines proposed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to protect employees from harassing and derogatory slurs targeted at them because of their religious beliefs.

The Christian Coalition and other conservative Christian groups claimed that, rather than protect employees from harassment, the guidelines would push employers into making their workplaces “religion-free,” so that any form of religious expression would be prohibited. The guidelines opponents quickly garnered support from a number of senators in their attempt to have the guidelines withdrawn, with hearings held on the issue before a Senate committee. Many Christian and civil-liberties groups, joined by a virtually unanimous Jewish community, differed sharply with this attack on the EEOC guidelines, viewing them as an important protection of religious free exercise—even while conceding that the guidelines ought to be revised so as to make clear that they were directed only at truly harassing and derogatory behavior. Abba Cohen, Washington representative of Agudath Israel of America, stressed that Orthodox Jews are often harassed by questions or comments concerning their mode of dress or their observance of the Sabbath. Supporters of the guidelines were championed by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, who asked, “What kind of signal would that send? That we abhor racial or sexual slurs, but that religious slurs are somehow less abhorrent, or even acceptable?”

In September 1994, following the inclusion in appropriations legislation of language that restricted EEOC autonomy in dealing with religious harassment, the EEOC withdrew the entire set of guidelines, including the portions dealing with other forms of harassment. Given the changes in Congress following the November election, it was unlikely that the EEOC would soon reissue guidelines on this subject.

Not to be confused with—but related to—religious harassment is the issue of religious accommodation. In the closing days of the 103rd Congress, Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D., N.Y.) introduced the Workplace Religious Freedom Act, legislation

that would protect the right of employees to practice their religion without the fear of losing their jobs or being passed over for promotions. A 1972 amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ostensibly provided religiously observant employees with a right to religious accommodation. However, the courts had so narrowly interpreted that amendment that it left employers with relatively little obligation. The Workplace Religious Freedom Act, American Jewish Committee legislative director and counsel Richard Foltin argued, "would give the protection the weight Congress intended in the first place."

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Holocaust-Related Matters

There were further developments in the case of John Demjanjuk, the man who may not have been "Ivan the Terrible" but by all the evidence was an Ivan culpable for many horrors visited upon Jewish men, women, and children during the Holocaust. Following his return to the United States in September 1993, after the Israeli Supreme Court reversed his conviction on the grounds that the prosecution had not met its burden of proof, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit overturned Demjanjuk's extradition, thus allowing him to remain in the United States. That decision was affirmed by the full Court of Appeals in February 1994.

The three-judge panel found, in issuing its ruling, that the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) had committed fraud in the 1985 proceedings in which Demjanjuk's extradition to Israel was initially ordered, and that OSI had been unduly influenced by Jewish groups, including the Anti-Defamation League, in its bringing the action in the first place. Neither of these findings was set aside in the full court's reconsideration of the matter, even though they ran counter to the 1992 conclusions of U.S. district court Judge Thomas Wiseman, Jr., who, as a special master appointed by the appellate court, had exonerated OSI on these points.

OSI filed an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court, asserting that the government had acted in good faith. OSI's petition to have the case heard by the high court was supported by the World Jewish Congress, among others, whose brief asserted that the lower court's decision perpetuated a "vicious stereotype" of Jews. On Monday, October 3, 1994, the opening day of a new term, the high court declined to hear the case.

The Supreme Court's decision did not end the case. The Sixth Circuit determination had not overturned the 1981 ruling by U.S. District Judge Frank Battisti that denaturalized Demjanjuk on the grounds that Demjanjuk had lied about his activities during the war in his application for citizenship. The Justice Department filed a motion with the district court in December 1993 asking that this finding be

reaffirmed, an action that would provide the basis for Demjanjuk's deportation. Judge Battisti had stayed action on that petition pending resolution of the appeal to the high court. The month was not out, however, before Judge Battisti died, thus assuring further delay on a final resolution of the matter.

With far less public attention, the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations continued its work in other cases of gathering and presenting evidence of alleged involvement in World War II atrocities by persons who had obtained U.S. citizenship after the war. In late January 1994, OSI filed new documents in its ongoing attempt (dating back to 1992) to denaturalize Jonas Stelmokas, a Lithuanian-American residing in Philadelphia, on the grounds that, among other things, he had allegedly been a platoon commander of a Lithuanian police battalion that participated in the liquidation of the Kovno Jewish ghetto on October 29, 1941, in which 9,200 Jews, almost half of them children, died in mass executions.

In March 1994, within a week of being served with notice of an OSI deportation proceeding, Peter Mueller—a Colorado resident and German national who was alleged to have served as an armed Nazi concentration-camp guard in France during World War II—voluntarily left the United States for Germany. In April a federal immigration judge in Milwaukee ordered the deportation of Croatian-born Anton Tittjung, a former guard at the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria, on the grounds that he had lied about his wartime record to gain entry to the United States and, later, to obtain citizenship. And in September OSI brought citizenship-revocation proceedings against two men accused of war crimes in Lithuania, including Aleksandras Lileikis of Norwood, Massachusetts, who was said to have been the chief of the Lithuanian Security Police—the Saugumas—for the entire Vilnius (Vilna) Province during the German occupation. The Saugumas were responsible for some of the most brutal atrocities against Jews and others during World War II.

Actions were brought by OSI against other war criminals throughout 1994 and into 1995, as well. In all, OSI reported in September 1994, 50 Nazi war criminals up until that time had lost their citizenship because of OSI cases, and 42 of those had been removed from the United States. As of that date, OSI was investigating more than 300 additional possible war criminals.

OSI's top leadership changed in 1994. Director Neal Sher left OSI, after 15 years of government service, to become executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Sher's departure, taken together with the accusations leveled at OSI by an appellate court in the wake of the unfavorable result in the Demjanjuk case, raised some concern that the Justice Department office might see its mission compromised or its very existence threatened. For the Jewish community, however, there was a general conviction that the OSI's mission was more essential than ever, given the new flow of information from a democratizing Eastern Europe that was likely to mean new opportunities to identify, and take action against, war criminals.

Eli Rosenbaum, a longtime attorney on the OSI staff, was appointed acting director upon Sher's departure and director in February 1995. He was generally regarded by the Jewish community as a capable lawyer and passionate advocate of OSI's work.

Pollard and Manning

Late in 1993, outgoing defense secretary Les Aspin advised President Clinton that Jonathan Pollard, who was serving a life sentence for delivering sensitive U.S. classified material to Israel, had tried to send out top secret information in 14 letters from his prison cell. 1994 began with a rebuttal to this charge by spy novelist Howard Kaplan, who released a censored letter he had received from Pollard some six years earlier, in order to demonstrate that all of Pollard's correspondence was subject to heavy censorship and that Pollard knew that it was.

The controversy over Aspin's allegations was related to an ongoing controversy within the administration over whether Pollard should be granted clemency, with the State and Justice Departments reportedly for and the Defense Department and intelligence agencies reportedly against.

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and several American Jewish organizations appealed to President Clinton to reduce Pollard's life sentence on humanitarian grounds, the effect of which reduction would be to make Pollard eligible for immediate parole. The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, after years of avoiding the fray, wrote to the president, urging that there be a review of the case and that, if the president found the sentence improper, he consider reducing the sentence to time served.

On March 23, President Clinton announced his decision to deny clemency to Pollard, noting that this decision reflected "the unanimous views of the law enforcement and national security agencies," including Attorney General Janet Reno, based on "the grave nature" of Pollard's crime and "the considerable damage that his actions caused our nation." Pollard's attorneys, as well as his supporters in the Jewish community, who had long argued that he committed his crimes out of love for Israel, and that the fruits of his espionage were shared only with a friendly nation, expressed their disappointment and anger at this determination.

Pollard's supporters now focused their attention on a campaign to win him parole on humanitarian grounds when he first became eligible in November 1995. In the meantime, in May 1994, Pollard married Elaine Zeitz, the head of a Canadian support group seeking his release. The wedding took place at a federal correctional institution in Butner, North Carolina, where Pollard was serving his term.

California-born Robert Manning, a dual Israeli-American national, was sentenced by an American court to life imprisonment—without possibility of parole for 30 years—for his role in the 1980 mail-bomb death of a Los Angeles secretary. Manning had been named as a suspect by Los Angeles authorities in a number of cases involving attacks against Arab-Americans and neo-Nazis, but the sentence in

this case was for a crime with no apparent political or religious connection. His wife, Rachel Manning, also a dual national, was ordered extradited to the United States by Israel for her role in the same crime, but died of a heart attack on March 18, 1994, while still in Israeli custody.

RICHARD T. FOLTIN

Jewish Communal Affairs

REVERBERATIONS OF THE SEPTEMBER 1993 mutual-recognition agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) continued to divide American Jewry throughout 1994 and early 1995. A vocal minority of American Jews, convinced that the peace process would prove fatal to the Jewish state, used public protest and political action to frustrate the stated policy of the Israeli government. The ramifications of the peace process, in turn, led to intensified debate about the future of American Jewish-Israeli relations and the impact of that relationship on the future of Jewish life in the United States. Other issues that attracted attention were the death of the Rebbe of Lubavitch, Menachem M. Schneerson, the renewed questioning—in light of the 1994 elections—of Jewish political liberalism, the fate of convicted spy Jonathan Pollard, and the ongoing relevance of Holocaust memory.

Debating the Peace Process

While a solid majority of American Jews, along with most of their major organizations, supported the Israel-PLO agreement with varying degrees of enthusiasm, a determined minority opposed it on security or religious grounds, or both. Another minority—less aggressive and vociferous, to be sure, since it basically agreed with Israeli policy—urged the Jewish state to be even more forthcoming in addressing Palestinian concerns.

On January 4, 1994, Lester Pollack, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, delivered an address in Jerusalem on “American Jewry, Israel, and the Peace Process.” Acknowledging that American Jews felt “growing concern and apprehension about violence and terror” in Israel since the Rabin-Arafat handshake on the White House lawn almost three months earlier, he denied any “real diminution” of American Jewish support for the peace process. Chiding the media for paying too much attention to the dissenters in the American Jewish community, Pollack declared that those dissenters “should express their views in responsible and effective ways.”

Early the next day, bombs were left outside the New York offices of two organizations that had long and vocally supported the peace process. A security guard found the bomb intended for Americans for Peace Now (APN), and the police disarmed it. The bomb left in front of the New Israel Fund went off, but caused no damage. Both had notes attached condemning Israel's peace policy and signed by Maccabee Squad and Shield of David, hitherto unknown groups.

The entire spectrum of American Jewish organizations, including those opposed

to the peace process—even the Jewish Defense Organization, a successor to the late Rabbi Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League—denounced the attacks. Nevertheless, Israel's consul in New York, Colette Avital, interviewed on CBS's "60 Minutes," said that the bombing attempts were the inevitable result of extreme statements against the Israeli government and the verbal and physical abuse heaped upon Israeli representatives by certain American Jewish audiences. Letty Cottin Pogrebin, chairwoman of Americans for Peace Now, specifically blamed "supporters of the Likud and other rightist parties" for "using words like 'traitor' to delegitimize the Rabin government and its supporters." Former Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir added fuel to the fire when he asserted that even had the bombs gone off, the damage would have amounted to less than that caused by Peace Now. The Conference of Presidents was about to condemn the comment, but executive vice-chairman Malcolm Hoenlein put in a call to Shamir, who explained that his statement had come out the opposite of what he intended.

In February the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC), the umbrella organization reflecting the views of national and local Jewish bodies, took up the subject of the peace process. For the first time, it heard presentations not only from an Israeli government spokesperson—in this case, Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin—but also from opposition leader Benjamin Netanyahu. After listening to both sides, the delegates almost unanimously affirmed support for the peace process and resolved to mount an educational campaign "to broaden American public understanding of the peace process and risks related to it" and "to discourage divisive and inflammatory rhetoric" within the Jewish community.

HEBRON MASSACRE

On February 25, 1994, Baruch Goldstein, an American-born Israeli physician, opened fire on Muslims at prayer in the Tomb of the Patriarchs in the heavily Arab West Bank city of Hebron. At least 29 were killed and many more wounded before Goldstein was subdued and beaten to death. The act was universally condemned in the American Jewish community, as both rabbis and Jewish organizations called it antithetical to Jewish values. In several American communities, Jews joined with Christians and Muslims at interfaith services to mourn the victims and pray for peace. Nevertheless, Jews differed with each other over the massacre's implications for the ongoing peace process.

The mainstream umbrella organizations supporting Israeli policy warned that the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations must not fall victim to this atrocity. Lynn Lyss, NJCRAC chairwoman, hoped that "today's tragedy will spur a renewal of efforts to bring peace and reconciliation between Israel and the Palestinians." Lester Polack, the Conference of Presidents chairman, said: "We must not allow this or other acts of violence to undermine peace negotiations, incite tensions in the area, or provoke further bloodshed." The conference's regularly scheduled annual mission

to Israel began two days later. The talks that took place between the Jewish leaders on the mission and the Jews and Arabs they met focused on the fate of the peace process. Executive vice-chairman Hoenlein summed up the conclusions of the Americans: "There is a threat of polarization, both Palestinian and Israeli. The challenge for the Israeli leadership is to ensure that polarization not be allowed to predominate."

Groups to the left and the right of this mainstream had other ideas. Those ardently committed to furthering the peace process argued that Goldstein had been able to act because Israeli policy was too soft on militant Jewish settlers. Americans for Peace Now, for example, urged the Israeli government to "remove Jews from the heart of Hebron where their presence inflames relations and poses a danger to all residents of the area." And several weeks later, APN joined with the National Association of Arab Americans in a formal statement calling for the evacuation of all Israeli settlers from Hebron and Gaza. But on the other side of the political spectrum, Americans for a Safe Israel, affiliated with the Israeli Likud, blamed Israel's peace policy for letting Arabs "get away with murder," thereby nurturing the "frustration" among Jewish settlers that led to Goldstein's act. During the Conference of Presidents' mission to Israel, Morton Klein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, publicly challenged a Palestinian leader to match Jewish condemnation of the Hebron massacre by condemning Palestinian killings of Jews. When he declined to do so, Klein called it a "frightening message about his insincerity in wanting to live in peace with the Israeli people."

Of all American Jews, it was the Orthodox who had the most difficulty coming to grips with the Hebron killings: Baruch Goldstein had been raised in a Brooklyn Orthodox home and educated in well-known yeshivas. Since those who knew him had only good things to say about Goldstein—"he was as nice a boy as you'll ever find," recalled one teacher—many could only explain his act as an outburst of irrationality. Shlomo Riskin, the American-born rabbi of the West Bank town of Efrat, said, on a visit to New York, that Goldstein was "a very compassionate doctor who just went insane."

Others were not willing to leave it at that and called for critical scrutiny of the kind of Orthodox Judaism that could produce a Goldstein. Rabbi Louis Bernstein, his Jewish history professor at Yeshiva University, recalled with regret the failure of modern Orthodox circles to ostracize Meir Kahane. "*Ashamnu*," he said, "we are guilty, we have tolerated this phenomenon of Kahanism in Jewish life." Ze'ev Chafetz, writing in the *Jerusalem Report* (March 24, 1995), claimed that "anyone who has visited Orthodox synagogues in America" knows the extent of Kahanist influence. And Shlomo Sternberg, an Orthodox rabbi, in a letter to the *New York Times* (March 9, 1994), asserted that "there is something rotten" at the core of modern Orthodox education. "Literalism, fundamentalism, and obscurantism," he wrote, had taken over the curriculum, ultimately producing a Goldstein. In response, 1,700 students from 22 yeshiva high schools paid for a full-page ad in the *Times* (March 18) deploring the massacre, but at the same time expressing "dis-

treasure" at "the silence of Arab leaders in the face of wanton violence against Jews" and "concern" over the stereotyping of all Jewish settlers on the basis of Goldstein's act.

Even as the Hebron massacre evoked renewed calls both in Israel and the United States to curb the activities of militant Jewish settlers in heavily Arab parts of the West Bank, most Orthodox organizations—many of whose members had relatives living in the territories—continued to express skepticism about the peace negotiations. Orthodox fund-raising for the settlements in the territories continued, with a number of synagogues "adopting" specific Jewish settlements. Rabbi Pinchas Stolper, executive vice-president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, explained: "Our position is that the security and safety and development of the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria must be protected and enhanced." Those within the Orthodox community who favored the peace process—they would form an organization later in the year called *Shvil Hazahav* (The Middle Way)—described themselves as a beleaguered minority, and some reported receiving death threats.

The organized American Jewish community found itself in the unaccustomed position of differing with the government of Israel over a proposed UN Security Council resolution condemning the Hebron massacre. While no one opposed the condemnation itself, the resolution had a problematic preamble that included Jerusalem as one of the "territories occupied by Israel in June 1967." American Jewish groups reacted with alarm, fearful that U.S. acquiescence with this wording might mark a retreat from the American position that Jerusalem is not "occupied territory." The U.S. Senate unanimously passed a resolution urging the administration to exercise its veto. Both the Conference of Presidents and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) were about to endorse the call for a veto when they were informed that the Israeli government wanted the resolution passed as worded, so as to bring the Palestinians back to the bargaining table to continue the negotiations broken off after the massacre. Thus, only the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) and—at the last minute—the Anti-Defamation League called for a U.S. veto. The UN resolution passed unanimously on March 18, with the American delegate abstaining on the objectionable language in the preamble, an act having no legal bearing on the validity of the resolution. Afterward, the American Jewish organizations that knew full well in advance that Israel had opposed a U.S. veto issued pro forma denunciations of the preamble.

In April the ZOA, whose official policy supported peace negotiations along with an insistence on meticulous PLO adherence to its undertakings under the agreement, announced the creation of a Peace Accord Monitoring Group in Congress to keep tabs on whether the PLO was adhering to the accords. Israeli authorities expressed no opinion about this move. Eager to establish and enhance their pro-Israel credentials, 45 senators and representatives joined the group over the next several months.

Through the spring and summer, there were numerous signs of rapprochement

between mainstream American Jewish organizations and the Arab world. In April the American Zionist Movement held its first meeting ever with the PLO observer at the UN. In May delegates to the American Jewish Committee's annual meeting in Washington, D.C., for the first time visited the embassies of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia and the PLO office. Also that month, the AJCommittee met with the Kuwaiti ambassador in Washington, the first time that any Kuwaiti leader had sat with representatives of an American Jewish organization. And in June the United Jewish Appeal added Jordan to the list of countries to which it sent organized missions. The generally sympathetic attitude of the American Jewish public toward Israeli policy was reflected in a poll conducted in May by an organization affiliated with the Israeli Labor Party: 88 percent of respondents favored the peace process.

The Israeli government, however, recognizing the determination of the opposition within the American Jewish community, continued to use the powers of persuasion to reassure the doubters. In May 1994, both Uri Savir, director-general of Israel's Foreign Ministry and one of the architects of the Oslo accords, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres came to New York to defend the peace process before the Conference of Presidents.

The annual Salute to Israel Parade in May 1994, which featured some 60,000 young marchers, managed to avoid political polarization. The parade chairperson said afterward, "We refused to get bogged down in any extraneous issues, such as 'Are you for the government peace plan or are you against it?' " Nevertheless, dissident factions on the right and the left made their presence felt. Those of a dovish persuasion carried signs calling for dismantling Jewish settlements in the territories and the establishment of a Palestinian state, while the Betar Youth Organization, affiliated with Likud, chanted antigovernment sentiments, and the followers of Meir Kahane held up signs calling Yitzhak Rabin a traitor and Baruch Goldstein a hero. After the parade, 20,000 people attended a rally in Central Park "in solidarity with the settlements," sponsored by the National Council of Young Israel, an Orthodox synagogue group.

CONTINUING CONTROVERSIES

Over the course of the summer, the three ideological camps within the community—followers of the Israeli line on the peace process, those favoring a more forthcoming Israeli stand, and those opposed to concessions—all tried to influence U.S. and Israeli government policy.

In June, as the U.S. Agency for International Development prepared to set up an office to dispense funds for assistance to the autonomous Palestinian districts of Gaza and Jericho, AIPAC, seconded by pro-Israel members of Congress, warned that the office should not be located in East Jerusalem, since that would "erode Jerusalem's status as Israel's undivided capital." Americans for Peace Now disagreed, arguing that such an office in East Jerusalem would not set any precedent for the future.

The next issue of controversy, later that month, was Prime Minister Rabin's statement that Yasir Arafat would be allowed to pray in Jerusalem. The Likud mayor of Jerusalem urged Diaspora Jews to join him in demonstrations against any such visit, and some American Jewish groups hostile to the peace process indicated a willingness to come. The Conference of Presidents declined to take sides, but NJCRAC issued a letter supporting the right of Arafat to pray in Jerusalem.

In early July, the Golan Heights also became a focus of controversy. Americans for a Safe Israel and other American Jewish groups opposed to the peace process, in alliance with a number of Christian pro-Israel organizations, pushed aggressively for the U.S. Senate to bar appropriations for any possible deployment of U.S. troops for peacekeeping on the Golan Heights in the event of a peace agreement between Israel and Syria. Though this move was ostensibly motivated by concern for the safety of American GIs, Israeli officials termed it a blatant attempt to stymie a deal with Syria by foreclosing the option of an American peacekeeping role. In Prime Minister Rabin's words, "This is simple stupidity, a distorted presentation by the Israeli right and the American Jewish right." With AIPAC espousing the official Israeli position and lobbying against the proposed Senate restrictions on U.S. peacekeeping, they did not pass.

Eventually, tensions between the mainstream Jewish bodies and those more skeptical of the Israeli peace policy flared into open war. On July 29, at an all-night session of a congressional conference committee seeking to finalize the U.S. foreign aid bill, ZOA president Morton Klein appeared, urging the conferees to endorse the Shelby-Specter Amendment, which conditioned aid to the PLO on that organization's compliance with the peace accords. The amendment passed, to the great chagrin of the conference committee chairman. AIPAC, long acknowledged to be the community's designated pro-Israel lobby, expressed outrage, charging that Klein, by failing to consult and coordinate with AIPAC, had acted in "an amateurish and hostile fashion" that "put the entire pro-Israel agenda at risk." AIPAC called on the Conference of Presidents to take disciplinary action against the ZOA. Klein, for his part, charged that AIPAC was just jealous that its turf had been invaded. "One organization," he said, "cannot possibly represent community consensus on every issue, and I have a responsibility to speak out."

Rejecting Klein's request for a public hearing on AIPAC's charges against him, the Conference of Presidents held a closed-door session of its leadership, which Klein refused to attend. What emerged was a set of guidelines for the future, reiterating that all Israel-related lobbying had to be cleared first with AIPAC, which voices the consensus of the community. Klein reacted by denying that there was any American Jewish consensus on Israel's policies, arguing: "If the community is split 50-50 on an issue, how can AIPAC reflect a consensus of the Jewish people?" AIPAC responded that American Jewry as a whole backed Israel's course, and that the organization was therefore justified in speaking for the community.

Meanwhile, American Jews eager to accelerate the peace process also pressed their case. In July Project Nishma sent a delegation to Syria, where it met for two

hours with President Hafez al-Assad and discussed the prospects for a Syrian-Israeli peace. In August the American Jewish Congress sent a similar delegation to speak with Assad. This trip was officially under the aegis of the Council of Foreign Relations, whose U.S./Middle East Project director, Henry Siegman, was the former AJCongress executive director. With the approach of the High Holy Days, the Israel Policy Forum, a pro-peace group, compiled a resource guide to traditional Jewish sources about peace, which it sent to some 4,000 American rabbis along with a cover letter suggesting that it be used for sermons. Not one of the 13 rabbinic signatories of the letter was Orthodox.

On September 13, to mark the first anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO, Prime Minister Rabin participated in a teleconference with American Jews in over 70 cities, a number of whom described to Rabin what their communities had done to further the peace process. This was also the theme of a booklet issued by the Conference of Presidents. The same day, the American Jewish Committee released the results of a survey of American Jewish opinion about the peace process that showed continuing strong support for the negotiations. However, comparisons with a similar AJC poll taken immediately after the signing a year before indicated some slippage in enthusiasm. "People responded in a less euphoric, more realistic manner," explained AJC executive director David Harris. Significantly, while in 1993 no subgroup in the sample opposed the accords, in 1994 a majority of the Orthodox registered opposition.

When the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations (CJF) convened in Denver in November, it heard not only from Prime Minister Rabin but also from Likud chief Benjamin Netanyahu. This marked the first time that the leader of the Israeli opposition had been invited to speak. In his address, the prime minister lashed out at Israelis opposed to his peace policies, who, he charged, had been lobbying members of Congress to bar the stationing of American troops on the Golan. Such lobbyists, he said, were damaging Israel by strengthening isolationist tendencies in American politics. Netanyahu, in his speech, denied that he had anything to do with lobbying on Capitol Hill and proceeded to criticize the notion of using Americans to patrol the Golan. The CJF Board of Delegates approved a resolution endorsing the official Israeli peace policy.

NEW CONGRESS

Several aspects of the November 8 congressional elections were noteworthy from a Middle East perspective. For one thing, donations to pro-Israel PACs dropped precipitously—50 percent since the 1992 election. Observers attributed this to the lack of any sense of imminent danger to Israel, as evidenced by the peace negotiations and the friendly stance of the Clinton administration toward the Jewish state. For another, the huge Republican landslide brought numerous freshman members to Congress, and AIPAC geared up to educate them about Israel-related issues. And since both houses of Congress would be Republican, American Jews hostile to the

peace process looked forward to key congressional committee chairmanships falling into the hands of foreign-policy hard-liners who would demand more of the Palestinians and the Arab nations than did the Clinton administration, or, for that matter, the government of Israel.

A clash emerged even before the new Congress convened. On December 1, a State Department report on PLO compliance with the peace accords unleashed another round of bickering within the American Jewish community and attempts by the competing factions to influence Congress. The report—which the Shelby-Specter Amendment required once every six months as a condition for American funding of the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and Jericho—concluded that the PLO was sufficiently in compliance to merit the funding. Nevertheless, it cited numerous PLO words and deeds that seemed to contradict its professed commitment to peace with Israel. The ZOA, skeptical of the peace process to begin with, termed a “whitewash” the State Department conclusion that aid was merited and said it would use evidence in the report to lobby Congress against such aid. An official of Americans for Peace Now, on the other hand, while acknowledging that the Palestinians had not completely lived up to their obligations, was “encouraged by their progress.”

Striving to build a middle-ground position, AIPAC president Steven Grossman announced that his organization continued to back aid for the Palestinian Authority while expressing sharp criticism of the PLO leader: “The time has come for Arafat to ratchet up his compliance with his commitments. If the Israeli people, the American people and Congress are going to have full faith in Arafat, then he needs to be more assiduous and steadfast in his efforts.” This language proved too harsh for the Israeli government, which feared that it might give aid and comfort to those eager to cut off aid, a move that could sabotage the peace process. Israeli ambassador Itamar Rabinovich placed phone calls to American Jewish leaders urging them not to emphasize the negative aspects of the State Department report. Congress voted to renew funding.

EVENTS OF EARLY 1995

Meanwhile, the dovish critique of Israeli policy found its way onto the op-ed page of the *New York Times* (January 26, 1995). In the wake of a suicide bombing that left 21 dead Israelis and induced Israeli president Ezer Weizman to call for a moratorium on the peace process, Henry Siegman argued, to the contrary, that only an Israeli decision to remove the settlements in the territories and a commitment to a Palestinian state would provide the reassurances that would pacify the Palestinians. Phil Baum, Siegman’s successor as AJCongress executive director, and David V. Kahn, the organization’s president, responded with a letter to the editor countering that Siegman’s proposal would “confer on the fanatics a legitimacy the peace process wisely denies them” (February 1, 1995).

As the 104th Congress opened, attention shifted back to the issue of using U.S. troops to insure peace on the Golan. A new Coalition for a Secure U.S.-Israel

Friendship, made up of Jewish and Christian groups opposed to any peace treaty in which Israel relinquished control of the strategic Golan Heights, lobbied aggressively for legislation barring such use of American forces. The lobby's message fit well with a popular disinclination to place American boys at risk in foreign countries and the isolationist tendencies evident in the new Republican Congress. Some 25 members of Congress—including the new chairperson of the House International Relations Committee—signed on to a statement urging a full debate and vote before American forces were sent to the Golan. The Israeli government, which explicitly included the possibility of an American peacekeeping force in its negotiations with the Syrians, found itself on the defensive.

After consultation with Israeli officials, the Conference of Presidents sought to defuse the matter. It issued a letter to two Republican senators pronouncing it "premature" to discuss a troop deployment that Israel had not yet even asked for and that would remain theoretical till Israel and Syria reached agreement. Some member organizations of the conference complained that the letter had been sent without their knowledge. Meanwhile, NJCRAC notified local community relations councils to influence their congressional representatives to back delay of any debate on the issue. And AIPAC sent a letter to all members of Congress urging that "no public position nor any legislative action, for or against U.S. personnel on the Golan" be taken. No congressional hearings were held for the time being.

U.S. EMBASSY

Like the question of American forces on the Golan, the perennial issue of moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem had the potential to derail the peace process. The official policy of a long line of U.S. administrations was that the embassy did belong in the Israeli capital but could not be moved there until a peace treaty clarified the legal status of the city. In early 1995, with the Israeli government fearful that any movement of the embassy under current conditions would lead the Palestinians to break off negotiations, Senators Alfonse D'Amato (R.) and Daniel Moynihan (D.) of New York sought to skirt the problem by sponsoring a letter giving the State Department a deadline of May 1999 to move the embassy—exactly the date that Israel and the PLO had scheduled for the conclusion of final-status talks. AIPAC applauded this formulation, but the ZOA's Morton Klein said, "Move the embassy now. Who knows what it will be like in five years?" Although 93 senators signed on to the D'Amato-Moynihan resolution, an alternative proposed by Sen. Jon Kyl (R., Ariz.), calling for an immediate transfer of the embassy, attracted the support of the ZOA, Americans for a Safe Israel, and the Jewish War Veterans.

In a speech to the AIPAC annual policy conference in May 1995, Senate majority leader and presidential hopeful Robert Dole (R., Kan.) announced that he was proposing legislation to begin construction of a U.S. embassy in Jerusalem by the end of 1996, with the ambassador to move in there no later than 1999. While Israeli officials at the conference, including Prime Minister Rabin, studiously avoided

comment, AIPAC announced its support. Americans for Peace Now and Project Nishma, however, attacked the proposal as inimical to the peace negotiations, the same position taken by the Clinton administration. NJCRAC, at a loss to reconcile its support for the Israel-PLO negotiations with its backing for moving the embassy, said: "We support the goal of the legislation. We also support the Middle East peace process and reconciliation between Israel and her Arab neighbors."

A new poll of American Jewish attitudes toward the peace process was conducted in May by Luntz Research Companies, a firm associated with the Republican Party that had also done some work for Likud. While three-quarters of those polled approved of Israel's negotiating policies in general terms, less than half considered the Israel-PLO agreement of 1993 a success. The survey also indicated that American Jews were almost evenly split over whether U.S. forces should monitor the Golan in the event of an Israel-Syria peace treaty.

The annual Salute to Israel Parade on May 21, 1995, was overshadowed by an ugly incident that occurred earlier in the day, which showed once again the potential for intra-Jewish violence over the peace process. At the behest of Israeli officials, Israel's minister of communications, Shulamit Aloni, an outspoken dove and secularist, addressed a pre-parade breakfast for dignitaries and big givers—many of them religiously traditional and unsympathetic to Israel's peace policy. After a barrage of heckling and insults, the parade chairman charged the stage and, according to Aloni, punched her. He later denied the charge, claiming instead that, fearing for her safety, he had sought to clear the stage. While there was universal condemnation of the alleged assault, many observers also faulted the Israeli diplomats who insisted that Aloni speak before an audience that was sure to be hostile.

In June, with funding for the Palestinian Authority once again up for renewal, Jewish groups opposed to the peace process argued that the PLO had broken its commitments and lobbied hard on Capitol Hill for a cutoff of funds. Reflecting their perspective, Senator D'Amato proposed legislation that would require the PLO to amend its covenant that still called for Israel's destruction, stop terrorism, and take steps against accused terrorists before it could receive aid. While the Israeli government and its American Jewish backers would have preferred legislation renewing PLO funding for another six months, they had to settle for a 90-day extension.

On June 21, a group calling itself the International Rabbinical Coalition for Israel, claiming a membership of 3,000 Orthodox rabbis, issued a statement in New York declaring that Israel's peace policy violated Jewish law. One rabbi, Abraham Hecht, president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, said that it was permissible to assassinate Israeli leaders who sought to hand over Israeli land to non-Jews.

American and Israeli Jews

The reorientation of relations between the Israeli and American Jewish communities, sparked in part by the prospect of a "normalized" Israel at peace with its neighbors, continued amid considerable controversy.

Early in 1994, Yossi Beilin, Israel's deputy foreign minister, told a visiting Zionist

women's group that Israel should no longer be the object of Diaspora philanthropy. "If our economic situation is better than in many of your countries," he said, "how can we go on asking for your charity?" The women reacted angrily. The World Zionist Executive quickly issued a statement saying that "the greatest mistake Israel can make is to separate Diaspora Jewry from the State of Israel and to callously stop the contribution of Diaspora Jewry to the ingathering of the exiles and building of the State of Israel." Unfazed, Beilin stuck to his guns, explaining that, in his view, Israel had matured to the point where it need not rely on outside economic aid. Therefore, he suggested, the entire structure of Israel-Diaspora relations had to be reevaluated, and monies previously donated to help the Jewish state perhaps put to better use in strengthening Jewish education in the Diaspora and sponsoring trips to Israel for young Jews.

Inundated with irate inquiries from American Jewish leaders, Prime Minister Rabin repudiated Beilin's views as unrepresentative of his government. Quite aside from the economic benefit to Israel from Diaspora philanthropy, he noted, this transfer of money was also "the key to reinforcing the relationship between us and deepening the connection of Diaspora Jews with Israel." Rabin also noted that a diminution of Diaspora philanthropy to Israel might prompt second thoughts in the U.S. Congress about the \$3 billion in aid it sent to Israel each year. He did add, however, that fund-raising should be supplemented by investment in the Israeli economy and by cultural activities that could draw the two Jewish communities together.

Ezer Weizman, the president of Israel, sought to deal with the emerging issues of Israel-Diaspora relations by announcing plans for a two-day conference at his official residence in June 1994. The more than 200 invitees—one-third Israelis, two-thirds Diaspora Jews—included not only leaders of Jewish organizations, but also intellectual and cultural figures. The president's purpose in convening this gathering was clearly to counter Diaspora criticism over his repeated delegitimization of their Jewish viability and his call for massive *aliyah* (immigration).

Weizman said that his plans had been formulated before the Beilin controversy and were independent of it. Nonetheless, it was Beilin who provided the fireworks at Weizman's conference by calling for the replacement of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization with a new democratic entity, Beit Yisrael, which would fund *aliyah*, visits to Israel by young Diaspora Jews, and Jewish education in the Diaspora. Beilin's proposal was ridiculed by the Diaspora Jewish leaders in attendance, who commented that the established organizations were already doing these things. The Diaspora participants were also highly critical of President Weizman, who, they felt, showed a shocking ignorance of Jewish life outside Israel. One by one, in their presentations to the conference, the American Jews sought to counter dismal stereotypes of Jewish life in their countries and suggested that many Israelis had at least as great a problem acknowledging their Jewishness as American Jews did. Shoshana Cardin, the former Conference of Presidents chairwoman and newly elected chairwoman of the United Israel Appeal, charged that it was insulting

for American Jews to be viewed as nothing more than “fodder for *aliyah*,” and that Israelis must learn “to respect the integrity of Diaspora communities.”

Although the only practical outcome of the conference was President Weizman’s creation of a 12-person committee to devise ways for Israel to enhance Jewish continuity in the Diaspora, the publicity the conference generated, coming in the wake of the Beilin incident, thrust the question of Israel-Diaspora relations into the forefront of American Jewish communal life.

In February 1995, the American Jewish Committee board of governors, meeting in Jerusalem, issued a policy statement on the subject that stressed the mutual responsibility and interdependence of the two communities. It firmly rejected the Beilin view that philanthropy was outmoded, praised American Jewish immigrants while recognizing that mass *aliyah* from the United States was unlikely, supported programs that bring young Diaspora Jews to Israel, and suggested greater cooperation between Israeli and American Jews in devising ways of insuring Jewish continuity in both countries.

A more analytical treatment of the subject was provided by Samuel Norich, the former director of YIVO, in an exhaustive 86-page study, *What Will Bind Us Now? A Report on the Institutional Ties Between Israel and American Jewry*, sponsored by the Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation. After tracing the steady decline in American Jewish philanthropy for Israel and American Jewry’s mounting interest in its own cultural survival, Norich analyzed five proposals—one of them Yossi Beilin’s—for shifting the institutional relationships between the two Jewish communities.

In June 1995, one of the five proposals discussed by Norich on the basis of hearsay—a plan to merge the operations of the Council of Jewish Federations and the United Jewish Appeal—was made public for the first time. The result of a two-year joint study by the two organizations, it suggested that UJA end its tie to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and become the fund-raising arm of the federation network for international, national, and local causes. Although this merger plan had the clear benefit of streamlining costs, it raised the concern that broadening UJA’s focus from Israel-oriented to all-purpose fund-raising could lead to a further diminution of the percentage of the philanthropic dollar going to Israel, a danger underlined by a provision that CJP, whose major concern was domestic Jewish causes, would control at least 40 percent of the new UJA board. For the moment, however, this proposal was only in the discussion stage.

NEW JEWISH AGENCY HEAD

The choice of a new chairperson for the Jewish Agency—the body that receives and disburses the money collected by UJA for Israel—turned into a naked power struggle between the Israeli government and Diaspora fund-raisers. In February 1994, chairman Simcha Dinitz, under indictment for financial irregularities, took a leave of absence, and Israel’s governing Labor Party, with the approval of the

Diaspora leaders, chose Yehiel Leket, head of the Youth Aliyah department, to replace him on an interim basis. But a year later—to the chagrin of the Rabin government—the “advise and consent” committee of the Jewish Agency board of governors, controlled by the Diaspora leaders, rejected Leket for the permanent position, choosing instead Avraham Burg, a Labor Party member of the Knesset who was extremely popular in the United States. Leket withdrew his candidacy, making Burg’s election in June 1995 by the World Zionist Organization meeting in Jerusalem a foregone conclusion. Burg, espousing the slogan “one people, one body,” announced his support for a merger of the WZO and the Jewish Agency. At the Jewish Agency Assembly, which was held at the same time, Burg distributed a booklet entitled *Brit Am*, detailing his ideas for joint educational programs to enhance the Jewishness of Israeli and American Jews, including a Jewish open university, satellite linkages, and a Jewish peace corps.

The Continuity Debate

The prominence of Jewish identity issues in the reevaluation of American Jewish-Israeli ties underscored the ongoing concern of American Jewry about its declining numbers. Ever since the CJF-sponsored 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, which showed an over-50-percent intermarriage rate for young Jews and other unmistakable signs of demographic erosion, many in the Jewish community agonized over what to do. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin stated the challenge at the 1994 CJF General Assembly: With the opening of free Jewish emigration from the former Soviet Union, the slogan was no longer “Let My People Go,” but “Let My People Be Jewish.”

Ironically, one of the ways suggested to attack the problem was an American version of the Yossi Beilin approach, a strategy that would turn American Jewish energies inward. “Burden of Peace: American Jews Grapple with an Identity Crisis as Peril to Israel Ebbs,” was the front-page headline in the *Wall Street Journal* (September 14, 1994). Emphasizing that “American Jewish leaders are casting about for a new way for the U.S. Jewish community to define itself, apart from Israel,” the article noted that many Jews wanted philanthropic dollars diverted away from Israel and devoted, instead, to domestic Jewish continuity causes. But the reporter found no consensus either on which non-Israel-related issues could enhance the Jewishness of young people or on how to address them.

The organized Jewish community sponsored conferences and published reports arguing for changes to revitalize American Jewish life. The Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies released a pamphlet of essays about the need for federations and synagogues to cooperate and pool their talents to provide compelling Jewish programming. The Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies at Brandeis University published a report by Gary Tobin, its director, that sharply criticized the panoply of American Jewish organizations, arguing that they should reorient their priorities to Jewish continuity or else consider going out of business. Responding to Tobin’s

challenge, leaders of the major organizations agreed with him in principle, while insisting that their own agencies were already in the process of changing to meet the new challenges.

Much was expected from the North American Commission on Jewish Identity and Continuity, an 88-member body of experts created by the Council of Jewish Federations in 1992 to prepare a series of recommendations for presentation to the CJF General Assembly in November 1994. The 36-page draft report distributed at the GA asserted that Jewish identity was "the bedrock of Jewish continuity." Its suggestions for improvement included maintaining Jewish identity as a top communal priority; research and evaluation to find out which Jewish-identity programs were most effective; greater focus on the needs of individual Jews rather than on institutional imperatives; a balance between "formative" and "transformative" Jewish experiences; and taking steps to insure that young Jews maintain Jewish involvement even after bar/bat mitzvah.

A distinct lack of enthusiasm greeted the report. For one thing, it made no attempt to define Jewish identity. For another, critics charged that it lacked specifics. As Rabbi David Elcott, academic vice-president of CLAL (National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership) put it: "If the report was talking about enhancing health, we would expect recommendations, such as 'don't smoke, exercise.'" Defending the work of the commission, Jonathan Woocher, executive vice-president of the Jewish Education Service of North America, who supervised the preparation of the report, said that specific priorities could not be dictated by a national body, but would have to emerge from local Jewish leaders familiar with the situation in specific communities. Martin Kraar, executive vice-president of CJF, agreed: "We have federations going in a variety of directions, and CJF has not addressed the effort except to do some networking of heads of local continuity commissions."

TRIPS TO ISRAEL

There continued to be considerable interest in promoting trips to Israel as a means to kindle a Jewish spark in American Jewish teenagers and young adults. Under large grants from the CRB Foundation and other organizations and individuals, the UJA sponsored programs and ran media advertisements in several Jewish communities to interest young Jews in visiting Israel. In addition, fully 45 percent of the money spent by the WZO Joint Authority for Jewish Zionist Education went for subsidizing programs in Israel for Diaspora young people. So impressed were many American Jewish leaders with the Israel experience as a key to Jewish transformation that UJA executive vice-president Brian Lurie suggested that the State of Israel itself allocate \$10 million—to be matched by both the Jewish Agency and American Jewry—toward the creation of a \$30-million "megafund" that would guarantee a trip to Israel for every American Jewish teenager.

There were skeptics. For one thing, it was noted that all the publicity and subsidies encouraging visits to Israel had not augmented the number of young

people going. As Howard Weisband, secretary general of the Jewish Agency, explained, children growing up in homes remote from Jewish life were indifferent to Israel and had no desire to visit there, no matter how low the cost (*Jerusalem Report*, July 27, 1995). And even for those who could be prevailed upon to go, the impact would surely be greatest on those who already came with some Jewish consciousness and knowledge. Those landing in Israel without previous exposure to anything Jewish were all too likely to react like the teenager who told a reporter: "When I got off the plane in Israel, I felt just like I do when I go to Florida. Everyone told me I would feel an instant connection, but even when I visited the Wailing Wall, I still didn't feel anything special" (*Wall Street Journal*, September 14, 1994).

Another suggested antidote to the erosion of Jewish identity was Jewish education. Like trips to Israel, proposed innovations in the transmission of Jewish knowledge and commitment had received considerable new funding from federations, Jewish foundations, and individual philanthropists since the disturbing results of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey became known. Leading the way were the Cleveland federation—which was spending one-third of its domestic budget on education—Morton Mandel's Council on Initiatives in Jewish Education, and the Wexner Foundation.

The relationship of Jewish education to Jewish continuity was the subject of a major 1994 study by Seymour Martin Lipset, *The Power of Jewish Education*, sponsored by the Wilstein Institute. Analyzing data from the 1990 NJPS, Lipset found not only a clear correlation between Jewish schooling and Jewishness, but also what he called "the iron law of 'the more the more.'" By that he meant: "The longer Jews have been exposed to Jewish education, the greater their commitment to the community, to some form of the religion, and to Israel." Lipset cautioned, however, that this did not necessarily establish a causal relationship, since the families that gave their children more Jewish education might have done so because they were already Jewishly committed. Nevertheless, Lipset concluded, "the evidence is congruent with the hypothesis that Jewish education makes a difference."

Yet despite all the attention paid to the subject, an analysis of American Jewish education by J. J. Goldberg concluded that "countless Jewish kids have yet to see their schools made any more engaging; so far, the revolution hasn't reached them" (*Jerusalem Report*, October 6, 1994). Noting that Jewish all-day schools seemed to be the most successful in transferring the tradition to the next generation, Goldberg pointed out that the great majority of Jewish parents rejected such schools for their children, not primarily because of the cost, but on the ground that such a "segregated" education would hamper the students' entry into the American mainstream. As for supplementary Jewish education, one reason for its shortcomings was the teachers' lack of training. A study conducted in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education found that most of the teachers had had virtually no Jewish schooling since their own bar/bat mitzvahs.

The community's new focus on Jewish continuity also highlighted Jews on the college campus. Efforts over the previous few years to reinvigorate Hillel, the

association of Jewish college students, bore fruit at the beginning of 1995 when the Board of Delegates of the Council of Jewish Federations voted overwhelmingly for local federations to accept "collective responsibility" for Jewish campus activities—in much the same way that the federations had allocated responsibility for the absorption of Soviet Jewish immigrants in the United States. In practical terms, this meant that communities would contribute to Hillel on the basis of their size and income. While the vote was officially nonbinding, it was likely to be implemented by almost all the federations. In addition, total funding for Hillel, from federations and other sources, was expected to rise from \$21 million to \$50 million over the next seven years. Richard Joel, Hillel's international director, thanked the Board of Delegates "for triggering a Jewish renaissance."

Symptomatic of the growing interest in supporting Jewish cultural and spiritual renewal through higher education, two institutions—neighbors on New York's West Side—announced major developments. In October 1994, the Jewish Theological Seminary received a gift of \$15 million for a graduate school of Jewish education. And in May 1995, Columbia University broke ground for a projected \$6-million Center for Jewish Life.

Whether Jewish institutions should reach out to intermarried families remained a controversial aspect of the Jewish continuity debate. Despite the misgivings of some Jewish leaders, who felt that the limited resources available should be used primarily to reinforce the Jewish loyalties of those already affiliated to some degree with the Jewish community, others—including powerful figures in the federation world—opposed consigning the intermarried to Jewish oblivion. It was this second school of thought that dominated the CJF Task Force on the Intermarried and Jewish Affiliation, which issued a report in 1994 warning that failure to engage the intermarried in Jewish life meant "disfranchising a significant segment of the population." According to the report, which described what some communities were already doing for the intermarried, the Jewish community needed to show greater sensitivity, respect, and understanding of such families, or else risk losing them and their financial contributions. The chairperson of the task force noted that almost all its members had intermarried relatives.

For all the undoubted successes registered under the banner of Jewish continuity, it remained to be seen whether such efforts would make a significant difference in the pattern of American Jewish life. In a study of *American Philanthropy in the 1990s*, Brandeis sociologist Gary Tobin found that "Jewish continuity" did not excite potential donors, who could see no concrete evidence that the money already put into building Jewish identity had had any impact. In fact, many suspected—in Tobin's words—that "continuity" was "only the latest in a long series of crises generated by the fund-raising system."

Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, in *Jews and the New American Scene* (Harvard University Press, 1995), questioned the entire rationale of continuity campaigns, suggesting that the integrative forces of American life could turn out to be too strong for Jewish "social engineering" to combat, especially in Jewish circles

devoid of spiritual roots. They foresaw a 21st-century American Jewish community substantially reduced in numbers, albeit made up of Jews "strongly and visibly committed to the tribal and religious depth of Jewish tradition."

Religious Developments

If Lipset and Raab were right, and the community's Jewish future depended largely on the continuing power of the Jewish tradition, the Jewish religious movements had a vital role to play in insuring continuity. Yet each of those movements was plagued with internal conflict over basic issues of theology and practice.

REFORM JUDAISM

In 1994 Congregation Beth Adam in Cincinnati applied for membership in the Reform movement's Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC). This congregation, whose rabbi was a graduate of Reform's Hebrew Union College (HUC) and a member of its Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), called itself "humanist," and had removed all references to God from the services. The Reform movement was now faced with a fundamental challenge: Did the Reform principle of the freedom to practice Judaism as one saw fit include the right to exclude God? When four Reform synagogues located near Beth Adam urged a rejection of its application, the congregation responded that it was "being castigated for exercising the freedom of worship." An opinion issued by the CCAR Responsa Committee and written by Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut argued that, while Reform accepted diversity, Beth Adam had overstepped the limit and should not be admitted. But a minority opinion authored by Prof. Eugene Mihaly countered: "Exclusion, ostracism, mindless stringency to appease the traditionalists, institutional coercion, are alien to Reform Judaism." In June the UAHC board overwhelmingly rejected the application.

A survey of "Emerging Worship and Music Trends in UAHC Congregations," released early in 1995, confirmed the widespread impression that many Reform synagogues had readopted certain traditional practices that Classical Reform had eliminated. There was now more Hebrew in the service, wearing of *kippah* and *tallit* was more widespread, singing along with the cantor had become popular, and a two-day Rosh Hashanah was catching on. Suggesting that the influx of members brought up in Orthodox and Conservative homes had something to do with these changes, the author of the study also cited the changing needs of Reform Jews: "Expressions of personal spirituality are far more acceptable in America today than they were 30 years ago. If we perpetuated a 19th-century model, we'd be failing."

Another symptom of turning away from Classical Reform was the CCAR decision in June 1994 to develop a comprehensive new statement on the relation of the movement to Israel and Zionism. There was a clear need for this: early Reform had been sharply hostile to the Zionist movement, and, while the bulk of the Reform

rabbinate and laity had come to support the Jewish state, there was no authoritative Reform document on the subject.

However, even in its contemporary pro-Zionist incarnation, Reform objected strongly to the lack of religious pluralism for Jews in Israel. In the fall of 1994, when the Labor government in Israel sought to bring the Orthodox Shas Party into the coalition so as to broaden its mandate for securing Middle East peace, the Reform movement, both in Israel and the United States, reacted with fury. Despite its own strong support for the peace process, Reform felt it more important that Labor not succumb to the Shas request for a law nullifying any Supreme Court decision challenging the Orthodox monopoly of Israeli Judaism. Soon thereafter, the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA) announced a campaign to raise \$2 million to persuade the Israeli government to recognize Reform marriages performed there.

In January 1995, ARZA managed to get the American Zionist Movement to pass a resolution favoring religious pluralism in Israel. That March, 200 Reform rabbis holding their annual CCAR convention in Israel insisted on conducting a Reform prayer service, men and women together, at the southern edge of the Western Wall (they were interrupted only by the news media). Afterward they presented the case for religious pluralism to the leader of the Likud opposition, Benjamin Netanyahu, who disappointed them by affirming his support for the status quo.

In 1995 Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the president of the UAHC since 1973—known for his flamboyant style and such controversial policies as outreach to the unchurched and acceptance of patrilineal descent as a sufficient criterion for Jewishness—announced his retirement. Elected to replace him was Rabbi Eric Yoffie. While the contest between Yoffie and Rabbi Peter Knobel, his closest competitor, was portrayed in the media as a choice between Reform's social-action thrust (Yoffie) and the new interest in deepened spirituality (Knobel), Yoffie insisted after his election that matters of the spirit would be given high priority.

CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

The role of sexuality in Judaism continued to divide the Conservative movement. In April 1994, an 11-member commission on human sexuality set up by the Rabbinical Assembly two years earlier sent its draft report to the movement's Committee on Law and Standards. While the creation of this commission had been triggered by a controversy over reevaluating the traditional negative Jewish attitude toward homosexuality, the report focused on the broader issue of nonmarital sex.

Frowning upon casual sex, the report suggested that teenagers "need to refrain from sexual intercourse, for they cannot honestly deal with its implications or results." Sexual relations between unmarried adults were deemed acceptable if they were part of "an ongoing, loving relationship" in which sex was not "simply pleasurable release" but reflected the realization that people are created in the image of God. Partners were called upon to remain faithful to each other for the length of

the relationship. To prevent the spread of AIDS, partners should have themselves tested and use condoms. Adherence to these guidelines, the report concluded, could give nonmarital relations "a measure of holiness, even if not the full portion available in marriage," which creates the families that insure the Jewish future.

As for the specific issue of homosexuality, the report urged maintaining the status quo "until further study": sexually active homosexuals should not be allowed to become rabbis or cantors; rabbis should not perform ceremonies recognizing relationships between homosexuals; gay and lesbian Jews nevertheless should be welcomed in Conservative synagogues. In a letter appended to the report, the chairperson acknowledged that the commission had been unable to resolve the "fundamental tension" between traditional teachings and current reality.

The draft report was discussed intensively at the Rabbinical Assembly (RA) annual convention in May, and recordings of the discussions were made available to the members of the Committee on Law and Standards, which would, in turn, determine movement policy. At the convention, however, rabbis sympathetic to gay rights offered a resolution calling on the RA placement committee not to discriminate against gay rabbis seeking pulpits—a matter not dealt with by the report. The resolution was withdrawn, however, when more traditionalist members challenged it. In the weeks following the convention, the report on nonmarital sexuality was strongly attacked by Orthodox groups as well as by the Union for Traditional Judaism, a group made up of formerly Conservative Jews who had left the movement because of discomfort with what they felt were its deviations from tradition.

The role of women also aroused controversy among Conservative Jews. A decade after the movement began to ordain women as rabbis, there were persistent complaints of gender discrimination. The issue came to a head in September 1994 when 47 female rabbis and cantors formally charged that the Canadian Conservative movement had refused to distribute an issue of the *Camp Ramah* magazine because it featured an article about female former campers who were now rabbis and cantors. The coordinator of the protest claimed that the leadership of the U.S. movement had allowed this to happen out of fear of losing financial contributions from north of the border, a charge denied by the Jewish Theological Seminary. At its 1995 annual convention, the Rabbinical Assembly passed a resolution acknowledging a pattern of discrimination against its female members and instructed the movement's Placement Commission to treat men and women equally.

RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM

Marking the 40th anniversary of its official founding and the 20th year since the establishment of its rabbinical seminary, the Reconstructionist movement published a new prayer book for Sabbath and holidays. Compiled by a committee comprising an equal number of rabbis and lay people and termed "the first post-modern prayer book" by the editor-in-chief, the prayer book included selections from contemporary Jewish and non-Jewish sources. Theologically, the compilation maintained Recon-

structionist tradition by omitting any reference to the doctrines of the chosen people and the personal messiah. On other controversial concepts, readers were presented options to choose from, including traditional formulations that had been dropped in the first Reconstructionist prayer book.

The movement continued to experience difficulties in defining itself, even as the number of its congregations increased across the country. At a Reconstructionist conference in November 1994, at which the reasons for the lack of clarity were debated at length, some suggested factors were the large numbers of members who were brought up in other movements or with no Jewish background, the fact that other movements had appropriated certain practices instituted by Reconstructionism—inclusion of women in ritual, equality for homosexuals, and liturgical openness, for example—and the difficulty of squaring the individualist impulse with Reconstructionism's quest for community. Developments in Reconstructionism were not without their critics. The son-in-law and daughter of movement founder Mordecai Kaplan—Rabbi Ira Eisenstein and Judith Kaplan Eisenstein—insisted that Kaplan, a rationalist, would have been appalled at the turn to mysticism evident in parts of the movement, and, as a strait-laced Puritan on sexual matters, would have been shocked at the acceptance of homosexuality.

ORTHODOX JUDAISM

The success of Orthodoxy since the 1960s in holding its young people, influencing outsiders, and providing a model of intensive Jewish life had also generated internal tensions over whether to cooperate with—and risk legitimizing—non-Orthodox groups, or to “go it alone.” The 1994 collapse of the Synagogue Council of America—which had, if only in a nominal sense, collectively represented all the American Jewish religious movements—marked a major victory for the Orthodox separatists, who had for over 40 years called for the Orthodox to shun it. Thus, in November, at the national convention of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (UOJCA)—itself a member organization of the defunct Synagogue Council—executive director Rabbi Pinchas Stolper publicly recited the traditional *shehehyanu* benediction on its demise, blessing God “who has kept us alive and sustained us to reach this day.” While the immediate cause of the Synagogue Council's demise was lack of funding, many observers believed that the Orthodox veto on decisions had hampered the council's functioning and rendered it ultimately ineffective.

The sense among many that Orthodoxy was strong enough to distance itself from umbrella organizations that offended its sensitivities led the three Orthodox organizations in the American Zionist Movement to “suspend” their membership in AZM in January 1995, after it passed a resolution urging the recognition of non-Orthodox forms of Judaism in Israel. When a similar resolution had been brought up by the UAHC at the NJCRAC plenum in February 1994, the UOJCA threatened to quit, a move that would have left NJCRAC with no Orthodox representation at a time

when the peace process was at the top of the agenda. The motion was not brought to a vote.

The rightward shift in Orthodoxy's center of gravity was felt even in the Rabbinical Council of America (RCA), the organization of modern Orthodox rabbis. In early 1995, it expelled one of its members, a rabbi from Atlanta, for cochairing the rabbinic fellowship of the Union for Traditional Judaism, many of whose members were not Orthodox. RCA leaders denied that this was the start of a "witch hunt."

The internal Orthodox tensions also affected Yeshiva University. Years before, the university's secular graduate schools had been legally separated from the rabbinical school so that they might be eligible for government funding. In late 1994, it became known that homosexual clubs existed at some of the graduate schools, and, like other student clubs, they were receiving funding from student-activity fees. Caught between the traditional Jewish aversion to homosexuality and the prospect of loss of funds from government and private sources if gays could claim discrimination, university president Norman Lamm decided: "As a rabbi, I cannot and do not condone homosexual behavior, which is expressly prohibited by Jewish law. But as president of a nondenominational institution that must accommodate people who reflect a wide range of backgrounds and beliefs, it is my duty to assure that the procedures of Yeshiva University conform to the applicable provisions of secular law." His decision brought a storm of protest from both outside and within the institution, as Orthodox critics charged that Lamm had subordinated religious values to political correctness and financial expediency. A *New York Times* article (May 10, 1995) contrasting Yeshiva's approach with Notre Dame's refusal to countenance gay clubs had the effect of making it seem, to many in the Orthodox world, that Yeshiva was less devoted to religious doctrine than was a Catholic university.

The sectarian Orthodox community, for all its attempts to avoid those modern values deemed inimical to Judaism, could not help but be influenced by the social forces undermining the institution of marriage. The rising incidence of divorce among the Orthodox was complicated by the halakhic requirement that the husband give the wife a Jewish divorce document (*get*) of his own free will before she was allowed to remarry, a situation that enabled unscrupulous men to extort money or custody rights as a condition for issuing the *get*. In the spring of 1995, the news broke of a new, spiteful tactic being used by a few husbands against their estranged wives. Based on a provision in ancient Jewish law that had been a dead letter for centuries, these men claimed that they had married off their young—below age 12—daughters in absentia, and would not disclose to their wives or to the girls the identity of the "husband" or the witnesses to the act. The practical effect was to prevent any of the girls from marrying—without a "divorce" from the unknown husband.

While there was considerable controversy over the exact number of such cases, the tactic—called in Hebrew *kiddushei ketanah*—was greeted with universal condemnation by the community. Yet Orthodox rabbinical circles could come up with no clear strategy to combat it till the end of June, when an oral decision by a noted

Jerusalem rabbinic scholar—since deceased—became known, stating that the father in such cases had no credibility, and that the claim to have married off his daughter could safely be ignored.

CHABAD-LUBAVITCH

It was the cover story in *New York* magazine (February 14, 1994): "Holy War: Ego. Ambition. Fanaticism. As the Lubavitcher rebbe—the Messiah to many—lies grievously ill, the faithful fight over the future." Menachem Schneerson, the 92-year-old charismatic leader of the Lubavitch Hassidic sect, had been incapacitated by a 1992 stroke, unable to speak and paralyzed on his right side. Since he was childless and had never appointed a successor, the future of his movement—whose outreach activities inspired Jews around the world and whose political clout was taken seriously in both Israel and the United States—was unclear. Some were proclaiming the Rebbe as the messiah, while many of his closest lieutenants, agreeing in principle that their master might be the promised messiah, opposed such public statements, partly because they tended to alienate potential donors.

In early March the Rebbe had a cataract removed and the next week was hospitalized after suffering another stroke. Lubavitch messianists interpreted the turn of events as a sign of approaching redemption: "This is the intensification of darkness which signals the coming light," said one. Even the fact that this second stroke occurred two years to the day after the first was viewed as providential.

The Rebbe died on the morning of June 12, 1994, and an estimated 35,000 attended the funeral that afternoon, including the mayor of New York City and leading Israeli diplomats. Even as his casket was being brought to the cemetery, there were those who spoke of his imminent resurrection and messianic emergence. In the weeks and months that followed, these "resurrectionists" answered charges that they had appropriated Christian theology by claiming that the idea of a messiah who returns from the dead was an original Jewish notion. A *New York Times* article (November 8, 1994) describing how the movement was slowly getting used to the absence of the Rebbe elicited a letter from the chairperson of the International Campaign to Bring Moschiach (November 14), asserting that "the time we have to endure without the Rebbe's physical presence will be very short, and very soon the Rebbe will lead us to the great and final redemption."

The Lubavitch mainstream, however, was critical of such speculation, and the established leadership charged those raising hopes of resurrection with disrespect to God and to the late Rebbe. What was needed, instead, was redoubled dedication to the task set out by the Rebbe: spreading the word of God. Indeed, Lubavitch emissaries all over the world—very few of whom had gotten caught up in the messianic frenzy—insisted that they would carry on as before, because that is what the Rebbe would have wanted. Indeed, contrary to the predictions of some that the movement would undergo a crisis without a charismatic leader at the helm, there was no indication that the organization was in any danger of collapse. And specula-

tion over possible successors to the Rebbe began to be replaced by suggestions that Lubavitcher Hassidim—who had access, after all, to extensive videotape libraries of Rabbi Schneerson in action—might not need another rebbe.

On October 19, both houses of Congress unanimously voted the Lubavitcher Rebbe the Congressional Gold Medal. And on June 19, 1995, *New York* magazine once again succinctly summed up the situation: "Beyond Belief: A year after his death, Rabbi Menachem Schneerson is still treated as a living presence by the Lubavitcher faithful. Indeed, his grave site has become a place of uncommon holiness, where thousands of pilgrims seek his blessing and an answer to the question, Is he really the Messiah?"

Jewish Liberalism Under Siege

Notwithstanding the intensity of their religious fervor, the number of American Jews who venerated Rabbi Schneerson paled in comparison to the number who associated their Jewish identity with liberal politics. Indeed, by early 1994 President Bill Clinton was more popular in the Jewish community than any other president in recent memory, primarily due to his supportive stance toward Israel and his domestic agenda. In the words of Jason Isaacson, the American Jewish Committee's director of international and government affairs: "There seems to be a genuine focus by this president on the civic environment of the nation, with much greater attention to relations between groups and tolerance for diversity." Mainstream Jewish groups backed the administration in opposing a balanced-budget amendment and supporting health-care reform, abortion rights, and gay rights. The increased clout of the "religious right" within the Republican Party—which differed fundamentally with the strict interpretation of church-state separation espoused by most Jews—provided an added incentive for continued Jewish adherence to the Democratic administration.

The November 1994 elections, then, came as an unpleasant shock to most Jews. With both houses in Congress now in Republican hands, Jerome Chanes, codirector for domestic concerns at NJCRAC, said: "The entire domestic agenda is clearly in trouble." Matthew Brooks, executive director of the National Jewish Coalition, which had been founded to attract Jews to the Republican banner, warned: "The Jewish community will lose influence if it does not start to support the party. There's a choice—to get on board or be left outside."

Jewish conservatives were buoyed by the Republican sweep. Toward Tradition, a Jewish organization that sought common ground with the religious right, ran an ad on the op-ed page of the *New York Times* (December 16, 1994) under the headline "Mazel Tov Speaker Gingrich—We Know All About 10 Point Contracts." Signed by over 50 Jews—politicians, communal figures, intellectuals, and Orthodox rabbis—the ad claimed that classical Jewish teachings favored limited government, lower taxes, and the traditional family.

Jewish Democrats responded with a *Times* ad of their own in the same spot in

the paper two weeks later (January 3, 1995), asking "Toward What Tradition?" This ad, endorsed by a similar number of liberal rabbis and other activists, argued that social justice was the hallmark of Jewish values—"justice, equity, and compassion"—and pointed out that 78 percent of Jewish voters in the 1994 elections had apparently agreed by bucking the national trend and voting Democratic.

The NJCRAC plenum, held in Washington in February 1995, provided proof that the great bulk of the organized Jewish community sympathized with the second ad rather than the first. Despite the verdict of the election, the delegates from around the country heartily endorsed the administration's domestic program. In the discussion on a balanced-budget amendment, one frustrated conservative publicly complained: "The NJCRAC process does not allow minority views to be heard on economic and social programs. Our organization is viewed as the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, and as such we are less and less relevant." So publicly identified was the Jewish community with the liberal cause that Hillary Clinton invited representatives of Jewish organizations to the White House in March to organize opposition to congressional budget cuts.

A perceptive front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal* (March 8, 1995) analyzed the new sense of unease among secular, liberal Jews, many of whom had the feeling of being outsiders in a Republican-controlled America, one in which any public display of Christianity—as advocated by the religious right—was by definition anti-Semitic. Sure enough, when, in May, Republican leaders endorsed the Christian Coalition's "Contract with the American Family," the mainstream Jewish organizations recoiled in protest. Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Reform movement's Religious Action Center, for example, declared that this contract was "wrong-headed, misguided, and divisive" and "runs roughshod over the diversity of American family and religious life." Only the Orthodox organizations withheld blanket condemnation, declaring that they would assess each issue in the contract on its own merits.

In June 1995, Norman Podhoretz announced his retirement as editor-in-chief of *Commentary*, the editorially independent magazine of opinion sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. Over the course of the 35 years that he ran the magazine, Podhoretz moved away from his original liberal leanings and turned *Commentary* into the primary organ of neoconservative thought in America. In accomplishing this, Podhoretz made a profound impact on the course of American political and cultural life.

The Pollard Case

Jonathan Pollard, convicted in 1987 of passing U.S. classified information on to Israel, was still serving his life sentence, despite the feeling of many in the Jewish community that the sentence was disproportionate to the lighter prison terms meted out to others who had spied for friendly countries. In February 1994, as President Clinton considered whether to grant clemency, NJCRAC—which had, until then,

consistently avoided involvement—for the first time took a position on the case. It sent Clinton a letter that did not go so far as to suggest clemency, but did note that “substantial elements” in the Jewish community considered the sentence excessive and had “great concern with respect to the fairness and the prospect of the sentence.” If, it went on, the president’s review of the case showed that the sentence was unfair, he should consider reducing it to time already served. The letter’s delicate phraseology reflected tensions between the considerable misgivings of many Jewish leaders over getting involved in the case and the significant grassroots support for freeing Pollard.

In March the president turned down Pollard’s clemency request because of “the grave nature” of his crime and “the considerable damage that his actions caused our nation.” This disappointment only stimulated a new round of rallies by Citizens for Pollard, a national network of activists in 350 communities, now joined by several Hollywood celebrities such as Jon Voight, Jack Lemmon, and Whoopi Goldberg. But, in a new twist to the Pollard story, the convict, who had divorced his wife, Anne, in 1991, announced his prison marriage to Elaine Zeitz, the head of the Canadian pro-Pollard organization. Eschewing the careful diplomacy of the Pollard family and refusing to cooperate with his lawyers’ strategy, Zeitz harshly attacked President Clinton for refusing clemency, comparing him to the biblical Pharaoh.

With Pollard eligible for parole in November 1995—the tenth anniversary of his arrest—rumor had it that Israel might arrange a deal whereby it would free an imprisoned Russian spy, Russia would release an American, and the United States would let Pollard go. In the spring of 1995, both NJCRAC and the Conference of Presidents sent letters to President Clinton and the U.S. Parole Board requesting that parole be granted. Seymour Reich, president of the American Zionist Movement and a leader of the movement to free Pollard, said: “The trick now is for the president to understand that this is a key issue for the Israeli government and the American Jewish community. And it’s the latter that has been lacking.”

Holocaust Legacy

The two major American events of 1993 memorializing the Holocaust—Steven Spielberg’s film *Schindler’s List* and the successful opening of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington—continued to reverberate in 1994.

On January 24, *Schindler’s List*—about a German industrialist who saved over one thousand Jews during the Holocaust—won the Golden Globe Awards for best dramatic film, director, and screenplay. Two months later, the movie garnered seven Academy Awards, including best picture and best director—the first best-director award for Spielberg after three previous nominations. In accepting one of the awards, Spielberg said: “I implore all educators, do not let the Holocaust remain a footnote in history. Listen to the words, the echoes, the ghosts.”

Yet the theme of Spielberg’s film, that of the Righteous Gentile, remained contro-

versial. On the one hand, it was surely important to teach the message that individual goodness can make a difference, that, in the words of American Jewish Committee executive director David Harris, "We're not all powerless in a world where we may feel powerless." On the other hand, there were potential dangers. While no one denied that Schindler and other non-Jews had saved Jews, there was some concern that people seeing the movie and knowing nothing else about the Holocaust might focus more on the heroism of Schindler and the good fortune of the Jews he rescued than on the multitudes of Jews who went to their deaths as Gentile neighbors stood by, or even participated in the killing.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum continued to attract huge crowds. It also expanded its activities. In 1994 it launched a Center for the Study of Holocaust Resistance, which would collect evidence about Jews who fought back against their enemies. In 1995, the museum council voted to take on the responsibility of acting as a "committee on conscience" that would "influence policy-makers and stimulate worldwide action to bring acts of genocide to a halt." Asked if this did not entail making political judgments, council chairman Miles Lerman replied: "We do not plan to become a perennial fire hose that runs to every fire. We do not plan to become a shadow State Department. We are above politics. We deal with morality only."

Cornell University professor Steven Katz, chosen to be the director of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in January 1995, withdrew in March after disciplinary measures taken against him at Cornell became public. In May, Walter Reich, a prominent psychiatrist and author, was chosen as his successor. Himself a Holocaust survivor, Reich was considered an expert on the subject.

The central role that Holocaust remembrance had come to play in American Jewish life was underlined by a nasty dispute over the scheduling of the 1995 Salute to Israel Day Parade in New York City. The date originally chosen coincided with Holocaust Memorial Day, and when that was pointed out to the planners, they suggested holding Holocaust commemorations in the morning so that everyone could be at the parade in the afternoon. Many survivors reacted furiously when this became known in September 1994. Reflecting their feelings, Benjamin Meed, president of the American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, publicly charged that the Holocaust commemoration was "under attack—not by fascists, nor by deniers, but by Jewish organizers of the Salute to Israel Parade." The organizers' offer to share the day he described as a demand to "make an early minyan and quickly recite Kaddish for our six million so that we can rejoice and dance in the afternoon. How rude and disrespectful." He threatened that if the parade were held on that day, the marchers would have to step over the bodies of Holocaust survivors. They got their way: the parade date was shifted.

Another incident, this in January 1995, proved that sensitivity to the Holocaust had penetrated far beyond the Jewish community into the precincts of government. As soon as House Speaker Newt Gingrich—whose Republican Party had won less

than a quarter of the Jewish vote—had to confront charges from Jewish groups that his choice for House historian had, years earlier, opposed federal funding for a proposed Holocaust curriculum on the ground that it did not present the Nazi point of view, he fired her.

LAWRENCE GROSSMAN

Jewish Population in the United States, 1995

BASED ON LOCAL COMMUNITY COUNTS—the method for identifying and enumerating Jewish population that serves as the basis of this report—the estimated size of the American Jewish community in 1995 was 5.9 million. This is about 6 percent more than the 5.5 million “core” Jewish population estimated in the Council of Jewish Federations’ 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS).¹

The difference, small though it is, between the national and aggregated local figures is partly explained by the lag in data gathering and reporting on the local level. As more local communities conduct studies over the next few years, declines and increases that have already occurred will be documented, and the updated statistics may show national and regional patterns more in line with NJPS findings. However, since there are definitional issues as well as a lack of uniformity in local research, which often relies on outdated lists for population projections, the aggregate counts may never exactly match the NJPS national totals.

The demographic results of the NJPS suggested that the population was growing slightly due to an excess of Jewish births over Jewish deaths during the late 1980s. However, extrapolation from the age structure suggests that for the mid-1990s, zero population growth in numbers is being realized, with a balance between the annual numbers of births and deaths. At the same time, some growth in numbers is achieved through Jewish immigration into the United States. The most obvious example is that of refugees from the former Soviet Union, for whom the annual quota is currently set at 40,000 Jews each year.

The NJPS used a scientifically selected sample to project a total number for the United States, but could not provide accurate information on the state and local levels. Therefore, as in past years, in this article we have based local, state, and regional population figures on the usual estimating procedures.

While the Jewish federations are the chief reporting bodies, their service areas vary in size and may represent several towns, one county, or an aggregate of several counties. In some cases we have subdivided federation areas to reflect the more natural geographic boundaries. Some estimates, from areas without federations, have been provided by local rabbis and other informed Jewish community leaders. In still other cases, the figures that have been updated are from past estimates provided by United Jewish Appeal field representatives. Finally, for smaller communities where no recent estimates are available, figures are based on extrapolation from older data. The estimates are for the resident Jewish population, including

¹See Barry A. Kosmin et al., *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (Council of Jewish Federations, New York, 1991).

those in private households and in institutional settings. Non-Jewish family members have been excluded from the total.

The state and regional totals shown in Appendix tables 1 and 2 are derived by summing the individual estimates shown in table 3 and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplicated counts within states are eliminated. Third, communities whose population resides in two or more states (e.g., Kansas City and Greater Washington, D.C.) are distributed accordingly.

Because population estimating is not an exact science, the reader should be aware that in cases where a figure differs from last year's, the increase or decrease did not come about suddenly but occurred over a period of time and has just now been substantiated. Similarly, the results of a completed local demographic study often change the previously reported Jewish population figure. This should be understood as either an updated calculation of gradual demographic change or a correction of a faulty older estimate.

In determining Jewish population, communities count both affiliated and nonaffiliated residents who are "core" Jews as defined in NJPS.² In most cases, counts are made by households, with that number multiplied by the average number of self-defined Jewish persons per household. Similarly to NJPS, most communities also include those born and raised as Jews but who at present consider themselves as having no religion. As stated above, non-Jews living in Jewish households, primarily the non-Jewish spouses and non-Jewish children, are not included in the 1995 estimates presented in the appendix below.

Local Population Changes

The largest change was in Buffalo, New York, where a recent demographic study revealed a Jewish population of 26,000, which is more than 9,000 higher than the previous estimate. While the Jewish population in Buffalo in the mid-1960s was believed to be about 25,000, there had been an assumption of gradual decline. The new study, however, indicates stability and some minimal growth over the last 30 years.

Four other communities reported population increases of greater than 1,000, and all were in the South: Orlando, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Austin, Texas; and Richmond, Virginia. While each of these communities is believed to be growing, only Richmond substantiated its increase through a recent demographic study.

Two Midwestern communities, St. Louis, Missouri, and Toledo, Ohio, posted modest gains, which were documented in recently completed studies. Other communities that had Jewish population increases were mainly in the South or the West: Bakersfield, California; Lakeland, Orlando, Sarasota, and Winter Haven, Florida;

²Born Jews who report adherence to Judaism, Jews by choice, and born Jews without a current religion ("secular Jews").

Alexandria and Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Salt Lake City, Utah; Newport News-Hampton and Winchester, Virginia. Other communities outside these regions that reported gains included Flemington, New Jersey; Warren, Ohio; and Altoona, Pennsylvania. Three locales with recently developed Jewish communities are listed for the first time: Bend, Oregon; and Stowe and Woodstock, Vermont.

Two communities in Pennsylvania indicated the largest decreases: Reading and Lancaster; however, these losses were less than 1,000. Even smaller decreases were reported by a number of communities in different areas of the country: Little Rock, Arkansas; Stockton, California; Waterbury, Connecticut; Lawrence, Kansas; Monroe, Louisiana; Augusta, Maine; Annapolis, Maryland; New Bedford, Massachusetts; Saginaw, Michigan; Vineland, New Jersey; Niagara Falls, New York; and Raleigh, North Carolina.

BARRY A. KOSMIN
JEFFREY SCHECKNER

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1995

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
Alabama	9,000	4,219,000	0.2
Alaska	3,000	606,000	0.5
Arizona	72,000	4,075,000	1.8
Arkansas	1,700	2,453,00	0.1
California	922,000	31,431,000	2.9
Colorado	51,500	3,656,000	1.4
Connecticut	97,000	3,275,000	3.0
Delaware	9,500	706,000	1.3
District of Columbia	25,500	570,000	4.5
Florida	641,000	19,953,000	4.6
Georgia	77,000	7,055,000	1.1
Hawaii	7,000	1,179,000	0.6
Idaho	500	1,133,000	(z)
Illinois	268,000	11,752,000	2.3
Indiana	18,000	5,752,000	0.3
Iowa	6,000	2,829,000	0.2
Kansas	14,000	2,554,000	0.6
Kentucky	11,000	3,827,000	0.3
Louisiana	16,500	4,315,000	0.4
Maine	7,500	1,240,000	0.6
Maryland	211,000	5,006,000	4.2
Massachusetts	268,000	6,041,000	4.4
Michigan	107,000	9,496,000	1.1
Minnesota	42,000	4,567,000	0.9
Mississippi	1,400	2,669,000	0.1
Missouri	62,000	5,278,000	1.2
Montana	800	856,000	0.1
Nebraska	7,000	1,623,000	0.4
Nevada	21,000	1,457,000	1.4
New Hampshire	9,500	1,137,000	0.8
New Jersey	436,000	7,904,000	5.5
New Mexico	9,000	1,654,000	0.5
New York	1,645,000	18,169,000	9.1

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
North Carolina	21,500	7,070,000	0.3
North Dakota	600	638,000	0.1
Ohio	129,000	11,102,000	1.2
Oklahoma	5,500	3,258,000	0.2
Oregon	19,500	3,086,000	0.6
Pennsylvania	330,000	12,052,000	2.7
Rhode Island	16,000	997,000	1.6
South Carolina	9,000	3,664,000	0.2
South Dakota	400	721,000	0.1
Tennessee	18,000	5,175,000	0.3
Texas	110,500	18,378,000	0.6
Utah	3,600	1,908,000	0.2
Vermont	5,700	580,000	1.0
Virginia	73,000	6,552,000	1.1
Washington	34,000	5,343,000	0.6
West Virginia	2,200	1,822,000	0.1
Wisconsin	35,000	5,082,000	0.7
Wyoming	500	476,000	0.1
U.S. TOTAL	**5,900,000	260,341,000	2.3

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

* Resident population, July 1, 1994. (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, series P-25, no. 1106.)

** Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which previously reported Jewish populations of 1,500 and 350, respectively.

(z) Figure is less than 0.1 and rounds to 0.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1995

Region	Total Population	Percent Distribution	Jewish Population	Percent Distribution
Northeast	51,396,000	19.7	2,824,000	47.9
New England	13,270,000	5.1	404,000	6.8
Middle Atlantic	38,125,000	14.6	2,420,000	41.0
Midwest	61,394,000	23.6	689,000	11.7
East North Central . .	43,184,000	16.6	556,000	9.4
West North Central . .	18,210,000	7.0	132,000	2.2
South	90,692,000	34.8	1,244,000	21.1
South Atlantic	46,398,000	17.8	1,070,000	18.1
East South Central . .	15,890,000	6.1	39,000	0.7
West South Central . .	28,404,000	10.9	134,000	2.3
West	56,859,000	21.8	1,145,000	19.4
Mountain	15,214,000	5.8	159,000	2.7
Pacific	41,645,000	16.0	986,000	16.7
TOTALS	260,341,000	100.0	5,900,000	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1995
(ESTIMATED)

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
ALABAMA		ARKANSAS		Monterey Peninsula	
*Birmingham	5,200	Fayetteville	150	.....	2,300
Decatur (incl. in Flor- ence total)		Hot Springs	130	Moreno Valley (incl. in Riverside total)	
Dothan	150	**Little Rock	1,250	Murietta Hot Springs	
Florence	150			.....	550
Huntsville	750	CALIFORNIA		*Napa County	950
Mobile	1,100	*Antelope Valley .	700	Oakland (incl. in	
**Montgomery . . .	1,300	Aptos (incl. in		Alameda County,	
Sheffield (incl. in		Santa Cruz total)		under S.F. Bay Area)	
Florence total)		Bakersfield-Kern		Ontario (incl. in	
Tuscaloosa	300	County	2,200	Pomona Valley)	
Tuscumbia (incl. in		Berkeley (incl. in		Orange County .	75,000
Florence total)		Contra Costa County,		Palmdale (incl. in	
		under S.F. Bay		Antelope Valley)	
		Area)		Palm Springs ^N . .	9,850
		Carmel (incl. in Mon- terey Peninsula)		Palo Alto (incl. in	
ALASKA		*Chico	500	South Peninsula,	
*Anchorage	1,600	Corona (incl. in		under S.F. Bay Area)	
*Fairbanks	540	Riverside total)		Pasadena (incl. in	
Juneau	285	*Eureka	500	L.A. Metro Area	
Kenai Peninsula . . .	200	Fairfield	800	total)	
Ketchikan (incl. in		Fontana (incl. in		Petaluma (incl. in	
Juneau total)		San Bernardino		Sonoma County,	
		total)		under S.F. Bay Area)	
ARIZONA		*Fresno	2,500	Pomona Valley ^N .	6,750
Cochise County . . .	260	Lancaster (incl. in		*Redding area	150
*Flagstaff	350	Antelope Valley)		Redwood Valley . . .	200
Lake Havasu City		Long Beach (also		Riverside	2,000
.....	200	incl. in Los Angeles		Sacramento ^N . . .	21,300
*Phoenix	50,000	total) ^N	13,500	Salinas	750
Prescott	250	Los Angeles Metro		San Bernardino area	
Sierra Vista (incl. in		Area	490,000	.....	3,000
Cochise County)		*Merced County . . .	190	*San Diego	70,000
*Tucson	20,000	*Modesto	500	San Francisco Bay	
Yuma	125			Area ^N	210,000

^NSee Notes below. *Includes entire county. **Includes all of 2 counties. ***Figure not updated.

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
Alameda County		Colorado Springs		New London ^N . . .	4,000
..... 32,500		..... 1,500		New Milford area . .	600
Contra Costa County		Denver ^N	46,000	Newtown (incl. in	
..... 22,000		Eagle (incl. in Vail total)		Danbury total)	
Marin County. 18,500		Evergreen (also incl. in		Norwalk ^N	9,500
N. Peninsula . . 24,500		Denver total)		Norwich (also incl. in	
San Francisco. 49,500		..... 250		New London total)	
San Jose	33,000	*Fort Collins.	1,000	..... 1,750	
Sonoma County 9,000		*Grand Junction. . . .	250	Rockville (incl. in	
S. Peninsula . . 21,000		Greeley (incl. in		Hartford total)	
*San Jose (listed under		Ft. Collins total)		Shelton (incl. in	
S.F. Bay Area)		Loveland (incl. in		Valley area)	
*San Luis Obispo . 1,450		Ft. Collins total)		Southington (incl. in	
*Santa Barbara . . . 4,500		Pueblo	250	Meriden total)	
*Santa Cruz	4,000	Steamboat Springs . 160		Stamford/New Canaan	
Santa Maria.	700	Telluride	125	..... 9,600	
Santa Monica (also		**Vail	500	Storrs (incl. in	
incl. in Los Angeles				Willimantic total)	
total)	8,000	CONNECTICUT		Torrington area. . . .	580
Santa Rosa (incl. in		Bridgeport ^N	10,250	Valley area ^N	550
Sonoma County,		Bristol (incl. in		Wallingford (also incl.	
under S.F. Bay Area)		Hartford total)		in Meriden total) . 500	
Sonoma County (listed		Cheshire (incl. in		Waterbury ^N	2,700
under S.F. Bay Area)		Meriden total)		Westport (incl. in	
South Lake Tahoe . 150		Colchester	300	Norwalk total)	
*Stockton.	1,000	Danbury ^N	3,500	Willimantic area . . .	700
***Sun City.	200	***Danielson.	100		
Tulare & Kings		Darien (incl. in		DELAWARE	
counties.	300	Stamford total)		Dover ^N	650
Ukiah (incl. in Redwood		Greenwich.	3,900	Wilmington (incl.	
Valley total)		Hartford ^N	26,000	rest of state) . . .	9,500
Vallejo area	900	Hebron (incl. in			
*Ventura County . 9,000		Colchester total)		DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Visalia (incl. in		Lebanon (incl. in		Greater Washington	
Tulare and Kings		Colchester total)		..... 165,000	
counties total)		Lower Middlesex			
COLORADO		County ^N	1,650	FLORIDA	
Aspen.	450	Manchester (incl. in		Arcadia (incl. in	
Breckenridge (incl. in		Hartford total)		Port Charlotte-Punta	
Vail total)		Meriden ^N	3,000	Gorda total)	
Boulder (incl. in		Middletown.	1,300	Boca Raton-Delray	
Denver total)		New Britain (incl. in		Beach (listed under	
		Hartford total)		Southeast Fla.)	
		New Haven ^N	24,000	Brevard County . 4,500	

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
***Crystal River.	100	Miami-Dade County		ILLINOIS	
**Daytona Beach.	2,500	.....	145,000	Aurora area.	500
Ft. Lauderdale (listed		Palm Beach County		Bloomington-Normal	
under Southeast Fla.)		(excl. Boca Raton-		.....	230
**Ft. Myers.	5,000	Delray Beach)		Carbondale (incl. in	
Ft. Pierce.	1,060	.....	67,000	S. Ill. total)	
Gainesville.	1,600	***Stuart-Port St. Lucie		*Champaign-Urbana	
Hollywood-S. Broward		(portion also incl.		.....	1,300
County (listed under		in Ft. Pierce total)		Chicago Metro Area ^N	
Southeast Fla.)		.....	3,000	.....	261,000
**Jacksonville.	7,300	Tallahassee.	1,640	**Danville.	100
Key West.	500	*Tampa.	15,000	*Decatur.	140
Lakeland.	1,000	Venice (incl. in		DeKalb.	180
*Miami-Dade County		Sarasota total)		East St. Louis (incl.	
(listed under		*Vero Beach.	300	in S. Ill.)	
Southeast Fla.)		Winter Haven.	300	Elgin ^N	600
Naples-Collier County				Freeport (incl. in	
.....	3,500			Rockford total)	
New Port Richey		GEORGIA		*Joliet.	500
(incl. in Pasco		Albany.	190	Kankakee.	100
County total)		Athens.	400	*Peoria.	800
Ocala-Marion County		Atlanta Metro Area		Quad Cities ^N	1,250
.....	500	.....	70,000	**Quincy.	105
Orlando ^N	21,000	Augusta ^N	1,400	Rock Island (incl. in	
Palm Beach County		Brunswick.	100	Quad Cities)	
(listed under		**Columbus.	1,000	Rockford ^N	1,000
Southeast Fla.)		**Dalton.	180	Southern Illinois ^N	700
Pasco County.	1,000	Macon.	900	*Springfield.	1,060
**Pensacola.	650	*Savannah.	2,800	Waukegan.	400
Pinellas County.	24,200	**Valdosta.	100		
**Port Charlotte-Punta				INDIANA	
Gorda.	900	HAWAII		Bloomington.	1,000
*St. Petersburg-		Hilo.	280	Elkhart (incl. in	
Clearwater (incl.		Honolulu (includes		South Bend total)	
in Pinellas County)		all of Oahu)	6,400	Evansville.	400
**Sarasota.	13,800	Kauai.	100	**Ft. Wayne.	950
Southeast Florida		Maui.	210	**Gary-Northwest	
.....	532,300			Indiana.	2,220
Boca Raton-Delray		IDAHO		**Indianapolis.	10,000
Beach.	83,300	**Boise.	220	**Lafayette.	700
Ft. Lauderdale ^N		Lewiston (incl. in		*Michigan City.	300
.....	174,000	Moscow total)		Muncie.	160
Hollywood-S. Broward		Moscow.	100	South Bend ^N	2,000
County ^N	63,000			*Terre Haute.	250

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
IOWA		Biddeford-Saco (incl. in S. Maine)		Cape Cod-Barnstable County	
Ames (also incl. in Des Moines total).	200	Brunswick-Bath (incl. in S. Maine)		Clinton (incl. in Worcester County)	3,000
Cedar Rapids	420	Lewiston-Auburn . .	500	Fall River area . .	1,100
Council Bluffs (also incl. in Omaha, Neb. total).	150	Portland	3,900	Falmouth (incl. in Cape Cod)	
Davenport (incl. in Quad Cities, Ill.)		Rockland area	180	Fitchburg (also incl. in Worcester County total)	300
*Des Moines	2,800	Southern Maine (incl. Portland) ^N	5,500	Framingham (incl. in Boston total)	
*Iowa City	1,200	*Waterville	200	Gardner (incl. in Athol total)	
**Sioux City	520			Gloucester (also incl. in Lynn total)	450
*Waterloo	170			Great Barrington (incl. in Pittsfield total)	
KANSAS		MARYLAND		*Greenfield	1,100
Kansas City (incl. in Kansas City, Mo.)		Annapolis area . .	1,800	Haverhill	800
Lawrence	100	**Baltimore	94,500	Holyoke	600
Manhattan	150	Cumberland	265	*Hyannis (incl. in Cape Cod)	
*Topeka	500	*Frederick	900	Lawrence (incl. in Andover total)	
Wichita ^N	1,300	*Hagerstown	325	Leominster (also incl. in Worcester County total)	300
KENTUCKY		*Harford County . .	1,200	Lowell area	2,000
Covington/Newport (incl. in Cincinnati, Ohio total)		***Howard County	7,200	Lynn-North Shore area ^N	20,000
Lexington ^N	1,850	Montgomery and Prince Georges counties	104,500	*Martha's Vineyard .	260
*Louisville	8,700	Ocean City	100	New Bedford ^N	2,600
Paducah (incl. in S. Ill.)		Salisbury	400	Newburyport	280
LOUISIANA		Silver Spring (incl. in Montgomery County)		Newton (also incl. in Boston total)	34,000
Alexandria ^N	350	Upper Eastern Shore ^N	130	North Adams (incl. in N. Berkshire County)	
Baton Rouge ^N	1,500			North Berkshire County	400
Lafayette (incl. in S. Central La.)		MASSACHUSETTS		Northampton	850
Lake Charles area . .	200	Amherst area	1,300	Peabody (incl. in Lynn total)	
Monroe	260	Andover ^N	3,000		
**New Orleans	13,000	Athol area (also incl. in Worcester County total)	300		
*Shreveport	870	Attleboro area	200		
***South Central La. ^N	250	Beverly (incl. in Lynn total)			
MAINE		Boston Metro Region ^N	228,000		
Augusta	140	Brockton ^N	8,000		
Bangor	1,000	Brookline (also incl. in Boston total)	26,000		

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
Pittsfield-Berkshire County	3,300	Winona (incl. in La Crosse, Wis. total)		Concord	450
Plymouth area	500			Dover area	600
Provincetown (incl. in Cape Cod)		MISSISSIPPI		Exeter (incl. in Portsmouth total)	
Salem (incl. in Lynn total)		Biloxi-Gulfport	140	Franconia (incl. in Bethlehem total)	
Southbridge (also incl. in Worcester County total)	105	**Greenville	160	Hanover-Lebanon	500
Springfield ^N	10,000	**Hattiesburg	130	*Keene	300
Taunton area	1,300	**Jackson	550	**Laconia	270
Webster (also incl. in Worcester County total)	125	MISSOURI		Littleton (incl. in Bethlehem total)	
Worcester area ^N	10,100	Columbia	400	Manchester area	4,000
*Worcester County	13,700	Hannibal (incl. in Quincy, Ill. total)		Nashua area	1,890
		Kansas City Metro Area	19,100	Portsmouth area	950
		*St. Joseph	265	Rochester (incl. in Dover total)	
		**St. Louis	54,000	Salem (also incl. in Andover, Mass. total)	150
		Springfield	300		
MICHIGAN		MONTANA		NEW JERSEY	
*Ann Arbor	5,000	*Billings	240	Asbury Park (incl. in Monmouth County)	
Bay City	150	Butte	100	**Atlantic City (incl. Atlantic and Cape May counties)	15,800
Benton Harbor area	450	Helena (incl. in Butte total)		Bayonne (listed under Hudson County)	
**Detroit Metro Area	94,000	*Kalispell	150	Bergen County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	83,700
*Flint	1,710	Missoula	200	Bridgeton	200
*Grand Rapids	1,600	NEBRASKA		Bridgewater (incl. in Somerset County)	
**Jackson	200	Grand Island-Hastings (incl. in Lincoln total)		Camden (incl. in Cherry Hill total)	
*Kalamazoo	1,100	Lincoln	800	Cherry Hill-Southern N.J. ^N	49,000
Lansing area	2,100	Omaha ^N	6,500	Edison (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Midland	120	NEVADA		Elizabeth (incl. in Union County)	
Mt. Clemens (incl. in Detroit total)		Carson City (incl. in Reno total)		Englewood (incl. in Bergen County)	
Mt. Pleasant ^N	100	*Las Vegas	20,000		
*Muskegon	220	**Reno	1,400		
*Saginaw	140	Sparks (incl. in Reno total)			
MINNESOTA		NEW HAMPSHIRE			
**Duluth	485	Bethlehem	100		
*Minneapolis	31,500	Claremont area	140		
Rochester	550				
**St. Paul	9,200				

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
Essex County ^N (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	76,200	Mt. Holly (incl. in Cherry Hill-Southern N.J. total)		Wayne (incl. in Passaic County)	
East Essex	10,800	Newark (incl. in Essex County)		Wildwood	425
Livingston	12,600	New Brunswick (incl. in Middlesex County)		Willingboro (incl. in Cherry Hill-Southern N.J. total)	
North Essex . . .	15,600	Northeastern N.J. ^N			
South Essex . . .	20,300		358,000	NEW MEXICO	
West Orange-Orange 	16,900	Ocean County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	9,500	*Albuquerque	6,000
*Flemington	1,250	Passaic County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	15,000	Las Cruces	525
Freehold (incl. in Mon- mouth County)		Passaic-Clifton (also incl. in Passaic County total) . .	8,000	Los Alamos	250
Gloucester (incl. in Cherry Hill-Southern N.J. total)		Paterson (incl. in Passaic County)		Rio Rancho (incl. in Albuquerque total)	
Hoboken (listed under Hudson County)		Perth Amboy (incl. in Middlesex County)		Santa Fe	1,500
Hudson County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	12,340	Phillipsburg (incl. in Easton, Pa. total)		Taos	300
Bayonne	1,740	Plainfield (incl. in Union County)			
Hoboken	1,100	Princeton area . . .	3,000	NEW YORK	
Jersey City	6,000	Somerset County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	11,000	*Albany	12,000
North Hudson County ^N	3,500	Somerville (incl. in Somerset County)		Amenia (incl. in Poughkeepsie- Dutchess County)	
Jersey City (listed under Hudson County)		Sussex County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	4,100	Amsterdam	150
Lakewood (incl. in Ocean County)		Toms River (incl. in Ocean County)		*Auburn	115
Livingston (incl. in Essex County)		Trenton ^N	6,000	Beacon (incl. in Poughkeepsie- Dutchess County)	
Middlesex County ^N (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	51,000	Union County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	30,000	*Binghamton (incl. all Broome County) 	2,600
Monmouth County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	33,600	Vineland ^N	2,000	Brewster (incl. in Putnam County)	
Morris County (also incl. in Northeastern N.J. total)	33,500	Warren County . . .	400	*Buffalo	26,000
Morristown (incl. in Morris County)				Canandaigua (incl. in Geneva total)	
				Catskill	200
				Corning (incl. in Elmira total)	
				*Cortland	150
				Dunkirk	100
				Ellenville	1,600
				Elmira ^N	950
				Fleischmanns	120
				Fredonia (incl. in Dunkirk total)	

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
Middletown (incl. in Butler County)		*Altoona	525	**Oil City	100
New Philadelphia (incl. in Canton total)		Ambridge ^N	250	Oxford-Kennett Square (incl. in Chester County)	
Norwalk (incl. in Sandusky total)		Beaver Falls (incl. in Upper Beaver County)		Philadelphia area ^N	250,000
Oberlin (incl. in Elyria total)		Bethlehem (incl. in Lehigh Valley total)		Phoenixville (incl. in Chester County)	
Oxford (incl. in Butler County)		Bucks County (lower portion) ^N	14,500	Pike County	300
**Sandusky	130	*Butler	165	Pittsburgh ^N	45,000
Springfield	200	**Chambersburg	125	Pottstown	650
*Steubenville	140	Chester (incl. in Phila. total)		Pottsville	225
Toledo ^N	6,000	***Chester County (also incl. in Phila. total)	4,000	*Reading	2,200
Warren (also incl. in Youngstown total)	600	Coatesville (incl. in Chester County)		*Scranton	3,200
Wooster	135	Easton (incl. in Lehigh Valley total)		Shamokin (incl. in Sunbury total)	
Youngstown ^N	4,000	*Erie	850	Sharon (also incl. in Youngstown, Ohio total)	260
*Zanesville	100	Farrell (incl. in Sharon total)		State College	550
OKLAHOMA		Greensburg (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	425	Stroudsburg	400
Norman (also incl. in Oklahoma City total)	350	**Harrisburg	7,000	Sunbury ^N	200
**Oklahoma City	2,500	Hazleton area	300	Tamaqua (incl. in Hazleton total)	
*Tulsa	2,750	Honesdale (incl. in Wayne County)		Uniontown area . . .	250
OREGON		Jeannette (incl. in Greensburg total)		Upper Beaver County	180
Ashland (incl. in Medford total)		**Johnstown	400	**Washington (also incl. in Pittsburgh total)	175
Bend	175	Lancaster area . . .	2,500	***Wayne County . .	500
Corvallis	175	*Lebanon	350	Waynesburg (incl. in Washington total)	
Eugene	3,000	Lehigh Valley . . .	8,500	West Chester (also incl. in Chester County)	300
Grants Pass (incl. in Medford total)		Lewisburg (incl. in Sunbury total)		Wilkes-Barre ^N	3,200
**Medford	1,000	Lock Haven (incl. in Williamsport total)		**Williamsport	350
Portland	14,000	McKeesport (incl. in Pittsburgh total)		York	1,500
**Salem	530	New Castle	200	RHODE ISLAND	
PENNSYLVANIA		Norristown (incl. in Philadelphia total)		Cranston (incl. in Providence total)	
Allentown (incl. in Lehigh Valley total)					

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
Kingston (incl. in Washington County)		***College Station-Bryan		Stowe	150
Newport-Middletown		..... 400		Woodstock	270
..... 700		*Corpus Christi	1,400		
Providence area		**Dallas	35,000	VIRGINIA	
..... 14,200		El Paso	4,900	Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington, and Fairfax counties)	35,100
Washington County		*Ft. Worth	5,000	Arlington (incl. in Alexandria total)	
..... 1,200		Galveston	800	***Blacksburg	300
Westerly (incl. in Washington County)		Harlingen (incl. in Brownsville total)		Charlottesville	1,000
		**Houston ^N	42,000	Chesapeake (incl. in Portsmouth total)	
		Kilgore (incl. in Longview total)		Colonial Heights (incl. in Petersburg total)	
SOUTH CAROLINA		Laredo	130	Fredericksburg ^N	
*Charleston	3,500	Longview	150	..... 500	
**Columbia	2,500	*Lubbock	480	Hampton (incl. in Newport News total)	
Florence area	220	Lufkin (incl. in Longview total)		Harrisonburg (incl. in Staunton total)	
Georgetown (incl. in Myrtle Beach total)		Marshall (incl. in Longview total)		Lexington (incl. in Staunton total)	
Greenville	1,200	*McAllen ^N	500	Lynchburg area	275
Kingstree (incl. in Sumter total)		Midland-Odessa	150	**Martinsville	100
**Myrtle Beach	425	Port Arthur	100	Newport News-Hampton ^N	2,400
Rock Hill (incl. in Charlotte, N.C. total)		*San Antonio	10,000	Norfolk-Virginia Beach	
*Spartanburg	330	South Padre Island (incl. in Brownsville total)		..... 19,000	
Sumter ^N	160	Tyler	400	Petersburg area	400
		Waco ^N	300	Portsmouth-Suffolk (also incl. in Norfolk total)	1,900
SOUTH DAKOTA		**Wharton	100	Radford (incl. in Blacksburg total)	
Sioux Falls	175	Wichita Falls	260	Richmond ^N	12,000
				Roanoke	1,050
TENNESSEE		UTAH		Staunton ^N	370
Chattanooga	1,350	Ogden	150	Williamsburg (incl. in Newport News total)	
Knoxville	1,650	*Salt Lake City	3,500	Winchester ^N	280
Memphis	8,500				
Nashville	5,750	VERMONT			
Oak Ridge	250	Bennington area	300		
		*Brattleboro	350		
TEXAS		**Burlington	3,000		
Amarillo ^N	150	Manchester area	250		
*Austin	6,400	Montpelier-Barre	550		
Bay City (incl. in Wharton total)		Newport (incl. in St. Johnsbury total)			
***Baytown	300	Rutland	550		
Beaumont	500	**St. Johnsbury	140		
*Brownsville	450				

State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population	State and City	Jewish Population
WASHINGTON		WEST VIRGINIA		Janesville (incl. in Beloit total)	
Bellingham	400	Bluefield-Princeton	200	*Kenosha	180
Ellensburg (incl. in Yakima total)		*Charleston	950	La Crosse	120
Longview-Kelso (incl. in Portland, Oreg. total)		Clarksburg	110	*Madison	4,500
*Olympia	450	Fairmont (incl. in Clarksburg total)		Milwaukee ^N	28,000
***Port Angeles	100	Huntington ^N	300	Oshkosh area	170
Pullman (incl. in Moscow, Idaho total)		Morgantown	160	*Racine	375
*Seattle ^N	29,300	Parkersburg	130	Sheboygan	140
Spokane	1,300	**Wheeling	275	Waukesha (incl. in Milwaukee total)	
*Tacoma	1,250	WISCONSIN		Wausau ^N	240
Tri Cities ^N	300	Appleton area	400	WYOMING	
Vancouver (incl. in Portland, Oreg. total)		Beloit	150	Casper	100
**Yakima	110	Fond du Lac (incl. in Oshkosh total)		Cheyenne	230
		Green Bay	320	Laramie (incl. in Cheyenne total)	

Notes

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach—includes in Los Angeles County: Long Beach, Signal Hill, Cerritos, Lakewood, Rosmoor, and Hawaiian Gardens. Also includes in Orange County: Los Alamitos, Cypress, Seal Beach, and Huntington Harbor.

Palm Springs—includes Palm Springs, Desert Hot Springs, Cathedral City, Palm Desert, and Rancho Mirage.

Pomona Valley—includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, and Upland. Portion also included in Los Angeles total.

Sacramento—includes Yolo, Placer, El Dorado, and Sacramento counties.

San Francisco Bay Area—North Peninsula includes northern San Mateo County. South Peninsula includes southern San Mateo County and towns of Palo Alto and Los Altos in Santa Clara County. San Jose includes remainder of Santa Clara County.

COLORADO

Denver—includes Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, and Jefferson counties.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport—includes Monroe, Easton, Trumbull, Fairfield, Bridgeport, Shelton, Stratford, and part of Milford.

Danbury—includes Danbury, Bethel, New Fairfield, Brookfield, Sherman, Newtown, Redding, Ridgefield, and part of Wilton; also includes some towns in neighboring Putnam County, New York.

Hartford—includes most of Hartford County and Vernon, Rockville, Ellington, and Tolland in Tolland County, and Meriden area of New Haven County.

Lower Middlesex County—includes Branford, Guilford, Madison, Clinton, Westbrook, Old Saybrook, Old Lyme, Durham, and Killingworth. Portion of this area also included in New London and New Haven totals.

Meriden—includes Meriden, Southington, Cheshire, and Wallingford. Most included in Hartford total and a portion also included in New Haven and Waterbury totals.

New Haven—includes New Haven, East Haven, Guilford, Branford, Madison, North Haven, Hamden, West Haven, Milford, Orange, Woodbridge, Bethany, Derby, Ansonia, and Cheshire.

New London—includes central and southern New London County. Also includes part of Lower Middlesex County and part of Windham County.

Norwalk—includes Norwalk, Weston, Westport, East Norwalk, Darien, Wilton, part of Georgetown, and part of New Canaan.

Valley Area—includes Ansonia, Derby, Shelton, Oxford, Seymour, and Beacon Falls. Portion also included in Bridgeport and New Haven totals.

Waterbury—includes Bethlehem, Cheshire, Litchfield, Morris, Middlebury, Southbury, Naugatuck, Prospect, Plymouth, Roxbury, Southbury, Southington, Thomaston, Torrington, Washington, Watertown, Waterbury, Oakville, Woodbury, and Wolcott.

DELAWARE

Dover—includes most of central and southern Delaware.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Greater Washington—includes Montgomery and Prince Georges counties in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County, Falls Church, and Alexandria in Virginia.

FLORIDA

Ft. Lauderdale—includes Ft. Lauderdale, Pompano Beach, Deerfield Beach, Tamarac, Margate, Coral Springs, and other towns in northern Broward County.

Hollywood—includes Hollywood, Hallandale, Cooper City, Dania, Davie, Pembroke Pines, and other towns in southern Broward County.

Orlando—includes all of Orange and Seminole counties, southern Volusia County, and northern Osceola County.

GEORGIA

Augusta—includes Burke, Columbia, and Richmond counties and part of Aiken County, South Carolina.

ILLINOIS

Chicago—includes all of Cook and DuPage counties and a portion of Lake County.

Elgin—includes northern Kane County, southern McHenry County, and western edge of Cook County.

Quad Cities—includes Rock Island and Moline (Illinois), Davenport and Bettendorf (Iowa).

Rockford—includes Winnebago, Boone, and Stephenson counties.

Southern Illinois—includes lower portion of Illinois below Carlinville, adjacent western portion of Kentucky, and adjacent portion of southeastern Missouri.

INDIANA

South Bend—includes St. Joseph and Elkhart counties and part of Berrien County, Michigan.

KANSAS

Wichita—includes Sedgwick County and towns of Salina, Dodge City, Great Bend, Liberal, Russell, and Hays.

KENTUCKY

Lexington—includes Fayette, Bourbon, Scott, Clark, Woodford, Madison, Pulaski, and Jessamine counties.

LOUISIANA

Alexandria—includes towns in Allen, Grant, Rapides, and Vernon parishes.

Baton Rouge—includes E. Baton Rouge, Ascension, Livingston, St. Landry, Iberville, Pointe Coupee, and W. Baton Rouge parishes.

South Central—includes Abbeville, Lafayette, New Iberia, Crowley, Opelousas, Houma, Morgan City, Thibodaux, and Franklin.

MAINE

Southern Maine—includes York, Cumberland, and Sagadahoc counties.

MARYLAND

Upper Eastern Shore—includes towns in Caroline, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Annes, and Talbot counties.

MASSACHUSETTS

Andover—includes Andover, N. Andover, Boxford, Lawrence, Methuen, Tewksbury, Dracut, and town of Salem, New Hampshire.

Boston Metropolitan Region—includes all towns south and west of Boston within approximately 30 miles, and all towns north of Boston within approximately 20 miles. All towns formerly part of Framingham area are now included in Boston total.

Brockton—includes Avon, Brockton, Easton, Bridgewater, Whitman, and West Bridgewater. Also included in Boston total.

Lynn—includes Lynn, Saugus, Nahant, Swampscott, Lynnfield, Peabody, Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Danvers, Middleton, Wenham, Topsfield, Hamilton, Manchester, Ipswich, Essex, Gloucester, and Rockport. Also included in Boston total.

New Bedford—includes New Bedford, Dartmouth, Fairhaven, and Mattapoisett.

Springfield—includes Springfield, Longmeadow, E. Longmeadow, Hampden, Wilbraham, Agawam, and W. Springfield.

Worcester—includes Worcester, Northborough, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Boylston, W. Boylston, Holden, Paxton, Leicester, Auburn, Millbury, and Grafton. Also included in the Worcester County total.

MICHIGAN

Mt. Pleasant—includes towns in Isabella, Mecosta, Gladwin, and Gratiot counties.

NEBRASKA

Omaha—includes Douglas and Sarpy counties. Also includes Pottawatomie County, Iowa.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Laconia—includes Laconia, Plymouth, Meredith, Conway, and Franklin.

NEW JERSEY

Cherry Hill—includes Camden, Burlington, and Gloucester counties.

Essex County—East Essex includes Belleville, Bloomfield, East Orange, Irvington, Newark, and Nutley in Essex County, and Kearney in Hudson County. North Essex includes Caldwell, Cedar Grove, Essex Fells, Fairfield, Glen Ridge, Montclair, North Caldwell, Roseland, Verona, and West Caldwell. South Essex includes Maplewood, Millburn, Short Hills, and South Orange in Essex County, and Springfield in Union County.

Middlesex County—includes in Somerset County: Kendall Park, Somerset, and Franklin; in Mercer County: Hightstown; and all of Middlesex County.

Northeastern N.J.—includes Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Middlesex, Morris, Passaic, Somerset, Union, Hunterdon, Sussex, Monmouth, and Ocean counties.

North Hudson County—includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, and Woodcliff.

Somerset County—includes most of Somerset County and a portion of Hunterdon County.

Trenton—includes most of Mercer County.

Union County—includes all of Union County except Springfield. Also includes a few towns in adjacent areas of Somerset and Middlesex counties.

Vineland—includes most of Cumberland County and towns in neighboring counties adjacent to Vineland.

NEW YORK

Elmira—includes Chemung, Tioga, and Schuyler counties. Also includes Tioga and Bradford counties in Pennsylvania.

Glens Falls—includes Warren and Washington counties, lower Essex County, and upper Saratoga County.

Kingston—includes eastern half of Ulster County.

New York Metropolitan Area—includes the five boroughs of New York City, Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk counties. For a total Jewish population of the New York metropolitan region, please include Fairfield County, Connecticut; Rockland, Putnam, and Orange counties, New York; and Northeastern New Jersey.

Syracuse—includes Onondaga County, western Madison County, and most of Oswego County.

Utica—southeastern third of Oneida County.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville—includes Buncombe, Haywood, and Madison counties.

Charlotte—includes Mecklenburg County. Also includes Lancaster and York counties in South Carolina.

OHIO

Cincinnati—includes Hamilton and Butler counties. Also includes Boone, Campbell, and Kenton counties in Kentucky.

Cleveland—for a total Jewish population of the Cleveland metropolitan region, please include Elyria, Lorain, and Akron totals.

Toledo—includes Fulton, Lucas, and Wood counties. Also includes Monroe and Lenawee counties, Michigan.

Youngstown—includes Mahoning and Trumbull counties. Also includes Mercer County, Pennsylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA

Ambridge—includes lower Beaver County and adjacent areas of Allegheny County. Also included in Pittsburgh total.

Bucks County (lower portion)—includes Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penn del, Trevoise, Warrington, Yardley, Richboro, Feasterville, Middletown, Southampton, and Holland. Also included in Philadelphia total.

Philadelphia—includes Philadelphia City; Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Bucks counties. For a total Jewish population of the Philadelphia metropolitan region, please include the Cherry Hill, Salem, and Trenton areas of New Jersey, and the Wilmington area of Delaware.

Pittsburgh—includes all of Allegheny County and adjacent portions of Washington, Westmoreland, and Beaver counties.

Sunbury—includes Shamokin, Lewisburg, Milton, Selinsgrove, and Sunbury.

Wilkes-Barre—includes all of Luzerne County except southern portion, which is included in Hazleton totals.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Sumter—includes towns in Sumter, Lee, Clarendon, and Williamsburg counties.

TEXAS

Amarillo—includes Canyon, Childress, Borger, Dumas, Memphis, Pampa, Vega, and Hereford in Texas, and Portales, New Mexico.

Houston—includes Harris, Montgomery, and Ft. Bend counties, and parts of Brazoria and Galveston counties.

McAllen—includes Edinburg, Harlingen, McAllen, Mission, Pharr, Rio Grande City, San Juan, and Weslaco. Portion of Harlingen also included in Brownsville total.

Waco—includes McLennan, Coryell, Bell, Falls, Hamilton, and Hill counties.

VIRGINIA

Fredericksburg—includes towns in Spotsylvania, Stafford, King George, and Orange counties.

Newport News—includes Newport News, Hampton, Williamsburg, James City, York County, and Poquoson City.

Richmond—includes Richmond City, Henrico County, and Chesterfield County.

Staunton—includes towns in Augusta, Page, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Bath, and Highland counties.

Winchester—includes towns in Winchester, Frederick, Clarke, and Warren counties, Virginia; and Hardy and Jefferson counties, West Virginia.

WASHINGTON

Seattle—includes King County and adjacent portions of Snohomish and Kitsap counties.

Tri Cities—includes Pasco, Richland, and Kennewick.

WEST VIRGINIA

Huntington—includes nearby towns in Ohio and Kentucky.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee—includes Milwaukee County, eastern Waukesha County, and southern Ozaukee County.

Wausau—includes Stevens Point, Marshfield, Antigo, and Rhinelander.

Review
of
the
Year

OTHER COUNTRIES

National Affairs

THE COUNTRY'S TWO LARGEST PROVINCES held elections in 1994 and mid-1995. In September 1994 Quebec elected a Parti Québécois (PQ) government with a razor-thin plurality in the popular vote. The new government committed itself to hold a referendum on independence in 1995 and reaffirmed its intention to make Quebec a separate country. The Jewish community of Montreal, which is overwhelmingly federalist, found the results unsettling, though the news was received more calmly than the first PQ victory in 1976.

Salomon Cohen ran unsuccessfully as a PQ candidate in Outremont. Lawrence Bergman and Russell Copeman were elected as Liberals in neighboring Montreal districts. Another Liberal winner was Yvon Charbonneau, a militant anti-Israel union leader in the 1980s. Liberal leader Daniel Johnson claimed that Charbonneau had moderated his views, but he participated in a March 1995 rally against Israeli activities in Lebanon, provoking a protest from Canada-Israel Committee Quebec chair Thomas Hecht.

Ontario's June 1995 election also saw a change in the government, with the Progressive Conservatives (PC) ousting the New Democrats. In a closely followed race in Willowdale, incumbent Charles Harnick (PC) defeated former Canadian Jewish Congress president Les Scheininger (Liberal). Liberals Monte Kwinter and Elinor Caplan were reelected in Toronto districts, while their fellow partisan Steven Offer lost his seat in Mississauga.

Following its electoral victory in Quebec, the PQ government set up a series of commissions to examine options for "sovereignty," the label that it used for independence. The Quebec regions of both B'nai Brith Canada (BBC) and Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) submitted briefs that vigorously opposed the sovereignty project. BBC argued that independence would not give the people of the province anything they did not already have, and that the effects of secession would be highly negative, leading to a further exodus of Jews from Montreal. CJC reaffirmed the federalist preference of the Jews of Quebec and was joined by representatives of the Greek and Italian communities.

The House of Commons passed a new hate-crimes bill in June 1995, which increased the punishments for crimes motivated by racial or religious hatred. Both

BBC and CJC supported the bill, which generated controversy because of its protection of gays and lesbians against crimes motivated by bias.

Israel and the Middle East

Canada and Israel began negotiations on a free-trade pact in November 1994. The envisioned deal would give Canadian companies greater access to the Israeli market and to the Middle East as a whole. As of 1993, trade between the two countries amounted to about \$300 million, a small fraction of Israel's foreign trade.

Ontario signed an economic agreement with Israel in April 1994, in order to facilitate collaboration between companies in the two jurisdictions. A new venture, the Canada-Israel Industrial Research and Development Foundation, was announced in May 1994. It had funding of \$6 million from the industry ministries of the two countries, as well as private sources. It will encourage cooperative research for commercial purposes.

Air Canada inaugurated twice-weekly nonstop service between Toronto and Tel Aviv in June 1995. The competition on the route with El Al brought fares down from previous levels. Earlier in the year El Al had threatened to abandon its service to Canada because of anticipated competition from a charter company. But that did not materialize and both El Al and Air Canada enjoyed high loads during the summer of 1995.

Refugee claims by Israelis who wanted to move to Canada—claiming that Israel persecuted them or denied them equal rights—caused consternation to the Israeli government and the Canadian Jewish community. In 1992 and 1993, for example, over 3,000 people from Israel applied for refugee status in Canada, the largest number from any democratic state. Most of the claims were ultimately rejected, though they were less likely to be rejected in Quebec than in Ontario. The countries that produced more claimants were Iran, Somalia, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. The number of applicants declined in 1994, but 380 Israeli claims were granted, more than in the previous five years combined. There was still a backlog of unresolved claims at the end of the year.

The numbers, which increased substantially from 1991 to 1992, included many ex-Soviets, not all of them Jewish. The fact that Canada gave credence to some of the claims was very embarrassing to Israel, which maintained that Canada was the only country that accepted Israeli citizens as refugees. Ambassador Itzhak Shalef asserted that "it is an insult to one democracy that another democracy should accept its citizens as refugees." His government lodged an official complaint with Canada on the matter. In August 1994 the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) held hearings on conditions in Israel, providing a forum for Israeli lawyer Lynda Brayer to pillory Israel for alleged apartheid-like policies. Another Israeli lawyer, Jonathan Livny, and Canadian law professor Irwin Cotler attacked Brayer's testimony and attested to Israel's protection of human rights.

Legal rulings added to the controversy. The Federal Court upheld the IRB and

ruled in December 1994 that a Russian couple of mixed ancestry did not face persecution in Israel and therefore did not qualify as refugees. In November 1994 the IRB held in another case that a Jewish woman from Azerbaijan did not qualify as a refugee because she had the option of seeking refuge in Israel and receiving citizenship there. Jewish immigration advocates were concerned that by that logic no Jew could ever qualify as a refugee in Canada. However, in May 1995 another IRB ruling did admit a Russian Jewish woman, expressly refuting the previous holding.

Canada prepared to deport a Soviet Christian family that had become Israeli citizens and then come to Canada as visitors and stayed after a claim for refugee status was denied. The Davidov family asserted that they could not fit into Israel because they were Christian, but Israeli officials promised them otherwise and assured them that they would not be returned to their native Tajikistan. In February 1994 Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi responded to expressions of support for the family by allowing them to apply for permanent residence status and remain in their Ste. Foy, Quebec, home while the application was processed.

On an unrelated matter, after two years of deliberations, the IRB rejected the refugee claim of Mahmoud Mohammad Issa Mohammad, a Palestinian terrorist convicted in Greece for attacking an El Al plane in 1968. He had been granted permanent residence in Canada on false pretenses and then claimed refugee status after his immigration permit was revoked.

The UN held a North American Non-Governmental Organizations Symposium on the Question of Palestine in Toronto in July 1994. Former Jerusalem city councillor Sarah Kaminker attacked Israeli policy in the capital, asserting that the goal was to "turn it into a Jewish city with only isolated Arab neighborhoods."

Also in July, 17 Canadian university presidents visited Israel, led by CJC president Irving Abella. They toured the country, visited its universities and research institutes, and met with their Israeli counterparts.

Chief Justice Antonio Lamer visited Israel in November 1994, where he met with Justice Meir Shamgar, his Israeli counterpart. There was a diplomatic incident when Canadian ambassador Norman Spector objected to Lamer's intention to visit Bethlehem and the Old City of Jerusalem, accompanied by Shamgar, on the ground that it would imply recognition of Israel's occupation. Lamer finally did visit the Western Wall without notifying anyone. Shamgar and his judicial colleagues boycotted a reception at Spector's home as an expression of their displeasure.

The government of Israel honored Toronto community activist Judy Feld Carr at a ceremony in Jerusalem in April 1995. Speaking to the assembly, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said, "I wish to express our gratitude for the outstanding job you did . . . enabling the Jewish community of Syria to find a safe haven." Carr had worked tirelessly on behalf of Syrian Jews for 20 years.

David Berger, a former MP, was appointed ambassador to Israel in 1995, succeeding Norman Spector. Itzhak Shelef completed his posting as the Israeli ambassador in Ottawa in the summer of 1995. As the fruits of his five years in Canada, he could

point to strong Canadian political support, the improvement of trade relations, high-tech cooperation, and a strong Canadian presence in Israel. His successor was Robbie Sabel.

Jehudi Kinar was appointed consul-general of Israel in Toronto, succeeding Dror Zeigerman, while his new counterpart in Montreal was Daniel Gal, who succeeded Itzhak Levanon.

Anti-Semitism and Racism

The Supreme Court of Canada decided in October 1994 to consider the government's appeal of the 1993 decision of the New Brunswick Court of Appeal in the Malcolm Ross case. Ross had been removed as a public-school teacher because of his anti-Semitic writings but had prevailed in the Court of Appeal. Subsequently he published a book in which he accused Jewish physicians of threatening "Christian civilization" by performing abortions—*The Real Holocaust: The Attack on Unborn Children and Life Itself*.

Wolfgang Droege, leader of the racist Heritage Front, was in court on several occasions. He was acquitted in January 1994 of violating the terms of his bail by continuing to speak publicly about the Front. But he and two followers were found guilty of contempt of court in June 1994 for flouting a court order to desist from playing racist telephone hotline messages and were given three-month jail sentences. In early 1995 he was sentenced to six months in prison for his role in a 1993 brawl. In December 1994 a government committee revealed that the Heritage Front had targeted some 22 Canadians, including several Jews, in a 1993 plot. One of those selected for murder was CJC official Bernie Farber. The report also noted harassment of some Jewish leaders by racists involved with the Front or similar bodies.

Anti-Semitic publisher Ernst Zundel encountered setbacks in his efforts to use the broadcast media. One of his television shows was dropped by a Texas station early in 1994; another was accepted by a station in upstate New York in January 1995 but was canceled after protests. He did appear for an interview on an Albany area radio station in March. On May 7, 1995—the eve of VE Day—fire destroyed half of Zundel's Toronto house, probably due to arson. The perpetrator was not identified.

Former teacher James Keegstra's 1992 conviction for hate mongering was reversed by the Alberta Court of Appeal in September 1994 by a 2–1 vote, because of errors by the trial judge.

Prof. Robert O'Driscoll was reprimanded by the University of Toronto for his anti-Semitic writings. The decision was based on two reviews of his performance. The university decided that he had to satisfy conditions related to physical and mental health in order to continue teaching there.

B'nai Brith reported an increase of nearly 12 percent in incidents of anti-Semitic harassment and vandalism in 1994 compared to the previous year. The 290 incidents represented the highest total in 13 years of reporting. The increase was in the category of harassment (from 151 to 198), while vandalism incidents declined from

105 to 92. About half of the incidents were reported in the Toronto area.

A Quebec City synagogue was defaced in March 1994, and swastikas were painted on a Montreal Jewish school in May. The Beach Synagogue at Winnipeg Beach was defaced with swastikas on Halloween; two teenagers were arrested and later apologized. Swastikas were also daubed on Jewish-owned businesses in Toronto in December. Anti-Semitic graffiti appeared on the Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate School in Winnipeg in March 1995, while two campuses of the Associated Hebrew Schools in Toronto received similar treatment later that month.

American black radical Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) spoke at the University of Manitoba in February 1994, expressing his usual anti-Zionist ideas. In May, Nation of Islam member Khalid Muhammad was barred from Canada when he tried to enter for a speaking engagement at the University of Toronto. CJC president Abella denounced him as a "racist agitator." Muhammad spoke to the crowd over a phone line and was cheered for his attacks on whites and Jews.

A Toronto radio station affiliated with the University of Toronto broadcast interviews with two officials of the Nation of Islam in the spring of 1994. One of them was allowed to harangue CIUT's listeners with an anti-Semitic diatribe about alleged Jewish subjugation of blacks. The station's program director acknowledged that the statements were defamatory and carried a retraction twice daily for two weeks. A Polish-language newspaper in Edmonton published excerpts of the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in August 1994.

Montreal researchers Jean-François Nadeau and Gonzalo Arriaga found that prominent Quebec nationalists had assisted French collaborators such as Jacques Duge and Georges-Benoit Montel, both associated with Klaus Barbie in Lyons, to settle in Quebec after World War II. The head of the Quebec network that facilitated their immigration was historian Robert Rumilly. He was assisted by Montreal mayor Camilien Houde and Father Lionel Groulx, a leading nationalist figure. Political scientist Esther Delisle found that the collaborators enjoyed the protection of a number of prominent Quebecers, including Louis St. Laurent and Maurice Duplessis. She claimed, too, that the Canadian embassy in Paris was connected with the escape operation.

Nazi War Criminals

Legal action against Nazi war criminals living in Canada continued to move slowly, with Citizenship and Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi going back and forth on the matter of funding for the process. In February 1995 the government announced the initiation of proceedings against four accused war criminals, but said that there were insufficient resources available to proceed with eight additional cases simultaneously. In April 1995 the head of the Justice Department's war-crimes unit, Peter Kremer, finished his term of office. By June, the government, having decided to accelerate the pace, was prepared to proceed against six elderly men, mainly of Latvian origin.

Among the accused were Erichs Tobiass, a member of the notorious Arajs Kom-

mando in Latvia from 1941 to 1943; Konrads Kalejs, a visitor to Canada who also served in the Kommando; Joseph Nemsila, reportedly a member of the Hlinka Guard in Slovakia; Helmut Oberlander, who served in the Einsatzkommando in the Soviet Union in 1941; and Johann Dueck, a policeman in Ukraine between 1941 and 1943.

Nazi collaborator Jacob Luitjens, who had been deported from Canada to his native Holland, was released from prison there in March 1995, after serving two years of a life sentence. In the case of Imre Finta, who had been acquitted in 1991 and again in 1993, in March 1994 the Supreme Court refused to grant the government a new trial. It did, however, uphold the constitutionality of the war-crimes legislation under which Finta was tried. Again in June, following additional government appeals, the court refused to reopen the case. BBC's League for Human Rights then petitioned the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights for a declaration that Canada had violated its international obligation to bring Nazi war criminals to justice and that the Finta decision contravened international law.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The number of Jews in Canada, based on the 1991 census, was 356,315.¹

Toronto was by far the largest Jewish community in the country, with 162,605 Jews, according to an analysis of 1991 census data. About 45 percent of Canada's Jews lived in Metro Toronto, which was the eighth-largest Jewish community in North America. Although religious identification with Judaism among Toronto's Jews was strong, intermarriage was increasing. About one-seventh of the Jews between 25 and 34 lived in intermarried families. Also, nearly one-seventh of the Jewish children lived in homes where one parent was not Jewish.

Toronto Jewry's rapid growth in recent years was fueled by immigration, with nearly a third of the population born in other countries. About half of the immigrants had arrived during the past 20 years, primarily from the Soviet Union, Israel, or South Africa. Toronto was also a magnet for Jews from other parts of Canada, especially Montreal, with the community absorbing over 7,000 such people between 1986 and 1991.

A study by the Jewish Federation of Greater Toronto showed that 39 percent of the affiliated Jews belonged to Conservative synagogues, 24 percent to Reform, and 10 percent to Orthodox, though only about half the community belonged to a synagogue at all. About two-thirds had visited Israel at least once. In terms of age, the senior group (over age 65) at 15 percent was about 50 percent larger proportion-

¹See Jim L. Torczyner and Shari L. Brotman, "The Jews of Canada: A Profile from the Census," *AJYB* 1995, pp. 227-60.

ally than the comparable group in the general population. Although this was a common situation for Jews throughout Canada, the under-15 age group was also growing (from 19 to 21 percent between 1981 and 1991), a hopeful sign for the future.

Montreal remained the second-largest community, with 101,210 Jews, according to an analysis of the 1991 census. This was a higher total than most observers had expected, with immigration from overseas offsetting moves to Toronto and other parts of Canada. About 22 percent of the Jews were over age 65, creating a growing challenge for community planners.

A Federation-Combined Jewish Appeal study found an increase in the intermarriage rate between 1981 and 1991, from 5.5 percent to 9.3 percent of married Jews with non-Jewish spouses, though that was still the lowest rate in North America. The likelihood of intermarriage increased with education and income.

The Sephardic community of Montreal numbered between 14,500 and 20,500, according to McGill University analysts Jim Torczyner and Shari Brotman. The limitations of the census data make it difficult to be more precise. The Sephardim had more young people than the Ashkenazim and fewer aged, their educational attainments were slightly lower, they had larger families, and they were less affluent.

Intermarriage continued to be a major problem in Vancouver, with over 32 percent of Jewish families including a non-Jewish spouse. The Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver estimated the 1994 population at 21,170, up from 19,375 in 1991. Most of the influx into Vancouver was from other provinces rather than from foreign countries.

Communal Affairs

The crucial issue in Toronto was the financial failure of the Jewish Community Center, which ran up a debt of approximately \$18 million (Canadian) from expansion and questionable management practices, compounded by the failure of donors to pay pledges due to deteriorating economic conditions. With three campuses that served much of the community facing closure, the problem was serious indeed. In February 1994, the JCC defaulted on its major bank loan and risked having its assets seized. The Jewish Federation of Greater Toronto (JFGT), which had been paying the interest on the loan, stopped doing so because of the uncertainty. The saga continued well into 1995, with the key questions being the precise size of the debt, originally estimated at \$10 million, what role the Federation would play in any rescue package, and what would happen to programs, buildings, and staff. The problem of finding the necessary resources was acute in an environment of at best stable community budgets.

After various attempts to arrive at a solution fell through, the Federation announced in July 1994 that it had borrowed \$5 million, most of which was turned over to the bank to cover part of the debt. The JFGT received a first mortgage on the property. United Israel Appeal agreed to pay the interest on the JFGT's loan.

The Community Endowment Fund also loaned the JCC \$700,000. The Federation then took control of the JCC in August. The executive director, central administrative staff, and some of the program staff of the JCC were let go, and programming cutbacks were announced. On the community's Super Sunday in September, many of the cashiered JCC employees picketed the Federation to protest the loss of their jobs. Eventually severance arrangements were concluded, the creditors agreed to the restructuring plan in December, and a judge approved the deal in January 1995.

A special task force of the JFGT reported in mid-1994 on continuity in the community. It recommended new spending of \$1.2 million per year for staff and programming to combat assimilation and intermarriage. The report asserted that the central question is "whether being Jewish will continue to be important to Jews, or whether it will become a peripheral and ultimately meaningless part of their lives." Key recommendations of the task force included emphasis on family-life education, programs for young adults, and Jewish education.

In 1994 the United Jewish Appeal in Toronto raised about \$33 million net. The conservative budget allocation for 1994-95, allowing for potential collection problems, was Overseas—\$16.1 million, National—\$3.0, Community Service—\$3.6, Jewish Education—\$7.4, and JFGT—\$1.8. In 1995 the UJA established a new division for Israelis living in the area.

In Montreal, the Combined Jewish Appeal raised about \$31.5 million in its 1994 campaign, with net proceeds amounting to \$27.5 million, up about \$150,000 from the previous year. In the 1995-96 budget, the allocations were as follows: Overseas—\$12.3 million, National—\$2.5, Local Services—\$12.7. Montreal was now spending more on local services than it sent to Israel (contrasting with the roughly 60 percent it sent to Israel 10-15 years ago).

In 1992 the Montreal Jewish community and the Quebec government made an agreement to bring about 100 Jewish families to Montreal from the former Soviet Union. For its part, the government agreed to accelerate the immigration process, while the community, through the Federation and Jewish Immigrant Aid Services, covered the immigrants' basic living expenses for a year and assisted them in integrating into the Quebec milieu. The program was particularly successful in finding employment for the immigrants, who came mainly from Russia or Ukraine, but because of cost factors was limited to the 100 families. Many other Soviet Jews, perhaps as many as 5,000, had come to Quebec outside of the special program. In May 1994 the program was renewed to cover an additional 100 families before 1996.

The new president of the Communauté Sépharade du Québec (CSQ), Joseph Gabay, announced his intention to foster rapprochement between his own constituency and the Ashkenazi majority in the Montreal Jewish community. This effort was endorsed by the Federation and the Quebec Region of CJC. At a seminar held under the auspices of the three groups in March 1994, Michel Chokron, a former president of the CSQ, warned of a possible exodus of young professionals if Quebec separated, similar to what happened after Morocco became independent in 1956. Other speakers, such as Maxyne Finkelstein of Federation CJA and Jack Jedwab of CJC, did

not share his apocalyptic view. According to Prof. Jim Torczyner of McGill University, his data showed Montreal to have a stable and vital population, with immigrants from overseas replacing those Jews who left. To him, the more pressing issues were how to deal with growing numbers of the elderly and poor and how to integrate Sephardim into the community's political structure. Steven Drysdale, the Federation's executive vice-president, noted the increase in Sephardim on his professional staff and foresaw a time when they would be well represented in key lay posts as well.

The CSQ received a great deal of praise from Gilles Duceppe, the Bloc Québécois whip in the House of Commons, speaking at a panel discussion in January 1994. After participating in the annual CSQ meeting, the separatist legislator praised the Sephardim for being active in Quebec society and for exemplifying the best of community involvement. However, Duceppe warned the Jewish community and other ethnic groups against trying to preserve intact their separate cultures, which could encourage a "siege mentality." He concluded that "all residents of Quebec, regardless of the cultural origin, are fully Québécois."

When most of McGill University's teaching hospitals agreed in principle to a merger that would create a new super hospital, the Jewish General Hospital declined to participate, preferring to retain its separate identity. The decision was based on considerations of how best to serve the hospital's clientele and was not expected to affect its affiliation with McGill's Faculty of Medicine.

Canadian Jewish Congress observed its 75th birthday with a gala celebration at Montreal's Monument National Theater in March 1994. President Irving Abella reviewed the history of the organization and that of Canadian Jewry, pointing out just how far the community had come in 75 years. He said that CJC's greatest strengths were "elasticity" and a "resolute and fiercely democratic spirit." He also praised the unified voice with which Congress had represented the community.

In May 1995, CJC held its triennial Plenary Assembly in Montreal. The highlight was a bitterly contested election for the presidency between Goldie Hershon and Thomas Hecht. Hershon won by 16 votes out of 847 that were cast. The election was marked by charges and countercharges of electoral irregularities, questionable credentials, organizational problems, manipulation, lack of neutrality on the part of staff, and attempts to pack the election. Specific allegations were that the Hecht team paid the registration fees of some delegates, especially youth, and that the Hershon forces questioned Hecht's integrity in the media. The news about the conflicts surrounding the election was carried by the general media, adding to the sense of embarrassment felt by many members of the community.

Hershon promised to emphasize national unity, the welfare of small communities, combating anti-Semitism, and integrating youth into community affairs. She also appealed to the Council of Jewish Federations (Canada) for a larger budgetary allocation to offset the cuts of recent years. Hecht averred that he wanted to open Congress to wider participation, "but Congress insiders opted for the status quo." An issue in the election that was not generally addressed directly was Hecht's

avowed support for the Israeli Likud Party, which some people apparently felt disqualified him from representing the community. In the aftermath of the election, Justice Herbert Marx of Quebec Superior Court was asked by Hershon to head a commission to review the organization's by-laws in order to prevent abuses of the system in the future. The particular focus would be the rules governing the registration of delegates and the conduct of elections.

In Winnipeg, the Jewish Community Council was reexamining its structure and its relationship to the many Jewish organizations in that city. In October 1994 it announced plans for a new campus that would house the Jewish Museum of Western Canada, the YM-YWHA, the Jewish Community Center, the Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate School, the Ramah Hebrew School, and community offices. The cost would be \$26 million, with part being covered by federal and provincial grants toward the museum.

Rabbi Meyer Krentzman of Montreal, who held a number of key community positions over many years, was arrested in January 1994 and charged with trafficking in narcotics. In particular he was accused of attempting to sell cocaine and heroin to an undercover police officer, possession, intention to traffic, and conspiracy. Another man charged in the case, Andar Galandauer, was an officer of a local synagogue. Subsequently, both were also charged with the production of fake passports and breaking and entering, and Galandauer was charged with possession of prohibited weapons. Krentzman faced two fraud charges as well from 1993. He had held executive-director posts at the Jewish Education Council, the Canadian Zionist Federation, and the Jewish National Fund.

At the end of February, Rabbi Krentzman pleaded guilty to several of the charges relating to drug trafficking, fraud, and issuing false declarations. The other charges were dropped. He was sentenced to five years in prison, but was paroled in the spring of 1995. Galandauer pleaded guilty in March 1994 to ten charges and was sent to prison for five years and eight months.

Education

At the National Jewish Education Conference in Winnipeg in April 1994, Rabbi Irwin Witty, executive director of the Board of Jewish Education of Toronto, defended the Jewish schools against charges that they were not doing enough for Jewish continuity, arguing that the home, synagogue, and community had major roles to play as well. "The school is supposed to replace the parents. The results are ignorance, indifference, alienation, intermarriage, and conversion." Witty also made a clarion call for "a massive infusion of funds" from the local communities as "the only realistic approach."

Federation CJA in Montreal decided to finance an afternoon school for the first time. The school, which opened in September 1994 for children aged 6–12, was designed to fill the gap caused by the closing of congregational afternoon schools. In Ottawa a community-funded high school also opened in September 1994. In

addition, a new campus of the Reform Leo Baeck Day School opened in Thornhill, a rapidly growing Toronto suburb.

In July 1994, the Ontario Court of Appeal unanimously rejected the view that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms required the government to finance religious education "for all the diverse religious groups within Ontario." This was another bitter disappointment for the Toronto Jewish community, which had been striving for years to obtain government funding for its day schools but had been rebuffed at every turn.

Community Relations

When Ontario's Jewish children in the public-school system faced the prospect of the first day of school in September 1994 coinciding with Rosh Hashanah, most boards were persuaded by Jewish communal bodies to delay their openings. This included virtually all boards in the Toronto and Ottawa areas.

The policy of the Royal Canadian Legion on the wearing of head coverings in Legion halls was a source of continuing difficulty. After disputes in 1993 with Sikhs who had been barred, the Legion's Dominion Command issued a directive to permit the wearing of headgear required by Jewish and Sikh religious practices. However, at the biennial Legion convention in June 1994, delegates voted overwhelmingly to reject the national policy and leave the matter up to the local branches. The explanation of opponents of the policy was that heads must be uncovered out of respect for fallen comrades. Both CJC and the World Sikh Organization condemned the vote.

In February 1994, the House of Commons adopted a new opening prayer that omitted the Lord's Prayer and three references to Jesus that had appeared in the previous one. Jewish MPs welcomed the change.

In June 1994, the Supreme Court ruled that three Jewish teachers who worked for a school board outside of Montreal were entitled to have Yom Kippur off with pay. The school board had docked their pay when they took the day off to observe the holiday.

The presence of a congregation of messianic Jews located close to a synagogue in the Montreal suburb of Dollard des Ormeaux led to tensions between the two groups. The Jews for Jesus group used a church made available to them by the Salvation Army. Rabbi Mordecai Zeitz of Congregation Beth Tikvah contended that the group had been targeting local Jews for conversion, that it "preys on Jews and its raison d'être is to convert Jews." CJC tried to persuade the Salvation Army to oust the congregation, but without success. Conflict erupted in December 1994 when the messianic Kehilat She'ar Yashuv put out a sign with Jewish symbols next to its Christmas nativity scene. Angry Beth Tikvah members interrupted their Shabbat Hanukkah service, trespassed on the church property, tore down the sign, and trampled it. Rabbi Zeitz claimed that his worshipers were provoked by the posting of the sign, which was a "flagrant violation" of a gentleman's agreement reached the previous summer.

Montreal's YM-YWHA won a reprieve from a \$10-million property tax bill when the Quebec Court of Appeal ruled unanimously in March 1995 that it deserved to be tax-exempt. Three different municipalities in which the Y had property had taken the view that it was not entitled to such status and had assessed taxes since 1983. The bill had threatened to bankrupt the Y. The issue was whether the Y was truly a public institution. After the Quebec Municipal Commission ruled in 1984 that it was not, because admission was only available through annual membership, the Y began to offer day passes.

Religion

The issue of *agunot*, women who cannot remarry under Jewish law because their husbands refuse to authorize a Jewish divorce, a *get*, achieved increasing prominence. The Canadian Coalition of Jewish Women for the Get held vigils in seven cities in February 1994 in order to publicize their case and encourage synagogues to adopt policies that would impose penalties on recalcitrant husbands. At the March 1995 vigil in Toronto, Rabbi Mark Dratch equated those who refused to grant a *get* to rapists or abusers. He contended that such behavior was "an abuse of Torah and tradition." In 1994 CJC adopted a series of resolutions to facilitate solving the problem of the *agunot*. For example, it expressed its opposition to leadership roles or honors for recalcitrant husbands.

In a bizarre twist to the *agunah* issue, the father of an 11-year-old Montreal girl arranged her betrothal—a tactic that is permitted by Halakhah (Jewish law) but has been in disuse for centuries—in order to pressure his wife with respect to their divorce. Since a betrothed girl would not be permitted to marry without a *get* of her own, this created a grave halakhic problem. A great Israeli sage, the late Rabbi Shlomo Zalman Auerbach, ruled that the betrothal was invalid for technical reasons, thereby resolving the immediate issue.

Conservative Judaism in Canada continued to be troubled by the view of many of its rabbis that the movement in the United States was liberalizing in a manner that compromised fundamental Jewish values. The Rabbinical Assembly's draft report on human sexuality, circulated in May 1994, created controversy because it countenanced sexual relationships outside of marriage under certain circumstances. The question of holiness in nonmarital relationships was hotly debated among Toronto-area Conservative rabbis, many of whom were also troubled by the report's ambivalent stand on homosexuality.

When the final version of the document was issued in 1995, Rabbi Wayne Allen criticized it for legitimizing social practices that do not necessarily conform to religious principles. "This seems to be a surrender to the sexual laxity of our society rather than an attempt to restate the ideals," he said. Rabbi Henry Balser and Rabbi Allen suggested that it might not have been wise to take a public stance on the issue of sex outside of marriage. On the other hand, Rabbi Kenneth Katz praised the report for stimulating study and inquiry.

Another matter that accentuated differences between Conservative Jews in Canada and the United States was the refusal of Camp Ramah in Canada to distribute the Summer 1994 issue of *Ramah—the Magazine*, which is published in New York, because of an article about former female campers who have become rabbis and cantors. Rabbi Mitch Cohen, the camp director, stressed that Conservatives in Canada did not accept many of the egalitarian changes that now characterized the Conservative movement in the United States.

The Montreal suburb of Laval, which had been declining in Jewish population for about 20 years, experienced growth through francophone Sephardic influx. Congregation Or Sépharade de Laval appointed the Moroccan-born Rabbi Moshe Nahon as its spiritual leader soon after his graduation from Yeshiva University. Another congregation in the area, le Centre Sépharade de Torah de Laval, led by Rabbi David Banon, founded in 1993, was planning to build a synagogue.

In an unusual experiment, Temple Shalom and the Westminster United Church of Kitchener, Ontario, agreed to build and share a new facility in nearby Waterloo. The building will house both a sanctuary and a community center.

A relatively new congregation in Vancouver, Shaarey Tefilah, affiliated with the Union for Traditional Judaism and engaged Rabbi Mordechai Scher. It was the first UTJ-affiliated synagogue in the area. Orthodox rabbis from Halifax, Fredericton, and Moncton formed Atlantic Canada's first Beth Din for the purpose of arbitrations and *kashrut* supervision.

Canadian Reform Jews debated Rabbi Alexander Schindler's call for more aggressive conversion efforts and more involvement of non-Jews married to Jewish members in synagogue activities. The Reform movement in Canada seemed more skeptical of the UAHC president's views than its U.S. counterpart. For example, Rabbi Michael Stroh, a leading Reform rabbi in Toronto, emphasized the boundaries imposed by tradition between Jews and non-Jews. Rabbi Daniel Gottlieb, executive director of the Canadian Council for Reform Judaism, expressed similar views. Several other Toronto-area rabbis stressed the differences between Reform practices in Canada and the United States, with the Canadians more to the right of the movement.

Israel's Ashkenazic chief rabbi, Israel Meir Lau, visited Vancouver in August 1994 on his first trip to Canada. He spent a weekend at Congregation Schara Tzedeck and also spoke at Chabad House.

Culture

Musica Beth Tikvah presented a concert by Trio Lyra in May 1994 in Toronto featuring the world premiere of *Touchpoints for Flute, Viola and Harp* by Harry Freedman. Other works performed were by Ben Steinberg, Srul Irving Glick, and Milton Barnes, all local composers. Ben Steinberg's new composition, *In Memoriam Primo Levi*, had its premiere at Toronto's Temple Sinai in January 1995 as part of a Holocaust and Remembrance Concert. A concert by female cantors at Holy

Blossom Temple in Toronto in April 1995 featured Roslyn Barak and Faith Gurney. In Montreal, the Canadian Society for Jewish Music presented a series of events in March 1994, including a concert of great Jewish works and a scholarly symposium on aspects of Jewish music.

The Leah Posluns Theater in Toronto was closed and its season canceled in September 1994 because the Jewish Community Center, of which it was a part, was on the verge of bankruptcy. Also closed were the Institute for Jewish Learning, the Leah Posluns Theater drama school, and dance and music programs.

Barbara Lebow's *A Shayna Maidel* had its Canadian premiere at the North York Performing Arts Center in April 1994. Al Waxman directed. The Friends of Yiddish at Harbord Collegiate performed *Der Yiddisher Mikado* in March to raise funds for Yiddish studies at the University of Toronto. Jason Sherman's one-act play *Reading Hebron* premiered at Toronto's Theater Center East in February 1995. *Gordin in America*, a new play by Beth Kaplan, based on the life of Yiddish playwright Jacob Gordin, who died in 1909, was presented at the Bloor JCC in Toronto in April 1995. It won the 1994 Canadian Jewish Playwriting Contest.

Toronto's Jewish Film Festival was held in April and May 1994 at the Bloor Cinema. Over 30 features and shorts from 11 countries were screened, most of them recent films. The May 1995 Festival, also at the Bloor Cinema, presented 23 films from nine countries. Harry Rasky's documentary film *Prophecy*, about the role of prophecy in major religions, had its Canadian premiere in December 1994 in Toronto.

Artists, art historians, curators, and other specialists participated in a two-day symposium on "Visual Art and Jewish Identity: A Contemporary Experience" at Montreal's Saidye Bronfman Center in March 1994. One of the discussions concerned the large stylized sculpture of a bull's head, *Sacrifice*, by Israeli artist Ilan Averbuch, which stands at the entrance to the SBC. It had been a source of controversy during its six years on the site because some people saw it as sacrilegious or even idolatrous. Several discussants gave their own interpretations of the meaning of the sculpture. Another presentation was an analysis of the work of Barnett Newman by Matthew Baigell, as an attempt to determine just what makes art "Jewish." Other sessions dealt with "Time and Memory: On the Influence of Jewish Memory on Art" and "Anti-Semitism, Persecution and Art: A Complex Relationship."

Toronto's Jewish Book Awards were presented in June 1994 to Esther Delisle, Rabbi Chaim Nussbaum (posthumously), Gerald Tulchinsky, Ariella Samson, Abraham Boyarsky, Szloma Renglich (posthumously), and Ivan Kalmar.

Tobi Asmoucha's photographic exhibit "Home and Homeland: Jewish Images from Toronto to Israel" was shown in September at the Beach Hebrew Institute in Toronto.

Garth Drabinsky's Live Entertainment company was building a \$24-million theater in Vancouver with seating for 1,800. The architect was Moshe Safdie.

The second International Conference of Yiddish Clubs met in Toronto in October

1994. *Ashkenaz*, a festival of new Yiddish culture, was held at Toronto's Harbourfront Center in July 1995. It included presentations of music, theater, dance, storytelling, and film.

Publications

Mordecai Richler contrasts his childhood memories of Zionist activities and his Montreal family with his observations during a 1992 visit to Israel in *This Year in Jerusalem*. He is outspoken about Jews, Palestinians, and Israelis as he depicts a range of colorful characters, many from his own youth. Canadian reporter Bronwin Drainie spent several years in Jerusalem on assignment and produced *My Jerusalem: Secular Adventures in the Holy City*. Neil Caplan published another volume of diplomatic history, *The Lausanne Conference, 1949: A Case Study in Middle East Peacemaking*, in which he chronicles an early attempt to bring the enemies together and points out the opportunities that were missed. In *Theodor Herzl: From Assimilation to Zionism*, a provocative psychobiography, Jacques Kornberg argues that it was not the Dreyfus affair that made Herzl a committed Zionist, but mainly his long-term effort to work out the nature of his Jewish identity.

Among new works relating to World War II and the Holocaust were *Czestochow: Our Legacy*, a remembrance of life in the Polish city during the Nazi period by survivors and their offspring, edited by Harry Klein; *Invasions Without Tears*, in which former Montreal federation president Monty Berger recounts his wartime experiences with the Royal Canadian Air Force, including the liberation of Bergen-Belsen; and Tecia Werbowski and Irene Tomaszewski's *Zegota: The Rescue of Jews in Wartime Poland*. Zegota was a Polish resistance organization that saved Jews from the Germans. The authors point out that at least 3,000 Poles were executed for helping Jews, and thousands more were imprisoned and tortured.

In the area of Judaica, new works included *Moses Cordovero's Introduction to Kabbalah: An Annotated Translation of His Or Ne'erav* by Ira Robinson; *On Being a Jew: A Reform Perspective*, a collection of essays by Rabbi Dow Marmur; Volumes 1 and 2 of the *English-Hebrew Dictionary* by David Mendel Harduf and Eleanor Harduf; *The Mystical Study of Ruth*, edited by Lawrence Englander and Herbert W. Basser; Shoshana Zolty's *Women and the Study of Torah in Jewish Law and History*; *Judaism, From the Religious to the Secular* by Abe Arnold; and *To Comfort the Bereaved: A Guide for Mourners and Those Who Visit Them* by Aaron Levine.

A number of new works related to Canadian Jewry and individual Jews, among them *Renewing Our Days: Montreal Jews in the 20th Century*, a scholarly account of the development of the Montreal Jewish community, edited by Ira Robinson and Mervin Butovsky; Ruth Frager's *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity and Gender in the Jewish Labor Movement in Toronto*; Garth Drabinsky: *Closer to the Sun*, an autobiography with Marq de Villiers; Walter Stewart's tale of the Reichmann family, *Too Big to Fail, Olympia and York: The Story Behind the Headlines*; Goldie Grafstein's autobiography, *Just About Me*; *Breaking New Ground: The Struggle for*

a *Jewish Chaplaincy in Canada* by Rabbi Gershon Levi; *Sanctuary Denied*, Gerhard Bassler's book on Newfoundland's immigration policy; and *Heritage of a Patriarch: A Fresh Look at Nine of Canada's Earliest Jewish Families* by Anne Joseph.

Two other noteworthy new books were *Approaches to Anti-Semitism: Context and Curriculum*, edited by Michael Brown; and *Holocaust Denial: Bigotry in the Guise of Scholarship* by Sol Littman.

In the area of *belles lettres*, there were two new studies of A.M. Klein: *A.M. Klein: La Réconciliation des Races et des Religions* by Naim Kattan, and *A.M. Klein: The Story of the Poet* by Zailig Pollock. Two recently published novels were *A Gift of Rags* by Abraham Boyarsky and *Lovers: A Midrash* by Edeet Ravel. *Found Treasures*, edited by Frieda Forman, Ethel Raicus, Sarah Silberstein Swartz, and Margie Wolfe, is a collection of Yiddish stories, while *Gifts of Our Fathers: Heartfelt Remembrances of Fathers and Grandfathers*, edited by Thomas Verny, is a collection of short stories and poetry. Judah Denburg's *Old Roots New Trees* is a collection of his poetry on biblical and historical themes. *The Old Brown Suitcase* by Lillian Boraks-Nemetz won the B.C. Book Prize for the best children's book.

Two new journals were launched in 1994–95. *Canadian Jewish Studies*, edited by Richard Menkis, is an interdisciplinary journal that will focus on the Canadian Jewish experience in its totality. The other is *Jewish Women's Forum*, edited by Dorothy Lichtblau.

Personalia

Among the recipients of the Order of Canada in 1994 and the first half of 1995 were Irving Abella, Joe Segal, Judith Hammerling Gold, Saul Cherniak, Edith Della Pergola, Arnold Steinberg, Arthur Fouks, Edith Lando, Paul Brodie, Srul Irving Glick, Arthur Gelber, Joseph Rotman, Alan Gold, Harold Greenberg, Albert Cohen, Sorel Etrog, David Lepofsky, Joe Schlesinger, Edith Strauss, Lyonel Israels, Leila Getz, Peter Oberlander, Israel Asper, Garth Drabinsky, Murray Koffler, Sheila Kussner, Ronald Melzack, Ofra Harnoy, Cyril Kay, and David Mirvish.

John Laskin was appointed to the Court of Appeal of Ontario while Henry Steinberg joined the Quebec Court of Appeal. Sylviane Borenstein became the first Jewish woman judge in Quebec when she was appointed to Quebec Superior Court.

Alan Rose, Ian Kagedan, Melissa Singer, Patricia Rucker, Mindy Skapinker, Max Wolpert, and Max Schecter were all appointed to the Immigration and Refugee Board. Michael Goldbloom became publisher of the *Montreal Gazette*, Jacques Bensimon the managing director of TV Ontario's French network, Frederick Lowy the rector of Concordia University, Ruth Goldbloom the chancellor of the Technical University of Nova Scotia, Sanda Rodgers the dean of law at the University of Western Ontario, and Louis Lenkowski was appointed vice-chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. In politics, Jacquelin Holzman was reelected mayor of Ottawa, while Bernard Lang won his sixth mayoralty term in Côte Saint-Luc.

Martin Friedland won the 1994 Canada Council Molson Prize in the Social

Sciences and the Humanities. Abe Arnold received the Manitoba Human Rights Achievement Award. Mark Wainberg won the Canadian Foundation for AIDS Research Industry Research Award. Phyllis Lambert was awarded the Prix Gerard-Morisset, while Ronald Melzack won the Prix Marie-Victorin and Henry Saxe received the Prix Paul-Emile Borduas. All three awards are part of the Prix du Quebec competition. Irving Ungerman was elected to the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame.

Within the community, the following assumed leadership positions: Sandra Brown, president of the Jewish Federation of Greater Toronto; Renee Bellas, chairwoman of the national executive of Canadian Jewish Congress; Donald Aronovitch, president of the Winnipeg Jewish Community Council; Jack Chisvin, president of Canadian Technion Society; Sheila Engel and George Wasserstein, members of the executive committee of the Council of Jewish Federations; Edna Edelberg and Phyllis Angel Greenberg, members of the board of directors of the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations; Harry Bick, Ted Greenfield, Phil Leon, and Moishe Smith, officers and board members of B'nai B'rith International; Stephen Victor, national chairman of the Canada-Israel Committee; and Rabbi Wayne Allen, president of the Toronto Board of Rabbis. Among those assuming professional appointments were Gerry Weiner, national executive director of the Canadian Society for the Weizmann Institute of Science; Jack Jedwab, executive director of CJC, Quebec Region; Robert Libman, BBC Quebec director; and Mordechai Bendat, editor of the *Canadian Jewish News*. Among those leaving community posts were Patricia Rucker, editor of the *Canadian Jewish News*, and Ian Kagedan, director of government relations for BBC.

Samuel Bronfman Medals for distinguished service were presented by CJC to Alan Rose and David Satok. Judy Feld Carr won the Saul Hayes Human Rights Award and Donald Carr received the Sam Filer Distinguished Service Award.

Elaine Zeitz married Jonathan Pollard at his prison in North Carolina in May 1994.

Among leading members of the community who died during 1994 were Sammy Taft, hatter to the rich and famous, in January, aged 80; pioneering labor leader Harry Simon, in January, aged 84; Rabbi Norman Frimer, scholar and former Hillel director, in January, aged 77; microbiologist and cancer researcher Prof. Hannah Farkas-Hinsley, in February, aged 76; longtime York alderman Ben Nobleman, in February, aged 69; Dr. Martin Breitman, geneticist and cancer researcher, in February, aged 41; Matt Ages, businessman, in February, aged 74; world-renowned Torah scholar Rabbi Abraham Price, in March, aged 94; businessman and philanthropist Sam Rotman, in March, aged 84; Michael Solomon, author, journalist, and editor, in March, aged 84; former Toronto Symphony concertmaster Hyman Goodman, in March, aged 81; Goodwin "Goody" Rosen, former Brooklyn Dodger, in April, aged 81; high-school teacher and Holocaust specialist Susan Soberman, in April, aged 48; Ben Himel, businessman and passionate supporter of Yiddish education, in April, aged 90; Mayer Lewkowicz, Montreal's bagel king, in April, aged 65; noted restau-

rateur Israel (Izzy) Shopsowitz, in May, aged 71; Rabbi Chaim Nussbaum, educator, author, and Talmud scholar, in June, aged 84; businessman and Winnipeg community leader Saul Simpkin, in June, aged 78; David Reichmann, executive in the Reichmann organization, in August, aged 34; businessman and philanthropist Arthur Pascal, in August, aged 86; Wilferd Gordon, rabbi, lawyer, and educational leader, in August, aged 85; Dr. Irvine Israel Glass, physicist who worked on spacecraft reentry problems, in October, aged 76; businessman and philanthropist Israel Koschitzky, in November, aged 89; Carl Cole, founder of one of Canada's largest bookstore chains, in December, aged 82; Elias Silverman, founder of a Toronto kosher bakery, in December, aged 78; and Sephardi community leader Salomon Benbaruk, in December, aged 74.

Those who died in 1995 included Henry Steinberg, justice of the Quebec Court of Appeal, in January, aged 58; Sydney Maislin, trucking executive and community leader, in February, aged 72; senior-citizen advocate Sara Wayman, in March, aged 84; photographer Allan Anshan, in April, aged 45; Louis Lenkinski, union leader and CJC leader, in June, aged 74; journalist and playwright Ted Allan, in June, aged 79; Saidye Rosner Bronfman, philanthropist, patron of the arts, and matriarch of the community's premier family, in July, aged 98; and Alan Rose, recently retired executive vice-president of Canadian Jewish Congress, in July, aged 74.

HAROLD M. WALLER

Latin America

Mexico

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1994 AND EARLY 1995 in many ways marked a turning point in the history of contemporary Mexico and in the development of its Jewish community. Dramatic changes occurred in the country's economic, political, and sociocultural structures, impelled by a newly activist and sophisticated populace pushing for reform and greater democratization. At the same time, elements critical of the regime and the slow pace of reform were the source of violence and turmoil. Even as the government of former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari was about to reap the major gains of the radical reforms it had implemented—most significantly the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, the United States, and Canada—on the very day that the treaty went into effect, January 1, 1994, Mexican society was shaken by news of guerrilla warfare in the southeastern state of Chiapas.

Major gaps in wealth distribution, an unjust division of land, and the continuing oppression of the mainly Indian population by local authoritarian regimes were some of the causes behind the uprising, but they struck a chord nationally. The uprising exposed the deep socioeconomic and ethnic rifts in Mexican society, which only periodically resulted in open conflict and urgent calls for greater democratization. Mexican society embraced the previously unknown National Liberation Zapatista Army (EZLN) with ambivalence, the most conservative elements urging the government to act forcefully against the rebels, the intellectual and political leaders of progressive circles welcoming the Zapatista army's activities as a spur to the development of a more open and pluralistic system.

Although the ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI)—which had governed Mexico for over 60 years in an essentially one-party system—had since the late 1980s seen the emergence of a reform element committed to implementing serious structural change, the minor uprising in Chiapas showed that the system was unable to keep popular opposition movements in check. At the same time, the assassination in March 1994 of Luis Donaldo Colosio, the PRI's presidential candi-

date, while campaigning in northern Mexico, was generally acknowledged to be linked to the conflicts within the PRI between reformers and "dinosaurs," or conservatives, reflecting the deep split in the party. In fact, at the beginning of 1995 suspects were charged in the case who had close links to the antireform faction.

Federal elections for president and Congress on August 21, 1994 proved to be a litmus test of the system's willingness and ability to implement democracy in the country. Fear of what change could imply was apparently behind the almost 50-percent figure that put Ernesto Zedillo of the PRI in power, while the candidate of the moderate rightist National Action Party (PAN) came in second, and combative "leftist" Cuauhtemoc Cardenas third. The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, which had been almost exclusively under the PRI's control, now opened their doors to a significant number of opposition representatives (more than 40 percent), forcing the government to build alliances in order to implement its program.

Mexican society was shocked once again, in September, by the murder of Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu, general secretary of the PRI and leader of the party's majority faction in the Chamber of Deputies, which was to be sworn in in November. This time the investigation pointed clearly to an open conspiracy. Ruiz Massieu was a prominent ideologue for reform and a key liaison with the opposition. On the last day of February 1995, Raul Salinas, brother of Mexico's former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari, was arrested on charges of plotting the murder.

Upon taking office in December 1994, President Zedillo stated his willingness to promote an ongoing dialogue with the opposition and took important steps to seek a peaceful solution in Chiapas. However, in a reprise of events at the beginning of the year, the end of 1994 was characterized by turmoil. With speculative foreign investment and unrestricted imports flooding the market, Mexico's commercial balance showed a distressing deficit. The peso had been subsidized artificially for too long, and a major devaluation, resulting in a volatile currency and a sharp rise in prices, shocked rich and poor alike. The bottom line was a loss of confidence in government institutions and the prospect of an acute financial and political crisis.

The U.S. government put together a \$20-billion loan as part of an international bailout package of \$52 billion, but the tough conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund to insure repayment halted economic growth and froze government spending. The administration concentrated its efforts on stabilizing the peso, putting a brake on inflation, which was expected to rise beyond 40 percent, and attracting foreign investment through high yields. These severe measures, which included hikes in the prices of gas and public utilities and higher taxes, harmed President Zedillo's standing, especially as he was unable to rally the public behind his efforts to restore the country's finances.

In the political arena, dialogue was reestablished in Chiapas. However, opposition forces demonstrated continually against the terms of international loans, the handling of the Chiapas conflict, and the lack of accountability of the previous administration, which they viewed as having betrayed—through mismanagement and corruption—the great expectations most Mexicans had for political stability and

economic development. Hence, the national mood in mid-1995 was not at all optimistic.

Israel and the Middle East

In December 1991, Mexico had been one of 85 countries cosponsoring the initiative to revoke the United Nations "Zionism is racism" resolution. This act signaled a growing disposition on the part of the Mexican government to reconcile its bilateral and multilateral relations with Israel. For the last four decades, close economic and cultural links were promoted at the federal level and by local groups, such as many associations of friends of Israeli universities and the Israel-Mexico Cultural Institute. These ties, which had been tested during the 1973 embargo, when Mexico sold oil to Israel despite Arab threats, contrasted sharply with Mexico's consistent anti-Israel voting pattern in international forums, especially during the 1970s, when Third World and nonaligned anti-Zionist rhetoric pervaded the UN and associated agencies. Mexico's policy, according to both official and nonofficial sources, was intended as a statement of opposition to the United States and had nothing to do with an anti-Israel bias. However, it was a continuing source of contention with the Israeli government and the Mexican Jewish community. Although Mexico did officially denounce the bombing of the Jewish community building in Buenos Aires on July 18, 1994, and the terrorist attacks against Jewish institutions in London in July and against civilians in Tel Aviv's Dizengoff Street in October, its continuing support for the self-determination of the Palestinian people kept the government from openly condemning anti-Semitism, Palestinian extremism, and Islamic fundamentalism.

Another irritant, though on a bilateral scale, was Israel's trade deficit with Mexico and the fact that until very recently no serious effort was put forth to close the gap. In 1994, however, Israel increased and diversified its exports to Mexico in the area of communications and agricultural technology.

Despite the problems in the diplomatic and economic spheres, Israeli culture was much in evidence in Mexico—both within the context of the Jewish community and outside it. (See "Israel-Related Activities," below.) The Israel-Mexico Cultural Institute, working very closely with the Israeli embassy, presented at its downtown Mexico City premises an array of concerts, art and photo exhibits, lectures, and Hebrew classes, all aimed at acquainting the Mexican public with different aspects of Israeli life.

At the beginning of 1994 and again in 1995, the Mexican Association of Friends of the Hebrew University presented programs titled "Three Women, Three Expressions," with lecturers from the university speaking on a wide range of subjects in academic and community forums.

In February 1995, in connection with the 35th anniversary of the Israel Museum, the exhibit "Treasures of the Holy Land"—the largest collection of antiquities to travel outside of Israel to date—was shown in one of Mexico City's most prestigious

museums, the Cultural Center of Contemporary Art. Teddy Kollek, the former mayor of Jerusalem and acting honorary chairman of the Association of Friends of the Israel Museum, attended the exhibition opening. In conjunction with the display, several conferences on Mexican and Israeli culture were organized by local archaeology museums.

Several Israeli public figures visited Mexico during 1994. On May 26 and 27, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres met in Mexico City with President Salinas, Finance Minister Pedro Aspe, and his counterpart, Manuel Tello. He also delivered a talk at the Jewish Sport Center and had dinner with some of Mexico's leading intellectuals.

Israel's Ashkenazic chief rabbi, Israel Meir Lau, met with President Salinas at the end of June 1994 at the president's official residence in Los Pinos. During the first week of November, Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin took part in the Conference of Latin American Jewish Communities, organized by the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish community of Mexico. His talk emphasized the need for a change in the dynamics of Israel-Diaspora relations, with an emphasis on reciprocity and acknowledgment that the ties could not be exclusively financial. In this session, Yehiel Leket, chairman of the Jewish Agency, presented a different view, based on his institution's traditional position.

Anti-Semitism and Extremism

Attitudes toward Jews in Mexican society stem from a variety of sources and are often contradictory. A legacy of intolerance dating back to the 16th-century Inquisition contrasts sharply with the warm welcome bestowed at the beginning of this century upon new immigrants, who found in Mexico a hospitable promised land.

In modern Mexican history, except for the 1930s, anti-Semitism has never been sponsored or promoted by the government, nor has it been central to the agendas of political parties or organized movements. Nevertheless, a certain level of anti-Semitism persists in society at large. The extreme right, for example, has formed clandestine cells, some of which—based mainly in the city of Guadalajara—express their anti-Jewish messages through publications available by subscription, though these have limited circulation. One such is Salvador Abascal's *La Hoja de Combate* (Combat Newsletter). This newsletter publicized a myriad of books by former journalist Salvador Borrego, who is undoubtedly the most prolific anti-Semitic author in Spanish, his books being distributed in Latin America and the southern United States.

Mexico is among the most active publishers and distributors of anti-Semitic literature on the American continent. Classic anti-Jewish works such as Henry Ford's *The International Jew* and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* are part of an extensive collection that is published locally and circulated in Mexico and abroad. With the strengthening of racism and neo-Nazism worldwide, the extreme right in Mexico has found fertile ground for promoting its pernicious messages. References

to an international Jewish conspiracy as well as the decide accusation even appear from time to time in respected media.

Although Holocaust revisionist movements have not developed in Mexico, the Institute for Historical Review, a revisionist group based in California, has tried to get a foothold in the country through the distribution of propaganda in strategic places and the introduction of works by British revisionist David Irving. Lyndon LaRouche's political cult has been active as well through the Movement for Iberoamerican Solidarity, which publishes a newspaper that continually emphasizes a "British Zionist conspiracy." Popular movements containing remnants of the extreme left have at times expressed anti-Semitic/anti-Zionist messages. These derive from traditional Marxist ideology or from an anti-imperialist posture.

During the 1970s and 1980s, a major anti-Israel propaganda effort was launched by the local Arab camp—Arab embassies and Arab communities, the Arab League, the PLO office, and PLO-supported groups—which at times included anti-Semitic references. With Mexico now seeking to change its international profile and abandoning Third World rhetoric, and with the developments in the Middle East peace process, this activity was toned down.

In the last few years, a potential center of Muslim fundamentalist activity was detected in the northern city of Torreon, which boasts the only Shi'ite mosque in the country. Torreon is the headquarters of propagandist Augusto Hugo Peña, who sent a steady stream of virulent anti-Semitic letters to the daily *Excelsior*, denouncing Israel as a terrorist state and questioning Mexican Jewry's loyalty to the country.

Viewed against this general background, and in the turmoil that prevailed in 1994 and the first half of 1995, anti-Semitism in Mexico actually remained at a significantly low level. Several factors may account for this: (1) Mexican society's preoccupation with the presidential succession and the political crises occurring throughout the year; (2) developments in the Middle East peace process, which neutralized one of the main sources of anti-Zionist/anti-Semitic propaganda; (3) Mexican Jewry's enhanced status in the new climate of tolerance of diversity and pluralism (see below); (4) public-relations activity conducted by Tribuna Israelita, the community's official human-relations and antidefamation agency, aimed at sensitizing political, religious, media, and intellectual circles to the legitimate concerns of Mexican Jewry and building alliances based on national issues.

On the positive side, the media, traditionally open to presenting anti-Semitic expressions and views, were almost completely free of this type of material during this period. Analysts and editorial writers preserved a balanced outlook on developments, even at critical moments. Whether it was Hebron, Buenos Aires, or Tel Aviv, the vast majority of Mexican commentators remained staunch supporters of the peace negotiations and firm critics of terrorism and fundamentalism. Moreover, the appearance of anti-Semitic "letters to the editor," previously commonplace, decreased significantly.

On the negative side of the ledger, the traditional tactic of singling out Jews for blame during times of crisis was adopted by advocates of a new ideology that took

root in Mexico in the early 1990s and became increasingly overt and aggressive. Dubbed "Neo-Mexicanism," its adherents promoted an idealized image of Mexico's Indian past and scorned Europe's role in forging the national identity. In this context Jews were singled out as the culprits, blamed for the acute problems haunting Mexico and other Latin American nations. Its most vicious proponent, the Mexican Eagles Party (Partido de las Aguilas Mexicanas), which daily covered the outer walls of Mexico City's cathedral with anti-Jewish graffiti, claimed that Mexican Jewry (which ostensibly includes the former and present presidents of Mexico as well as many other government officials) controlled the politics and finances of the country and should be held accountable for, among other things, the conflict in the state of Chiapas and for exploiting the poor. Spokespersons for other right-wing radical groups—among them LaRouche's Dennis Small during one of his lectures at the beginning of 1994—also blamed the Jews, especially Sephardic Jews, for involvement in the Chiapas uprising (presumably on the assumption that because the guerrilla leaders had Spanish names, they must be related to Sephardic Jews!).

The signs of recession evident even before the December devaluation increased social tensions, producing a gloomy outlook for Mexico's future only partially mitigated by peaceful elections in August. Throughout the year there was a significant increase in the appearance of swastikas and anti-Jewish graffiti, especially in Jewish residential areas; however, this often occurred during election campaigns in Mexico.

The further deterioration of the Mexican economy in the first half of 1995 and the severe measures imposed on the population by the international bankers provoked a rash of popular demonstrations in Mexico City's main thoroughfares. Jews were one of the targets, based on the alleged link between Jews and the International Monetary Fund, which was blamed for Mexico's diminished sovereignty.

With future perspectives still uncertain, with Mexico immersed in economic recession and political and social instability, the Jewish community was closely monitoring anti-Semitic indicators.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

According to a sociodemographic study conducted by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and El Colegio de Mexico in 1991, sponsored by the Mexican Association of Friends of the Hebrew University, the estimated Jewish community of Mexico numbered 40,000. Most of Mexico's Jews lived in the capital and its suburbs in the state of Mexico, while the rest (about 2,500) resided in the cities of Guadalajara, Monterrey, and Tijuana.

Community Relations

Although Mexican society as a whole was beset by crisis and uncertainty in the period under review, Mexican Jewry, somewhat paradoxically, actually felt itself strengthened. Its legitimacy within the national context gained in validity, and its self-image as an integral and active part of civil society was enhanced. In a meeting with delegates to the Conference of Latin American Jewish Communities in November 1994, outgoing president Salinas asserted that "the Jewish community of Mexico is an integral part of our national family. We share a deep respect for differences. Jewish presence contributes to diversity which enriches our homeland, enabling all of us to push jointly toward national goals."

Two important developments opened the way for the more visible and dynamic participation of Mexican Jewry in the country's public life. One was the growing acceptance of pluralism as a social ideal for modern Mexico. Although the legal status of Jews in Mexico had been—since the first waves of immigration at the beginning of the century—beyond question, their status as a legitimate, integral part of Mexican society had never been entirely settled. Now, however, on both a collective and an individual basis, Jews faced unique opportunities. There was a clear acknowledgment of the important role that the Jewish minority could play in contributing to a tolerant environment. At the same time, young Jewish technocrats had become increasingly active in public administration up to the ministerial level. (See "Personalalia," below.)

A second development was the opening of the political structure to greater participation by nongovernmental entities, as political parties and some institutions were discredited. This allowed many previously marginal segments of society, like the Jews, to have input in the decision-making process, to become actors rather than observers. This change had an impact on the agenda of the Jewish community of Mexico, which now saw itself as capable of influencing issues pertaining to its well-being and survival. As Mexican Jewry's feeling of belonging was strengthened, it was able to take a more visible and assertive stance. This was seen in the unprecedented meetings that Jewish leaders held during the first half of 1994 with most of the candidates for the presidency, presenting them with a specific agenda of concerns that included both national and Jewish issues. Among the latter were the presence of anti-Semitic groups in Mexico and the pressing need for antiracist legislation.

The significance of these meetings was reflected at a later stage with the publication in July 1994, in Mexico's leading newspapers, of an open letter condemning anti-Jewish terror and anti-Semitism in Buenos Aires, Panama, and London. Undertaken at the initiative of *Tribuna Israelita*, the letter was signed by more than 150 political, intellectual, and social leaders, including the nine candidates for the presidency. Because of this broad sponsorship—up to that point in the campaign, this was the only document signed jointly by the nine candidates—the letter effectively declared a national consensus against anti-Semitism.

The changing profile of Mexican Jewry was underscored in other encounters

between Jewish leaders and government officials and influential figures. At the beginning of 1995, President Ernesto Zedillo requested a meeting with Jewish leaders to exchange views on the country's present and future direction and to encourage their support for the national effort to overcome the crisis. Mexico City's attorney general, Jose Antonio Gonzalez Fernandez, was invited to a luncheon at the headquarters of the Ashkenazi community in February 1995 to discuss government measures to halt and deter the crime wave that had become a major cause of social instability. In March 1995, Oscar Espinoza Villareal, Mexico City's mayor, urged Jewish representatives to support development programs for this urban center of 20 million inhabitants, with its dramatic contrasts between haves and have-nots.

As part of the growing activism of nongovernmental organizations, especially those pushing for democratic reform, the Jewish community participated in forums with groups and sectors that shared similar concerns. The wide range of Jewish women's organizations devoted to social, cultural, and philanthropic work played a dynamic role in national as well as community projects. The Mexican Council of Jewish Women sent food and clothing to the displaced Indian population of Chiapas as well as to that of the state of Chihuahua, hard-hit by drought. Other women's organizations, like the Jewish Mexican Volunteers, Wizo, and Na'amat increased their work in the spheres of education and health.

At the beginning of 1995, the Jewish community launched a series of meetings with opinion shapers, including religious figures, to discuss issues that affect the whole nation but that have a special bearing on minority groups. During the first meeting in February, Dr. Nathan Lerner, renowned international jurist and authority on human rights, exchanged views on the status of minorities with journalists, social scientists, and representatives of Baptist and Jesuit groups. One of the topics discussed was the harassment of Jesuits for espousing liberation theology as well as for their supposed links to Bishop Samuel Ruiz, spiritual leader of the Chiapas Indians, who was accused of fostering violence in that state.

CHURCH-STATE MATTERS

During 1993 the "Jewish religion of Mexico," together with up to 2,000 local "religious associations," was officially recognized by the Mexican government and granted legal status. The constitutional amendment making this possible was an effort to ease the hostility to religion embodied in the liberal constitution of 1917, which made Mexico—officially, at least—a secular state. Under the new law, members of the clergy could participate as voters and candidates in the electoral process and their associations could own and transfer property. Although public education in Mexico was legally "secular," Catholic schools had always been allowed to include religious instruction; most Jewish schools had courses in Judaic studies and tradition and sometimes even religion.

Jewish-Christian Relations

Even though there had been contacts between the Catholic Church and Protestant groups and the Jewish community since the 1960s, conducted primarily by B'nai B'rith, Mexican Jewry was trying to find different approaches to interfaith dialogue, based more on mutual national concerns than on theological issues.

Despite three decades of efforts to promote interfaith dialogue in the country, the Mexican Catholic Church had never condemned anti-Semitism openly and in general refrained from political pronouncements relating to the Jewish community. Some Catholic leaders did, however, agree to sign the open letter condemning anti-Semitism and terrorism that was published in leading newspapers after the bombing in Buenos Aires.

In February 1994, Tribuna Israelita sponsored the participation of Dr. Manuel Olimon Nolasco, head of the history department of the Pontifical University, in a conference in Jerusalem on "Religious Leadership in a Secular Society." Olimon was accompanied by Rabbi Marcelo Rittner of Mexico's Bet-El Community. The two joined more than a thousand Jewish, Christian, and Muslim leaders from all over the world to deliberate on such topics as genetic engineering, religious education in pluralistic societies, and ethnicity, multiculturalism, and integration.

In June 1994, a conference on "The Role of the Churches in Today's Mexico" was organized by the Interior Ministry and the Center for the Study of Religions. It was the first effort to bring together representatives of the country's different religions in order to create a common agenda based on tolerance and the acknowledgment of pluralism. Mauricio Lulka, president of Tribuna Israelita, participated, along with more than 50 religious leaders.

Communal Affairs

The Jewish Central Committee (Comité Central Israelita de México), the political arm and representative body of Mexican Jewry, continued to foster the active participation of Jews in national affairs and to promote cordial and open relations with the government. Seminars and lectures were organized to increase awareness of the changes taking place in the Mexican political system and to examine the role that the community could play in the new order.

As the socioeconomic status of Mexican Jews became increasingly strained by the recession, the Central Committee undertook the creation of a credit union with rates indexed to each debtor's financial situation. Also, through its International Relations Commission, it explored the possibility of working with American Jewry on joint projects and participated in conferences organized by the American Jewish Committee and the Council of Jewish Federations.

RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICAN JEWRY

Following the bombing of the Jewish community building in Buenos Aires in July 1994, all Latin American Jewish communities experienced a sense of increased vulnerability and awareness of the ever-present threat to their physical and emotional well-being. In this atmosphere, the establishment of effective channels of communication between communities for the exchange of experiences, information, and strategies assumed greater importance than ever. An expression of this need was the Conference of Latin American Jewish Communities that took place in Mexico City, November 7–9, 1994, under the auspices of the regional branch of the World Jewish Congress and hosted by Mexican Jewry. Over 250 leaders of Jewish communities in ten countries exchanged views on the role of Latin American Jewry in the future development of the continent and in the strengthening of liberal principles. The gathering was also a forum for denouncing anti-Semitism and terrorism.

Enrique Iglesias, president of the Interamerican Development Bank, and the renowned Mexican writer Hector Aguilar Camin took part in a session devoted to analyzing the future of the continent. Workshops focused on the multiple faces of anti-Semitism, the presence and participation of the Jewish communities within the general society, and the Jewish quality of life in the region. The final document produced by the meeting reinforced the commitment to Jewish continuity, to strengthening the links between Israel and the Diaspora, and to building alliances in the fight against intolerance, racism, and anti-Semitism.

As it had done for almost two decades, Mexican Jewry continued to support the Jewish community of Cuba in its efforts to maintain Jewish identity and life on the island. In addition to providing ritual objects and educational materials, Mexican Jewish community leaders made frequent visits, and Mexican university students established ties with Cuban youth who shared common interests, such as Israeli folk dance. Mexican rabbis were available to perform essential life-cycle rituals, and, as in previous years, the community shipped matzah and pareve foods to Cuba for Passover, in quantities greater than required for the festival, because of the chronic Cuban food shortage.

ISRAEL-RELATED ACTIVITY

Mexico's ambassador to Israel, Rafael Rodriguez Barrera, met with the Jewish Central Committee of Mexico in October 1994 to provide an overview of the present state of relations between both countries and to urge them to share in his efforts to promote Mexican culture in Israel.

In the area of science and technology, the Mexican Association of Friends of the Weizmann Institute provided scholarships and awards on a yearly basis to outstanding Mexican high-school students to spend time in Rehovot doing advanced work in their particular fields of interest. The organization also coordinated lectures

featuring Mexican and Israeli scientists speaking on subjects of current interest. The Haifa Technion, for its part, had developed projects in rural areas for utilizing Mexico's natural resources to generate energy.

During the period under review, ORT followed up on its efforts to train 4,000 low-income Mexicans for technical jobs and to work with government and nongovernmental agencies to implement the latest technological advancements. It also continued to aid local Jewish schools that have ORT workshops where students are taught diverse trades and are exposed to the most advanced computer technology.

As in previous years, more than 200 high-school juniors and seniors from Jewish schools, as well as university students, joined thousands of Jewish young people from all over the world in the "March of the Living" organized by the Jewish Agency-Keren Hayesod in April 1994. The participants traveled to Poland to visit centers of Jewish life before the Holocaust and also Treblinka, Majdanek, and Auschwitz. From Poland the group traveled to Israel to join in that country's Independence Day celebrations.

Religion

Twenty synagogues provide religious services to Mexican Jewry, all but two of them—which belong to the Conservative movement—Orthodox. The synagogues are also organized along ethnic lines—as is the Central Committee—that is, division into "sectors" (*kehillot*, in Hebrew) based on the place of origin of the members' forebears. There are also more than a dozen yeshivas and *kolelim* associated with various *kehillot*. Liturgical or ideological disputes are relatively rare, based on a consensus that community solidarity is primary. Each "sector" has its own rabbi or rabbis, day school, *kashrut* supervisor, rabbinical court, publications, and cemetery.

Education

One of the outstanding assets of the Mexican community is its network of schools. Eight day schools, attended by up to 75 percent of Mexican Jewish children, combine the official state school curriculum with Judaic studies. The oldest of these schools, the Colegio Israelita de Mexico, also known as the Yiddishe Shul, and part of the Ashkenazic sector, turned 70 in 1994. Its founders were Jewish immigrants who sought to maintain Jewish continuity while integrating into the larger society. It served as a model for other Jewish educational options seeking to instill in young people an awareness of their complementary and complex identities.

Instruction in the schools belonging to the Ashkenazic sector originally reflected the ideologies of their founders, such as Bundism and secular or religious Zionism; some remnant of this remains in the teaching of Yiddish or the inclusion of religion in the curriculum. The schools belonging to the "Arab" (Syrian) and Sephardic

sectors emphasize origins over ideology. Since private schools receive no government funding, Jewish schools are financed by their sponsoring communities or by student fees and philanthropists.

A program of Judaic studies was established at the Iberoamericana University in Mexico City in 1985, to satisfy a growing interest in Judaism in Mexican society at large and to make up for the absence of any courses on the subject on the campus. With the financial and academic support of Israeli universities, the program offers a degree in Judaic studies, from which three classes of students have now graduated.

Culture

Since the creation 80 years ago of Alianza Monte Sinai (Mount Sinai Alliance), the first communal Jewish institution in Mexico, three generations of Mexican-born Jews have built a thriving community, with a myriad of institutions relating to almost every aspect of modern Jewish life. This organizational framework has given rise to a native culture reflecting the synthesis between the Mexican and Jewish identities and has stimulated efforts, using a variety of approaches, aimed at examining what it means to be a Mexican Jew. During the last decade in particular, serious research on the history of Mexican Jewry has intensified, eliciting much interest on the part of Jews and non-Jews alike.

In 1992 the Jewish Central Committee of Mexico and Tribuna Israelita, in conjunction with the National Autonomous University of Mexico, published *Imagenes de un Encuentro: La Presencia Judia en Mexico durante la Primera Mitad del Siglo XX* (Images of an Encounter: The Jewish Presence in Mexico During the First Half of the 20th Century). The research team, under the direction of Judit Bokser Liwerant, produced a graphic documentary history combining sociohistorical analysis in an artistic format. In 1993 the book received an award from the prestigious Mexican Chamber of Publishers.

In 1994 the Ashkenazic community published a work on its history and development: *Generaciones Judias en Mexico: La Kehila Ashkenazi (1922–1992)* (Jewish Generations in Mexico: The Ashkenazi Kehila [1922–1992]), coordinated by Alicia Gojman de Backal. Similar studies were undertaken by the Maguen David (Aleppo), the Monte Sinai (Damascus), and the Sephardic (Balkans) sectors, and by the Colegio Israelita de Mexico (Yiddishe Shul in Meksike).

Jewish life in Mexico was also recorded on film and video. Keren Hayesod videotaped highlights of the “March of the Living” experience of Mexican Jewish youth. A documentary on the origins and evolution of anti-Semitism in Mexico was produced by Tribuna Israelita in 1994. The same year, Daniel Goldberg’s documentary *Un Beso a esta Tierra* (A Kiss to This Land) was aired. Part testimony, part dramatization, the film chronicles the travails and first impressions of Jewish immigrants arriving in Mexico during the first decades of this century.

Over time, a number of cultural programs had become fixed traditions in the community. The annual Tuvie Maizel Music Festival was named for its founder,

Yiddish writer and professor Tuvie Maizel, the creator of the local Holocaust Museum, housed in the building of the Ashkenazic community and a landmark for those interested in the subject.

The Fernando Jeno literary awards were presented in 1994 to Eli Schechtman (U.S.A.), Boris Blank (Argentina), and Margalith Matitiah (Israel). For 18 years Jewish writers from all over the world have submitted works to this competition for appraisal in three categories—Yiddish, Hebrew, and Spanish—the winner in each receiving \$2,000 (U.S.) dollars.

More than 1,500 young people representing Jewish schools, youth movements, and community institutions competed in the 20th and 21st annual Aviv Dance Festivals in April 1994 and 1995. A major community event considered the best of its kind in the international Jewish world, the festival is organized by the Jewish Sport Center—a social, cultural, and athletic institution whose membership includes up to 90 percent of Mexican Jewry—and is attended by some 4,500 people. Each festival featured dozens of groups performing dances based on Jewish religious and historical themes, including semiprofessional troupes from Canada, the United States, Israel, Latin America, and Mexico itself.

Among the prominent personalities who visited from abroad in 1994 and early 1995 were renowned sexologist Dr. Ruth Westheimer, who spoke at the Bet-El Community (Conservative) on the subject of "Sexuality in Judaism." Author Chaim Potok lectured on "How I Came to Write *The Chosen*," also at Bet-El Community. In addition, literally dozens of lectures, concerts, art exhibits, and workshops were held at diverse institutional facilities, reflecting the cultural interests of the different segments of Mexican Jewry.

Publications

A variety of periodicals—magazines, newspapers, and newsletters—reflected the different political, cultural, and ideological trends in the community. Among these were *Maguen David*, *La Voz de la Kehila*, *Emet*, *Presencia Judía*, *WIZO*, *Desafío*, *Periódico CDI*, and *Desde Bet-El*. There were also two independent publications catering to the general community, *Kesher* and *Foro*.

Recent years saw a spate of publications by well-known first- and second-generation Jewish writers about the experience of growing up as Jews in Mexico. Among these were Rosa Nissan's short novel *Novia que te Vea* (Ladino expression, "I hope to see you as a bride"), which was turned into a movie by director Guita Schifter; Jose Woldenberg's *Las Ausencias Presentes* (The Present Absences); Sabina Berman's *La Bobe* (Grandmother, in Yiddish); Gloria Gervitz's *Kadish*; and various works of fiction and poetry by Esther Seligson.

Personalia

At the beginning of 1995, Alfredo Achar assumed the position of president of the Jewish Central Committee of Mexico, while Jorge Salamonovitz became president of Tribuna Israelita. They replaced Simon Nissan and Mauricio Lulka, respectively, who headed these institutions during the previous four years.

Several Mexican Jews were named to positions in President Ernesto Zedillo's administration: Arturo Warman, secretary of agrarian reform; Santiago Levy, undersecretary for expenditures; Jaime Zabludovsky, undersecretary for international commercial negotiations; Aaron Dichter, undersecretary for communications; Jacques Rogozinsky, director of Fonatur, the government office for the promotion of tourism. Esther Koleteniuk was elected a representative on Mexico City's Council.

Jose Woldenberg was named one of six "citizen advisers" to the Federal Electoral Institute, charged with overseeing the integrity of the 1994 federal elections and implementing basic electoral reform in Mexico.

DINA SIEGEL

Argentina

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1994 AND THE FIRST half of 1995 saw a continuation of relatively stable democratic government under President Carlos Menem. He was reelected with a convincing majority in May 1995, his Justicialist Party (PJ) also increasing its representation in both houses of Congress. While such triumphs were accomplished on the strength of the degree of economic stability achieved since 1991 (notwithstanding the economy's poorer performance in 1995 and/or the social costs of the economic adjustment measures), they also occurred against a backdrop of rising voter apathy.

ARGENTINE POLITICS AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The changes in Argentina's political situation, along with the country's international realignment in recent years, have had important beneficial consequences for Jews. Additionally, Menem's almost complete abandonment of Peronist nationalist baggage has forced those rank-and-filers who lacked an affinity for Jews (or Jewish matters) to conceal and/or revise their views, or risk marginalization.

Economic hardships notwithstanding, certified manifestations of Judeophobia have fallen since 1983 (though certainly not disappeared), especially if one interprets—as many have done—the March 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy and that of the Buenos Aires Jewish community building in July 1994 as primarily anti-Israel, rather than anti-Jewish, incidents. Nevertheless, for the time being, such a fall is far from irreversible. Long-lasting changes in political cultures are not consolidated overnight, and the 19th-century liberal architects of Argentina's immigration policy tended to equate newcomers' integration with a measure of uniformity on various levels, including the religious one. Moreover, the claimed drop in anti-Jewishness is accompanied by relatively high levels of bigotry vis-à-vis migrants from neighboring countries, Koreans, and Middle Easterners.

This said, a 1992 public-opinion survey commissioned by the American Jewish Committee (AJC) and Argentine Jewry's political roof organization, the DAIA (Delegation of Israelite Associations in Argentina), and conducted several months after the Israeli embassy attack, revealed significant pluralist attitudes among interviewees. For instance, 69 percent of respondents considered it better that Argentina's inhabitants had diverse origins, customs, and religions, while 46 percent declared that Jews had made a positive contribution; 7 percent supported the notion that the country would be better off without Jews. While corroboration of such

results would require successive comparable polls, the outcome of this one can be reasonably attributed to changes going back to 1983 and the end of military rule.

Menem's first term in office (1989–1995) also brought about constitutional reform that had important political repercussions for Jews. As important as was the antidiscrimination legislation initiated by President Raúl Alfonsín and passed by Congress in 1988, with bipartisan support, the constitutional reform of Menem's presidency may well be a longer-term legacy for Jews and other non-Catholics. Best known for allowing incumbent presidents to seek a second term in office and for reducing the presidential term from six to four years, the reform also enfranchised non-Catholic aspirants to leadership of the government. The original magna carta prescribed that the chief executive and his deputy must be Catholic. (Gen. Roberto Levingston, one of Argentina's de facto rulers in the early 1970s, was the grandchild of a Prussian Jewish immigrant, but a Catholic.) Such a requirement has now been dropped, although government support for the Catholic Church remains in place in the new constitution.

The removal of a formal hurdle for non-Catholic politicians is relevant for the relatively large number of Jewish participants in elected and appointed positions since 1983 (many of whom openly declare their Jewishness, unlike some of their predecessors during this century's earlier Radical (UCR) and Peronist governments). However, the opening of the chief executive's office to non-Catholics is not likely to find one of them voted into the presidential palace any time soon. In the aforementioned 1992 AJC/DAIA-sponsored opinion survey, 45 percent of respondents indicated they would not support a Muslim presidential candidate, while 41 and 39 percent, respectively, held similar views in respect of a Jew and a Protestant. Using this measuring stick, it is clear that a sizable proportion of the Argentine public is not yet ready for a head of state who is formally non-Catholic.

Even though Menem's Syrian-Muslim ancestry did not bar his way to the top, his baptism in 1963 did not prevent a mainstream opposition legislator from referring to him as "a Muslim deity," nor a key public-opinion molder and a former political friend from portraying him, among other derisive ethnic labels, as a "wali" and a "caliph." Because of the local media's historical equation of Arab with Islamic (despite the fact that most Middle Eastern immigrants in Latin America were Christian), and possibly influenced by other considerations as well, it is not surprising that Argentina's Federation of Arab Entities (FEARAB) should have petitioned the elected reformers to retain the Catholic imperative for presidential hopefuls in July 1994.

Israel and the Middle East

With few modifications until the 1990s, Argentina's governments traditionally adhered to a foreign policy that sought to avoid the appearance of being aligned with one or another party to remote conflicts, including the Arab-Israeli one. Initiated by Juan Perón in the 1940s, such a pragmatic approach to relations with Israel and

the Arab world was generally endorsed by his civilian and military successors, UCR politicians, and members of the mass movement Perón had created as well as nationalist and liberal army officers. During the second half of the 1970s and early 1980s, this approach resulted in important Argentine acquisitions of military hardware from Israel. This was a contentious issue for the Argentine and Israeli relatives of the several hundred Jewish *desaparecidos*, those who disappeared during the years when such deals were concluded. (An estimated 450 Jews were reportedly secretly helped by Israeli envoys to leave the country in the same period.) The Argentine approach also resulted in intense courtship of the Arab states in international forums. Arab support was sought at first to quash resolutions condemning the human-rights record of the then military regime (1976–83), with its thousands of disappeared, and later for the Argentine case in the Malvinas (Falklands) conflict with Britain.

Only after Menem's 1989 election triumph did efforts to align the country firmly with the United States—thereby overcoming the distrust which successive Argentine administrations had elicited in Washington and among U.S. public-opinion molders—have important repercussions for Argentine foreign policy in the Middle East. During Menem's first term Argentina left the nonaligned movement, abandoned the German-brokered association with Egypt (and indirectly with Iraq) in the Cónдор missile project, was the sole Latin American state to participate in U.S.-led operations in the Persian Gulf, endorsed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and scrapped a nuclear servicing contract with Iran.

Government awareness of Saudi-Iranian competition for the hearts and minds of Argentina's Muslims—estimated at between 8,000 and more than 650,000, depending on whether one considers projections based on census data, ethnic self-estimates, or other sources—and the fact that the sole Buenos Aires mosque was built in the 1980s with Iran's sponsorship, apparently impelled the government to send a bill to Congress granting Saudi Arabia a Buenos Aires site for the erection of a mosque and community center. The initiative followed a visit by Menem to the Wahabite kingdom in May 1992. However, once approved by the upper house in the first half of 1994, it unleashed an adverse campaign by the right-wing Tradición, Familia y Propiedad (TFP) group, which considered the notion of such a Muslim religious and educational facility "an insult to the Catholic conscience of the Argentine Nation." Although the TFP campaign was launched before the bombing of the Jewish community building and speculation about Iranian involvement, it sought to blur the distinction between Iran and Saudi Arabia: it suggested that the Quranic school that would be part of the project was likely to be staffed by Iranians, thereby turning this center "of anti-Christian fanaticism" into "a terrorism school."

Argentina's earlier concern for equidistance in the Arab-Israeli conflict gave way to a definite shift in Israel's favor, whether at the UN or in other multilateral organizations. A further symbol of the country's clear alignment with the United States, this tilt led to Argentina's intercession, for example, with Damascus on behalf of Syrian Jewry, and with Brasilia in support of the repeal of the UN

resolution equating Zionism with racism (a resolution, *inter alia*, which Argentina, unlike Brazil, Cuba, Grenada, Guyana, and Mexico, had failed to support in 1975 during Perón's third term in office). Moreover, the man who predicted Israel's disappearance in a 1963 Arab League periodical, when Nasserism had caught the imagination of the politically aware among Argentine Arabs, and who also portrayed the opponents of Arab unity as allies of imperialism and accomplices of Zionism, in 1991 became the first Argentine head of state ever to visit Israel. Consistent with his political mutation, President Menem eventually also toured the conservative Arab states, but the symbolism of Tel Aviv as his first Middle East destination was not lost on the Syrians—undoubtedly a possible reason for their refusal to welcome a Syrian-descended Argentine head of state until late in 1994.

The Bombings

Despite Argentina's attempts to preserve a semblance of evenhandedness—as highlighted, for example, by Menem's offer of Buenos Aires as an alternative venue for the Madrid Peace Conference and his expensive touring of the Middle East—one cannot dismiss the possibility that the changes in Israel's favor may have had something to do with the devastating car bomb that demolished the Israeli embassy in March 1992 and the more deadly device that reduced to rubble the AMIA building in Buenos Aires on July 18, 1994. This building housed the headquarters of AMIA, the Argentine Israelite Mutual Association, the central social welfare and cultural body of Buenos Aires Jewry, and the headquarters of DAIA, the Jewish political umbrella organization, as well as offices of other organizations, a library, and a theater. Whereas Israeli embassies in El Salvador and Guatemala had been previously targeted by local opponents of Israeli foreign policy in Central America, and two unaffiliated Palestinians attacked the embassy in Paraguay in 1970, none of these incidents was as violent as the bombings of the diplomatic representation and Buenos Aires Jewish community building. Indeed, while an embassy clerk was killed in Asunción, the toll of the first Buenos Aires blast included up to 30 deaths and 250 injured, with up to 86 killed in the second outrage and more than 200 injured. Some government and other analysts hastily—though not altogether unrealistically—connected such terrorist operations with the displeasure caused in Iranian circles, as well as among Tehran-supported Shiites in Lebanon, by the Middle Eastern ramifications of Argentina's international realignment. This is consistent with the fact that several Middle Eastern parties had recourse to powerful car bombs, and more specifically with a claim on Lebanese TV that an otherwise unknown Muslim group, Ansarallah, was responsible for one of the attacks.

In practice, though, it has been impossible to turn into convincing and/or convicting evidence the presumed responsibility of Islamic militants—who may have sub-contracted parts of, if not the whole of, these operations to local anti-Jewish elements, or to others. Thus far, the sole detainee is the man who delivered the van used in the second attack, despite investigating magistrate Juan Galeano's by now

exclusive devotion to the case and his 50-man team. In turn, the inability to resolve both cases has fueled intense speculation about the bombers, their motives, and their connections with well-placed Argentines, past and present, especially as Argentina's State Intelligence Agency (SIDE), as well as the federal and Buenos Aires province police forces, are not particularly known for their Judeophilia. However, the patent lack of progress suggests that Argentina's investigative failures are equivalent to those of countries far more experienced than Argentina with Middle East-related terrorism, which have quite a few unsolved cases on their books. Unwilling to accept this reality, a number of people have tended to equate the obvious and imagined imperfections of the probes with a sheer political unwillingness on Argentina's part to identify the culprits, even suggesting that the cases are hard to solve given the strength of Arab influence in Argentina today. However, the sober conclusion of the *Antisemitism World Report 1995* (Institute of Jewish Affairs and American Jewish Committee) in respect of the second attack may well be relevant for both: "In the absence of solid evidence to substantiate any hypothesis, speculation on the motives and actual perpetrators of this outrage has been rife, with some claims reflecting better on their authors' political agendas than on the facts on the ground."

Clearly, if the bombings were meant to provoke a shift in foreign policy, they failed. Instead, they led to strained relations with Iran and Lebanon and made life more uncomfortable for Argentina's population of Syrian and Lebanese parentage, self-estimated at around 2.5 million. On one level, an accumulated trade surplus with Iran of more than \$10 billion since 1984 helps explain the government's obvious reluctance to consider downgrading relations, especially without more solid evidence of Tehran's involvement than that stemming from a dubious Iranian informer. On another level, and irrespective of creed, Lebanese and other Arab nationals, as well as non-Arab Muslims, have found it harder to visit relatives or tour Argentina and two of her neighbors, because of stricter visa requirements. Additionally, Arab-descended Argentines have witnessed a rise in anti-Arab and anti-Muslim expressions in the country's media.

On a different level, both bombs gave rise to a spate of anonymous telephone threats against Jewish institutions, with fears of a third attack, some of them plainly feeding on reckless press sensation-mongering, leading to the installation of anti-car-bomb devices in front of Jewish public facilities and other security measures, a temporary halt of interinstitutional sporting competitions at Jewish venues, and a perceptible increase in the Jewish sense of vulnerability. Without minimizing such consequences for Jews, one should also not lose sight of the public expressions of sympathy for the Jewish community, highlighted, for instance, by multipartisan support in Congress for a lower-house statement strongly condemning the 1992 embassy attack, and the presence of Menem and members of his cabinet, former President Alfonsín and opposition legislators, as well as the city's archbishop, Cardinal Antonio Quarracino, among the up to 130,000 participants in a march to repudiate this blast. The AMIA attack reportedly drew not less than 150,000 marchers in solidarity with the victims, some of the same public figures included.

Among the latter demonstration's banners were some proclaiming "We are all Argentine Jews," in line with press comments that the embassy and AMIA attackers had violated Argentine sovereignty.

A novel feature in both cases were messages repudiating the attacks and/or supporting the victims by Argentine Arab institutions and local personalities of Arab descent. Among the factors helping to account for such pronouncements one could point to developments in the Middle East, the Menem administration's own role in seeking to translate advances toward an Arab-Israeli peace into something tangible locally, and concern about possible backlash attacks on Argentine Arabs. The embassy bombing was condemned by the Tucumán Pan Islamic Association and Buenos Aires Islamic Centre, two Syro-Lebanese institutions; the Palestine Information Office, a locally created precursor of the Palestine National Authority's diplomatic representation; as well as a score of personalities of Arab ancestry. Two years later, the leader of an Iran-supported Buenos Aires mosque repudiated the AMIA bombing, while a FEARAB leader expressed his solidarity with the shocked Jewish community (quite unlike FEARAB's attitude vis-à-vis the Israeli embassy blast, when it had raised the possibility that it was due to explosives stored at the diplomatic representation). Against the backdrop of such a sea change, it is perhaps unsurprising that Menem should have attended the 60th-anniversary celebrations of the DAIA's founding in July 1935 in the company of the president of FEARAB, an umbrella organization for a host of institutions created by Syrian and Lebanese immigrants, whether Christian, Muslim, or nondenominational, which was inspired by Syria's ruling Baath party.

Nazi War Criminals

Having embarked upon a neo-liberal economic program and adjusted the country's foreign policy accordingly, Menem's government aligned Argentina with the United States in a way his predecessors—whether civilian or military, Peronist (PJ) or Radical—plainly resisted. Such resistance was at the root of many caricatures of Argentina as a former Axis asset and den of leading war criminals, and of Juan Perón himself as a "megalomaniac Nazi," as he was inaccurately described by U.S. assistant secretary of state Spruille Braden in the 1940s. The effort to persuade U.S. public opinion, not just the Washington administration, that Argentina was undeserving of the Nazi stigma attached to the Peronist movement's founder and his following can be seen as lying behind President Menem's announcement in February 1992 that he was releasing official files on the postwar influx of Nazis into the country, a measure that paved the way for his government's later grant to Argentina's Holocaust Foundation of a centrally located Buenos Aires building where a museum is being set up.

The Argentine government's decision has yielded easier access to a mass of documents that were already in the public domain (and that were studied without fanfare by Argentine, Israeli, and other scholars long before this announcement),

as well as allowed consultation of a smaller number of recent files, e.g., that of Abraham Kipp, a Dutch collaborationist war criminal (sentenced to death *in absentia*), whose extradition was requested by Holland during President Raúl Alfonsín's incumbency (1983–89). During the early months of Menem's first term, a judge ruled that Kipp would not be sent back to the Netherlands, among other reasons, because of loopholes in the Argentine-Dutch extradition treaty of 1893. The same magistrate, though, decided in June 1995 to grant an Italian request for the extradition of Erich Priebke, a former Gestapo officer in Rome who fled to Argentina in 1948 and was identified in 1994 by ABC News. Priebke would be the country's third deportee: the first was Gerhard Bohne in 1966; the second, Josef Schwammberger in 1990, both to Germany.

Priebke's detention prompted then Interior Minister Carlos Ruckauf to announce that a police unit would be set up to investigate whether other Nazis on the run were still living in the country. In reality, even if the relevant personnel worked with unrivaled zeal to track down war criminals among a dwindling population of octogenarian Nazis and collaborators, their effort was unlikely to result in a significant number of detentions and extraditions. By way of contrast, Nazi-hunting units in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States were being scaled down or closed altogether, among other reasons because of the difficulties presented by such investigations.

Academic and other experts have yet to agree on the number of Nazi and collaborationist war criminals who may have taken refuge in postwar Argentina. Two things are clear, though. Firstly, the memoirs of some of the beneficiaries suggest that, regardless of numbers, Argentina warmly welcomed former Nazis, especially—though not only—those with scientific and technical skills, who arrived during the short interregnum between the demise of the Third Reich and the onset of the Cold War. Thereafter things changed. Since 1949, no Allied policies prevented the departure of former Nazis to Argentina (as had been the case with Eastern Europeans since 1947), but the slowing down of Argentine economic growth forced many of those hired by the Perón government to look for employment opportunities elsewhere. Secondly, irrespective of the revisionism under way, the sensationalist estimate of 60,000 fugitive Nazi war criminals in Argentina has been seriously questioned, explicitly or otherwise. A headline-grabbing report in the *New York Times* (December 14, 1993) alluding to a list of more than 1,000 Nazi and collaborationist war criminals, compiled on the strength of the Argentine files, was cautiously declared by the *Antisemitism World Report 1994* as being subject to verification. The topic was discussed by an array of Argentine and other specialists at two international academic events held in Buenos Aires in 1993–94. One was organized by, among others, the head of Testimonio, the research project on Argentina's Nazi files set up by DAIA in 1993, and has already yielded a Spanish-language volume of proceedings; the second enjoyed the academic sponsorship of three foreign-based Jewish bodies: London's Institute of Jewish Affairs (IJA), the Latin American Jewish Studies Association, and the Agudat Mehkar Yahadut Amerika

HaLatinit in Israel—with Spanish- and English-language collections of papers in preparation.

Reservations about the actual number of Nazis are not meant to cast doubt on Argentina's documented participation in the race for the academic and scientific spoils of the Third Reich, or the reception of Nazi and collaborationist war criminals. For the time being, though, Menem's friendly attitude on this and other issues of Jewish concern won him favor in Jewish circles. The World Jewish Congress awarded him its Nahum Goldmann Medal in late 1991, in the course of a visit to New York during which he met with representatives of major Jewish organizations, while the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith excluded his country—this was before the discovery of Priebke—from its list of Latin American states harboring Nazis evading justice.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The absence of serious demographic studies, as well as unscientific assessments of real and purported flaws in national statistics, and the notion that the larger a group's numerical strength the greater its entitlements to influence and/or other benefits have tended to skew self-estimates by Argentina's ethnic and religious groups, whether Jews, Muslims, Ukrainians, or others. Not surprisingly, until the 1970s, self-estimates of Argentina's Jewish population were particularly inflated, only differing in the scope of exaggeration from some of the extravagant figures offered by sources inimical to Jews. The first major demographic study of Argentine Jews was carried out in the 1970s by the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ). It established that Argentina's Jewish inhabitants, Ashkenazic in their majority, numbered some 225,000 souls. Although this figure is based on substantial research, it is not beyond refinement. In some respects, Argentina is a country like France, with a large and growing proportion of marginal Jews, i.e., those born into Jewish households who, whatever their reasons, are unaffiliated. Hence, following French sociologist Dominique Schnapper's methodological considerations, it is legitimate to suggest that the ICJ's estimate could be higher. Indeed, if the French case is anything to go by, an upward revision of up to 20 percent may well be justified.

Be that as it may, ICJ demographers unwittingly lent an important degree of credibility to Argentina's national censuses, whose figures were considerably closer to the mark than many had been prepared to believe. After 1960, though, these no longer included an item on religious affiliation. Whereas the 1947 census identified 249,000 Jews, ICJ demographers now think that the real number was 285,800. The gap between these figures is partly explained by an estimate of individuals who legalized their situation as a result of a Perón government amnesty of 1948, aimed

at all extralegal arrivals. Although the number of its Jewish beneficiaries was calculated on the basis of local Jewish records to be in the region of 10,000, it was originally estimated to be more than three times bigger by sources as politically divergent as the American Jewish Committee and the Peronist Organización Israelita Argentina. If the latter were correct, the gap with those quantified by the census looks definitely closed. Additionally, whatever the real number of those who had to enter the country in unorthodox ways (the latter due to a decreasing interest in Jewish and other atypical and unwanted immigrants by Argentina's elites and governments after the late 1920s), and who, once there, lived relatively unharassed, Jews no doubt were one of the groups for whom the amnesty, which also benefited Nazis and others, was most rewarding.

EMIGRATION

Over the years, political and economic turmoil fostered emigration. This, together with assimilation and intermarriage, generally accounts for the decreasing Jewish presence in Argentina. Israeli statistics reveal that some 50,000 Jews from Argentina moved permanently to the Jewish state during 1948–93, where they far outnumber all those hailing from the rest of Latin America. Although Argentine Jewish emigration to countries outside Israel—whether other Latin American states, the United States, Europe, or elsewhere—remains unquantified, direct observation and oral accounts support the assumption that it is substantial. Most Jews, however, have chosen to remain in Argentina.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Although generally perceived as urban middle-class, Argentine Jewry cannot be treated as a homogeneous group. An illustration of this is the occupational profile of the 1,317 Jews who enrolled with the job center of the Buenos Aires Jewish Community (AMIA) in the course of a six-week period during April–May 1995. Rather than an exclusive sample of people looking for work as accountants, business administrators, computer experts, engineers, journalists, psychologists, social workers, and sociologists, i.e., persons equipped with higher educational degrees, there were many seeking nonprofessional jobs as beauticians, carpenters, cashiers, clerks, hairdressers, locksmiths, nurses, plumbers, receptionists, salespersons, sales representatives, and telephone operators, as well as a third group consisting of bricklayers, cooks and kitchen helpers, drivers, maintenance workers, messengers, and porters.

Like fellow Argentines of similar socioeconomic standing, Jews have been affected by economic changes going back to 1975. These include the serious erosion of possibilities for upward mobility and the reality of downward mobility resulting from the growing gap in income distribution, and the associated rise in poverty and social marginalization that accompanied adjustment policies aimed at overcoming

the economic instability of the 1980s. Indicative of this are the following AMIA figures: whereas an average of 400 job seekers registered monthly with AMIA during March 1993-June 1994, that number more than doubled by 1995.

At the same time, the Jewish community's social structure, different from that of Argentina as a whole, helps explain the comparably small number of needy Jews. This is illustrated by the fact that AMIA's social-welfare department assisted some 2,000 have-not families in 1986, a number that has since reached an internally estimated level of over 2,500 families. Adding the smaller numbers aided by Sephardic and German-Jewish institutions, it appears that aid recipients did not exceed a maximum of 3,000 families in 1995, or some 12,000 needy Jews in the community.

Education

At the beginning of the 1995 school year, scholarships were granted to 6,000 students attending Jewish schools, about a third of the Jewish school population in the federal capital and greater Buenos Aires. Such scholarships, together with the mergers of smaller and less viable educational establishments, helped prevent a sharp drop in the level of school enrollment in an area encompassing some 80 percent of the country's Jews. Enrollment in kindergarten, primary, and secondary education institutions rose 14.2 percent from 1980 to 1989, to 18,023 Jewish school students, but that number had fallen to some 17,600 by 1995. Still, the above-mentioned measures helped to maintain a level of enrollment that was higher than that of 1980.

Communal Affairs

The bombings of the Israeli embassy and the AMIA building exacerbated some long-simmering internal tensions in the Jewish community. Since local Jewish leaders openly discuss these matters in the Argentine media, and the country's press has shown a hitherto unrivaled interest in Jewish community affairs, these tensions can hardly be swept under the carpet.

One source of controversy was the Israeli embassy. Since it had been initially acquired and furnished by members of the Jewish community—as clearly recalled in the rich memoirs of Israel's first diplomatic representative in Buenos Aires, Jacob Tsur—it is hardly surprising that its destruction was followed by a fund-raising drive to erect a new building. This well-meaning effort was deemed unwarranted by many, however, especially those aware both of the difference in Israeli circumstances in the 1940s and 1990s and the Jewish community's diminishing ability to assist its neediest without the injection of funds from foreign donors. While such criticism did not prevent the purchase of a plot in a residential quarter that hosts other diplomatic representations, Israeli ambassador Yitzhak Aviran objected to the site, the project design, and other elements. As a result, the initiative was abandoned after an official ground-breaking ceremony was attended by, among others, Foreign

Minister Guido Di Tella and Argentine Jewish leaders. The apparently insurmountable differences between the ambassador and the Argentine Jewish donors may be taken as an indication of developing changes in Israel-Diaspora relations.

After the second bombing, the president of the DAIA (whose headquarters were in the destroyed building), Rubén Beraja, came under attack by some frustrated with the slow pace of the government's investigation. Public criticism of Jewish leaders is nothing new. Accusations of indifference, if not worse, were leveled at the DAIA by the Argentine and Israeli relatives of the "*desaparecidos*," in the latter half of the 1970s, when many more Jews—largely (though not only) unaffiliated—were killed than in the two recent bombings or in any other anti-Jewish incidents since Argentina's independence (the 1919 Tragic Week possibly excepted). In fact, some of those most unhappy with the DAIA's record during 1976–83, with the small number of officers prosecuted under Alfonsín for their involvement in human-rights violations (their cases still being without precedent in the annals of Argentine history), and with Menem's pardons, were the most critical of the Jewish umbrella organization's president. So far, evidence of Beraja's closeness to Menem and other political figures within the ruling PJ was not any stronger than that regarding the ties of other Jewish leaders to earlier military and civilian rulers. Nor was there evidence that Beraja had compromised Jewish community interests, as was reportedly the case with some episodes in the 1976–83 period. Insinuations against him need to be understood in the context of Argentine Jewish political culture and the fact that Beraja is only the fourth non-Ashkenazi to head the DAIA since its inception in 1935. Unlike Ashkenazic contenders for leadership of the community, who have traditionally been aligned with Israeli political parties, many Sephardic Jews in Argentina and elsewhere have historically been lukewarm toward political Zionism, more at home with Sephardic religious institutions than with the more traditional sources of Israeli influence. Thus, whatever the merits or demerits of the anti-Beraja claims, he is clearly an economically successful Jew of Syrian parentage, well-rooted in Argentina, but in certain respects viewed as an outsider by the traditional Ashkenazic establishment.

When all is said and done, the bombings, especially the second one, promoted stronger links between Argentine Jewry and Jewish bodies abroad, whether in Israel or the Diaspora. This is attested by the compilation of a collection of press reports on the second bombing by the Madrid-based *Hebraica* as well as in the more practical trilateral linkage between the Buenos Aires and Chicago Jewish communities and the Tel Aviv municipality.

IGNACIO KLICH

Western Europe

Great Britain

National Affairs

AS THE POPULARITY OF THE Conservative government continued to decline in 1994 and early 1995—despite signs of further economic recovery—that of the opposition Labor Party and to some extent also that of the Liberal Democrats continued to rise. Tory unpopularity was shown in massive losses in local elections in May 1994 and May 1995 and in the elections for the European Parliament in June 1994. Evidence from polls suggested that since the summer of 1994, not only were Conservatives abstaining but also they were switching their support to Labor. The government's one major success, following secret negotiations, undeniably lay in the decision of the Irish Republican Army in August to declare an "unconditional" ceasefire.

Manifest disunity in the government and in the Conservative Party—most obvious in the case of policy toward the European Union—as well as recurrent scandals involving sex and money and professional lobbyists, cumulatively created an atmosphere of sleaze that discredited the integrity of people in public life. Standards of care in the National Health Service and educational resources were also perceived to be deteriorating. The national budget, presented in November 1994, pledged cuts of £28 billion in public spending and was widely held to be associated with the decline in public services.

The counterpart to Tory decline was the rise of Labor. The latter party did indeed suffer a grievous blow with the sudden death of its popular leader, John Smith, in May 1994. After a period of maneuvering, Tony Blair was elected leader in July and immediately undertook a campaign to modernize the party and to forge a new relationship with the trade unions. Meanwhile, Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, was attempting to move his party closer to Labor and discard its earlier policy of "equidistance" between the two major parties. This move, if adopted by the Liberal Democrats, would certainly increase the pressure on the Conservatives.

Israel and the Middle East

"Our political relationship . . . has never been so warm, has never had so much content and common ground," commented Prime Minister John Major after meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel in Jerusalem in March 1995. This closeness was already apparent in May 1994, when the British government lifted its 12-year embargo on sales of arms to Israel; in June, when Israel and Britain set up a joint science and technology research fund; in August, when Foreign Office minister Douglas Hogg stated Britain's readiness to allow Israel full participation in the European Union's high-tech research program; and in September, when Major, visiting Saudi Arabia, attempted to secure the end of the Arab trade embargo against Israel.

October marked a high point: General Ehud Barak became the first Israeli chief of staff to visit Britain, and Malcolm Rifkind the first British defense secretary to visit Israel officially. (Rifkind, Tory MP for Edinburgh Pentlands and a strongly identifying Jew, was appointed to his post in 1992.) Major described Israel's peace agreement with Jordan as an "extraordinary achievement" during a warm and productive meeting with Prime Minister Rabin on a visit to London that was abruptly curtailed because of a suicide bomb attack in Tel Aviv; and Queen Elizabeth's consort, Prince Philip, visited Jerusalem to receive the "Righteous Gentile" award presented posthumously to his mother, Princess Alice, who had hidden Greek Jews from the Nazis during World War II. In November, Major, the first British prime minister to address the Joint Israel Appeal's (JIA) main fund-raising event in London, endorsed the unprecedentedly close ties between Britain and Israel.

Some points of contention remained, including the future of Jerusalem. A statement by Major in May 1994, emphasizing that Britain did not recognize Israeli sovereignty over any part of Jerusalem, was thought untimely but representing no shift in policy. The statement was issued when the Likud-backed Campaign for a United Jerusalem asked Major to send greetings to a Jerusalem Day dinner in London. In March 1995, Jerusalem's mayor, Ehud Olmert, attacked the decision to send a Foreign Office diplomat to the PLO's Jerusalem headquarters, Orient House, during Major's visit. Speaking at the opening of Anglo-Jewry's celebration of 3,000 years of Jerusalem, he criticized Major and other British officials for failing to grasp Israeli and Jewish anxieties about the city's future.

Another point of dispute was Israeli settlement policy. In April 1994, Foreign Office minister Hogg announced that, in an effort to prevent extremists from scuttling peace efforts, Britain was making regular representations to the Israelis to "cease the construction of settlements which we regard as illegal . . . and an obstacle to peace."

The British government showed its support for Palestinian control over the autonomous areas of Gaza and Jericho in various ways. Following the massacre of Palestinians in Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs by a Jewish settler in February 1994,

Prime Minister Major wrote to PLO leader Yasir Arafat denouncing the act and promising to provide £34,000 in aid for those wounded in the attack. In May, when Britain warmly welcomed the Cairo signing of the Israel-PLO agreement to withdraw Israeli forces from Gaza and Jericho, the government announced the provision of £70 million in assistance in the year ahead. In July, after warnings from Foreign Office officials that delay in bringing law, order, and prosperity to Gaza and Jericho would play into the hands of extremists opposed to the peace process, the figure was raised to £75 million. In July it was reported that senior Palestinian police officers were receiving training at Bramshill, Britain's national police training college, while Whitehall-backed experts were advising Arafat's officials on setting up a civil service and independent judiciary and on the development of financial institutions.

In January 1994, Britain agreed to export arms to the Lebanese government in order to strengthen its control over the country; in October, Hogg, returning from a visit to Damascus and Beirut, called on Lebanon to stop Iranian-backed fundamentalist guerrillas from attacking Israel. Addressing an Institute of Jewish Affairs (IJA) meeting in London the same month, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd called Iran the world's most dangerous exporter of terrorism. In March 1995, in an interview with the *Jewish Chronicle*, Major reaffirmed Britain's determination to confront extremist violence by groups supported by Iran and other countries. Britain, he said, had not changed its position on Iraq, nor its "concern" about Iran, both of which were opposed to the peace process.

The London-based Committee to Free Mordechai Vanunu, the imprisoned Israeli nuclear spy, pressed its cause at a Jerusalem meeting with Israeli president Ezer Weizman in December 1994 and published simultaneously an appeal signed by leading politicians, actors, and writers in newspapers in London, Tel Aviv, New York, and Cairo.

Islamic Terrorism

The threat from terrorist attempts to disrupt the Israeli-Palestinian peace process caused the Board of Deputies of British Jews to put the Jewish community on the alert, first in March 1994 after the Hebron massacre in Israel and again after the Jewish community building in Buenos Aires, Argentina, was bombed on July 18. However, nothing could prepare the community for the two horrifying car-bomb attacks that took place on July 26, one outside London's Israeli embassy, the other outside the offices of the Joint Israel Appeal (JIA). No fatalities resulted, but 19 people were injured, and the buildings were considerably damaged. A pledge that Britain would do its utmost to catch the perpetrators was given by Foreign Secretary Hurd to Israeli ambassador Moshe Raviv and by Home Secretary Michael Howard to community leaders.

Immediately following the attacks, armed police, backed up by Scotland Yard's antiterrorist squad, mounted guard on key Jewish institutions. In August Scotland Yard officials meeting with Board of Deputies security officers considered that the

community was still under "significant threat," and in September Home Secretary Howard agreed to maintain a nationwide antiterrorist guard on Jewish communal institutions. In November a communitywide security operation was launched after Assistant Commissioner David Veness, in charge of Metropolitan Police specialist operations at Scotland Yard, cautioned community leaders against becoming complacent. British Jewry was facing a long-term threat from extremist terror gangs "motivated by a rejection of peaceful coexistence in the Middle East," Veness said.

In January 1995, five Palestinians, born in either Lebanon or Jordan, were arrested and held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in connection with the bombings. Between January and March, three of the five (Nadia Zekra, Samar Alami, and Jawed Mahmoud Botmeh) were charged at Bow Street magistrates court with conspiring with others to cause explosions. In April Botmeh and Zekra were committed to stand trial at the Old Bailey, and in May Zekra and Alami were freed on bail totaling £1 million.

Anti-Semitism and Racism

The number of anti-Semitic incidents reported in the United Kingdom increased to 346 in 1993 from 292 in 1992, according to figures released by the Board of Deputies of British Jews in June 1994. An annual report published the same month by the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs (IJA) placed the rise in the preceding year at over 20 percent. Entitled *Antisemitism World Report 1994*, the 270-page document assessing anti-Semitism in more than 70 countries named the United Kingdom as one of ten countries where manifestations of anti-Semitism were increasing. Incidents had risen steadily over a five-year period, and "the climate has definitely deteriorated," it stated. IJA executive director Antony Lerman expressed "great concern" at the increase in "electronic Fascism," the distribution of anti-Semitic and Holocaust-denial material through computer networks and bulletin boards, computer games and videos, telephone networks and hot lines, most of which, Lerman claimed, came from the United States.

The Board of Deputies reported that anti-Semitic incidents rose sharply after the July car-bombings of the Israeli embassy and Joint Israel Appeal offices (see above). More than 50 incidents—double the monthly average—occurred between July 26 and August 26, including threatening telephone calls, assaults, and abusive behavior.

Although Jews in Britain had not been subject to physical violence in the way that other minorities had, according to Mike Whine, Board of Deputies defense director, the continued high level of desecration of communal property—21 percent of total attacks—was cause for serious concern. In February 1994 an attack on Grimsby cemetery was reported; in April there was a burglary and arson attack on the Machzikei Hadass *mikveh* (ritual bath) at Preston, Manchester; in October a nursery school in Stamford Hill, North London, was burned down; in November an arson attack at Stamford Hill's Yesodey Hatorah school was reported, and Pardes

House grammar school, Finchley, North London, was ransacked; in December, Mamlock House, Manchester's Zionist headquarters, was broken into; in April 1995 an arson attack severely damaged Reuben's Kosher Restaurant in Central London.

The IJA report found the distribution of anti-Semitic material "disturbing." This included leaflets sent to Jewish and non-Jewish homes in North-West London referring to Jewish ritual murder and accusing Jews of pedophilia, a pamphlet distributed among far-right activists urged them to kill Jews and nonwhites, and a leaflet sent to some 20 London nursery schools with the message "Avoid Orthodox Jews—child ritual murder outbreak feared." In February 1995 a Board of Deputies delegation told Prime Minister Major that it was "puzzled and angered" at the lack of prosecutions against the publishers and distributors of hate literature. In March 80-year-old Dowager Lady Birdwood received a three-month suspended prison sentence at the Old Bailey for inciting racial hatred by the publication and distribution of 15,000 copies of a leaflet, "The Longest Hatred," alleging a Jewish conspiracy to undermine society and claiming that the Holocaust never happened.

The fears aroused by the first electoral victory of the far-right British National Party (BNP) in London's East End in September 1993 persisted throughout 1994, because the party was deemed responsible for many racist episodes. In January 1994 Liberal-Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown called on all main political parties to unite against BNP in May local elections. In March the Board of Deputies, the Anti-Racist Alliance, the Churches Commission for Racial Justice, and the Liberal-Democrat and Labor parties launched the United Campaign Against Racism with a rally in the East End, organized by the Trades Union Council and attended by more than 35,000 people. In April Home Secretary Howard pledged the support of the Conservative Party and the government for the campaign. In April, too, the Board of Deputies' defense committee mounted its biggest preelection campaign in years in an effort to mobilize British Jews against racist candidates in the elections.

Although BNP lost its sole local government seat in the May elections, far-right candidates increased their share of total votes to a national average of 6.8 percent (from between 2 and 4 percent in 1990 local elections). However, in June European Parliament elections, the 14 extreme right candidates averaged below 2 percent of the total votes; and BNP candidates polled only 562 and 360 votes, respectively, in East London by-elections—at Tower Hamlet in December and Newham South in February 1995.

Even though the government claimed to take racial attacks and racial harassment "extremely seriously," a February 1994 report by the Commission on Social Justice found that current laws urgently required improvement. The government's response came with the introduction in May and June of two amendments to the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill: one making the production and distribution of racist publications an arrestable offense; the other imposing a jail sentence of up to six months or a fine of up to £8,000 on those "causing intentional harassment, alarm or distress." By October-November both amendments had received royal assent. In April 1995, following an investigation into racist literature distributed to police

forces around the country, police were able to arrest two people under the terms of the first amendment.

The report of the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee on Racial Violence was published in June 1994 following a year's deliberations and more than 100 written submissions. The committee, chaired by Jewish Conservative MP Sir Ivan Lawrence, made 38 recommendations, which it urged the government to implement "without delay" in view of the rapid spread of racism. In July Home Secretary Howard dismissed the report's suggestion of a new law against racially motivated assault, reiterating his belief that there was "already more than enough legislation to deal with such offenses." Howard's 20-page reply to the report in November supported some of its recommendations, including giving the police extra powers to prosecute those responsible for racial harassment and improving the response by the police and courts.

In January 1995 Union of Jewish Students (UJS) campaigns officer Paul Solomon told the Board of Deputies that Islamic fundamentalists constituted an unprecedented threat to Jewish students, that the rise of the fundamentalist group Hizb-ut-Tahrir "strikes at the very root of Jewish campus experience." Its message, conveyed by leaflets around campuses, mixed anti-Semitism and Holocaust-denial with a call to kill Jews, Hindus, and homosexuals and contempt for Western democratic ideals. Despite repeated appeals to the Home Secretary from MPs, the Board of Deputies, and student leaders, the government was reluctant to take legal action against Hizb operating on university campuses.

Nazi War Criminals

In January 1994 the Scottish Office announced that there was insufficient evidence to proceed with the case expected to be brought against Lithuanian-born Anton Gecas, although "the file would remain open." Gecas, aged 77, a police officer in a Lithuanian battalion, was charged with involvement in the massacre of Jews in Soviet territory occupied by the Germans in World War II.

The following month, the decision was made to wind down the work of the Scottish war-crimes unit. Addressing the concerns of some MPs, peers, and Jewish groups, assurances were given throughout the year that the decision to close the Scottish unit would have no effect on inquiries in England and Wales. Although questions were raised at the end of the year about continued funding of the Scotland Yard war-crimes unit, Home Office minister Baroness Blatch said in February 1995 that cases would be investigated "as long as there is a possibility of evidence being made available." "Parliament is determined that these cases be pursued." To date, investigations had cost just over £5 million. Of the 369 cases investigated, the Crown Prosecution Service had decided not to proceed in 239, and over 100 suspects had died in the interim. In March the attorney-general revealed that government lawyers had completed their examination of seven cases thought most likely to result in prosecution. In May he said that 20 suspected Nazis were still under investigation

by Scotland Yard's war-crimes unit. In a May issue of the London *Independent on Sunday*, legal-affairs correspondent Stephen Ward predicted that Britain's first war-crimes trial in 1996 would be that of 84-year-old Siemon Serafimowicz, who came to Britain in 1947, worked as a carpenter, and now lived in Banstead, Surrey. As a senior police official in Mir, Belorussia, during the German occupation, Serafimowicz was allegedly responsible for shooting Jews, a charge he denied.

Also in May 1995, consideration of a bill calling for a statute of limitations on war-crimes trials, introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Campbell of Alloway in November 1994, was suspended by the House of Commons and no new date for discussion set. The bill, which would have effectively prohibited further war-crimes trials, had passed through all stages in the Lords.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The number of synagogue marriages in 1994 showed its largest annual decrease since 1975–76, according to statistics issued by the Board of Deputies' Community Research Unit. The 10-percent drop—to 914 in 1994 from 1,015 in 1993—reflected a decline in the number of marriages in the general population. Figures for completed divorces fell to 236 in 1994 from 275 in 1993.

Burials and cremations under Jewish auspices dropped to 4,069 in 1994 from 4,359 in 1993. Estimated figures for births, based on totals for circumcision, rose to 2,847 in 1993 from 2,808 in 1992.

Regional figures showed considerable variation. Leeds Jewish Historical Society calculated the local community at 8,900 in January 1994, as compared with 17,800 at its first survey in 1964. A five-yearly census by the Representative Council of North-Eastern Jewry, published in March 1994, showed a rise in the ultra-Orthodox Gateshead community to 1,420 from 1,200; and the Newcastle Reform congregation increased to 227 from 179. By contrast, Newcastle's United Hebrew Congregation had fallen to 729 from 910 and Sunderland to 166 from 291, while the Middlesborough congregation showed a loss of 40 souls. The preliminary results of a census by Merseyside Jewish Representative Council published in June 1994 suggested a population of between 3,300 and 3,400, against 5,750 ten years earlier.

Communal Affairs

Fears that Lord Young's new Central Council for Jewish Community Services (CCJCS)—the former Central Council for Jewish Social Services and an umbrella body for 41 organizations—could erode the Board of Deputies' position as the community's leading lay organization dominated the last months of Judge Israel Feinstein's term as board president.

Feinstein retired in April 1994, disappointed at the rejection of many of the

reforms proposed during the session but confident that the board's machinery had been improved and its strategy to some extent rationalized. In May the Federation of Synagogues—a grouping of right-of-center Orthodox synagogues formed in 1887—decided not to renew its affiliation with the board. This was in part an economy measure, but also because federation president Arnold Cohen no longer considered the board relevant; individual federation synagogues were free to affiliate in their own right.

In June Eldred Tabachnik, a 50-year-old barrister, became the youngest president in the Board of Deputies' history. In a drive to reassert the board's central role, Tabachnik pledged in July to take the lead in discussions of the chief rabbi's review of the role of women and to set up a working group to consider how the board could be more responsive to the concerns of women deputies. In October he launched an initiative for a wide range of consultations with communal leaders and organizations to be held under board auspices. In January 1995, to indicate the importance the board attached to communities outside London, its leaders began a series of visits to major Jewish centers, including Bournemouth, Leeds, and Glasgow.

The inaugural meeting took place in March 1994 in Kidderminster, North Midlands, of the National Jewish Youth Assembly, sponsored by the Board of Deputies together with the Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade, the Association of Jewish Youth, Maccabi Union, and the Zionist Youth Council. Between them, these groups provided activities for up to 20,000 young Jews weekly, but they operated with a total deficit of £400,000. Speakers at the conference claimed that young Jews were entitled to financial support as an investment for the future and demanded that the assembly be represented on "all major decision-making bodies, including the Board of Deputies." A commission of inquiry into the funding of youth services, under the auspices of CCJCS and headed by high court judge Sir Bernard Rix, issued its report in August 1994, pinpointing the need for improved funding, marketing, and planning of youth services. In October the organizations involved agreed to meet under the auspices of the Board of Deputies to discuss a follow-up to the Rix report.

In April 1994 a Holocaust survivors' center opened at Sinclair House, the Jewish youth and community center in Redbridge, East London. A year later Sinclair House announced plans to merge with Jewish Care, Anglo-Jewry's largest domestic charity, giving Jewish Care its first direct involvement in youth and community work. In May 1994, Nightingale House, the home for aged Jews in South London, benefited financially from a bequest of property in Charleston, South Carolina, by Alec Davidson, a Londoner who had emigrated to the United States.

The 50th anniversary of VE (Victory in Europe) Day in May 1995 was observed with services of commemoration of the dead and thanksgiving for peace in synagogues throughout the country. Prior to VE Day, a newspaper poll found that fewer than 40 percent of 11–14-year-olds in state schools had heard of the Holocaust. This brought appeals from the chief rabbi and Israeli ambassador Moshe Raviv for a national Holocaust Museum to be created in London.

OVERSEAS AID

British Jewry's efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry were divided between groups like the 35s, the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry, which stressed resettlement in Israel, and programs like Exodus 2000, which worked with youth in the former Soviet Union to create new communal structures and train future leaders. Exodus, run by the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain in conjunction with the Israel-based World Union for Progressive Judaism, reported in September 1994 that, after two years' operation, 12 congregations in Britain were twinned with counterparts in the former Soviet Union. In addition, visiting British rabbis had held seminars and taught in the newly formed Institute of Advanced Jewish Studies in Russia, and exchange visits and summer camps had been organized.

January 1994 saw an active campaign on behalf of Ron Arad, the missing Israeli airman thought to be held hostage by Tehran-based gunmen in Lebanon since he disappeared in 1986. Simon Pollock, chairman of the Free Ron Arad Campaign, sent a direct appeal for help to Iranian diplomats in London, and some 850 people demonstrated outside the Iranian embassy to show solidarity with Arad. British diplomats, including Foreign Secretary Hurd, took up Arad's case in talks with Syrian and Iranian officials. And Prime Minister John Major, presented with a petition with 25,000 signatures, assured Arad's family that Britain would play a leading role in the international campaign to secure Arad's freedom.

In April 1994 a seder for Bosnian Jewish refugees was held at the North-Western Reform Synagogue, in Golders Green, North-West London. In June Belgrade Jews received an emergency consignment of medical equipment and food sent by the Central British Fund (CBF)-World Jewish Relief and the British-Israel Forum, a London-based Jewish volunteer network. CBF-World Jewish Relief changed its name to World Jewish Relief in March 1995; in April it sent Passover food to the Jewish community of Sarajevo.

RELATIONS WITH MUSLIMS

Even as Jews worried about Arab terror and Islamic fundamentalist activity on campuses, there were efforts to bring Jews and Muslims closer together. Jews, Muslims, and Christians attended memorial services in March 1994 at the West London Reform Synagogue for victims of the Hebron massacre and in November at London's Yakar for victims of the Tel Aviv bus bombing, the latter arranged by Palestinian peace activist Saida Nusseibeh. In October a Jewish-Muslim community forum was set up in Manchester to "promote good relations and mutual understanding," while in London the Institute of Jewish Affairs organized an interfaith meeting at which Dr. Zaki Badawi, chairman of the U.K. Imams and Mosques Council, shared a platform with Board of Deputies vice-president Rosalind Preston. In November North London's Leo Baeck College joined with the Calamus Foundation to present a lecture series, "Where Muslim and Jewish Civilizations Meet."

Religion

WOMEN

In June 1994 women took seats for the first time on the United Synagogue (US) Council, the central policy-making forum of 66 central Orthodox British synagogues. Based on a formula drawn up by Chief Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks in consultation with the Bet Din (religious court), two women per constituent synagogue, appointed or elected by their local boards of management, were enabled to join the council. New US plans announced the previous February also foresaw reducing the council in 1996 from 300 to around 150 members, split equally between men and women. At the local level, synagogue boards of management would elect nine men and nine women (compared with the previous 12 and 6, respectively), in addition to the synagogue officers, though men would retain right of veto. Synagogues would have five officers, including an elected male chairman and vice-chairman. The reforms were disappointing, said Sheila Cohen, chairwoman of the Association of US Women.

The review of the status of women in Anglo-Jewry, the first practical initiative of Chief Rabbi Sacks's "decade of renewal," was published in June 1994. It found strong consensus that women's needs had been ignored for too long, causing them to feel marginalized in communal and religious life, especially in central Orthodoxy. They wanted greater participation in prayer services and greater spiritual involvement through study, special prayers, and rituals to mark major events in life. Sacks named Syma Weinberg, education consultant to Jewish Continuity, as special adviser for the review's overall implementation and urged all communal bodies to investigate means to carry out its recommendations. In October the Board of Deputies established a standing committee on women's issues.

The review was based on a statistical survey and a series of discussion groups with Jewish women nationwide, conducted by the Board of Deputies' Community Research Unit. Of the 1,350 respondents to the survey, of whom 1,125 were affiliated with synagogues, only 43 percent of US-affiliated women had found synagogues that satisfied their needs. This compared with 51 percent of Orthodox women outside the US; 69 percent of Reform women; 79 percent of Liberals; and 81 percent of Masorti (Conservative). The survey's findings showed a gradual shift taking place toward the left of the religious spectrum: only 61 percent of the daughters of Orthodox parents belonged to Orthodox synagogues.

The popularity of women-only services grew. In January 1994, Manchester's Yeshurun Synagogue sanctioned a women's prayer group on the Sabbath in a private home, provided it followed the chief rabbi's guidelines, and in February, Pinner, North-West London, held its first women-only Shabbat service. However, when women-only services using a Torah scroll took place at Yakar, the independent Orthodox congregation in Hendon, North-West London, in March and Au-

gust, and at the Limmud education conference in Oxford in December, Rabbi Sacks warned that use of a Torah scroll by women could "put at risk the entire effort to improve the position of women in accordance with the principles and spirit of Jewish law."

In November 1994, Fraybin Gottlieb was appointed assistant registrar to the Bet Din, the first woman to hold a senior post in that body.

The Jewish Women's Network, aiming to create a framework for dialogue for women throughout the community and to improve their position in Jewish life, held its first annual meeting in March 1995. Since its beginning in January 1993, it had held five major events around the country, said newly elected chairwoman Sharon Lee. Membership was growing, and hundreds of women were participating in debates, study sessions, and workshops.

In February 1995 the chief rabbi called in Dayan Berel Berkovits of the Federation of Synagogues to work out a new draft of the prenuptial agreement (PNA). This had been proposed by Sacks in 1993 to prevent Orthodox women being trapped in failed marriages when husbands refused to give them a religious divorce (*get*). However, questions regarding the document's practicality and halakhic (Jewish legal) validity had delayed implementation.

OTHER MATTERS

The United Synagogue continued to make structural changes, implementing the recommendations of the 1992 Kalms Report. Among other changes, it set up an Agency for Jewish Education to replace its own education department, so as to reduce the US head office's role. An independent, self-financing Orthodox body, the new agency would conduct teacher training, carry out inspections, and produce educational material. The agency began functioning in January 1995.

During much of 1994 the US grappled with financial problems: in March it announced that it owed £8 million to its banks, mostly due for repayment within three years. In June seven synagogues were named as having had "chronic deficits" in 1993: Cricklewood, Dollis Hill, Finsbury Park, Hackney and East London, South Tottenham, South-West London, and West Ham. Four others presented "the most difficult situation," requiring "special action": Edgware, Finchley, Ilford, and Richmond. In October Edmonton and Tottenham Synagogue closed due to declining numbers. In December Finsbury Park Synagogue was sold to a right-wing Orthodox nursery; male membership had declined from 700 in 1970 to 130, 61 percent of whom were over 71, and 41 percent over 76. This, said US treasurer Leslie Elstein, was the path the US had to take, realizing assets from declining congregations and making them available for new communities. In April 1995, Dollis Hill Synagogue closed, following its sale in February to the North Finchley Torah Temimah primary school; membership had fallen from a peak of 600 families to some 300, half of whom were over 70.

In September Environment Secretary John Gummer ended three years of public

debate by agreeing to establish the British community's first *eruv*—a symbolic boundary designed to permit Orthodox Jews to carry on the Sabbath—in North-West London. In January 1995 there were calls for a judicial review of the *eruv* decision.

On the death of the Lubavitcher Rebbe in Brooklyn in September 1994, Prime Minister John Major sent the Lubavitch Foundation a message commiserating on its loss of "an inspirational, and perhaps irreplaceable" leader. A £5-million fund was set up in the Rebbe's name to further his work in Britain, and Chief Rabbi Sacks gave the inaugural Lubavitcher Rebbe Memorial Lecture.

In October, Shmuel Boteach resigned as Lubavitch rabbi in Oxford after being suspended by the Lubavitch Foundation in Britain for his refusal to withdraw an invitation to Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin to speak to his L'Chaim Society, which Boteach continued to head.

In November 1994 leading Orthodox rabbis in Manchester, alarmed at the spread of the Masorti movement to northern England, pledged action to prevent a congregation being established in the city. Masorti services were held in Bradford in January 1995 (the first in northern England) and in Manchester in March.

In December 1994 the Office of the Chief Rabbi made it clear that it did not accept as valid any conversion or marriage conducted under Masorti auspices. Rabbi Dr. Julian Shindler, director of the marriage authorization department, told the *Jewish Chronicle* that he issued the clarification because of claims to the contrary by the Masorti movement, following the Manchester controversy. In January 1995 Chief Rabbi Sacks aroused considerable discussion when he described the Masorti movement as intellectual "thieves" posing a danger to the future of British Jewry. Writing in the right-wing Orthodox *Jewish Tribune*, he accused Masorti of making "misleading" claims to being Orthodox and stated that anyone not believing that the Torah was dictated by God to Moses had "severed links with the faith of his ancestors."

The ensuing outcry from the Jewish public and many communal organizations partially abated after Sacks wrote in the *Jewish Chronicle* that, while resolute in his support of an Orthodox Jewry firm in its faith and practice, he was equally committed to "tolerance, warmth and intellectual openness." Speaking at the February 1995 opening of the US's 125th anniversary celebrations, Sacks said, "The successes of the US represent one of the greatest achievements of modern Jewish life," and warned that those representing "less traditional alternatives" threatened to turn Britain into the fragmented community seen in America.

In February 1995, police were called when ultra-Orthodox Jews protested at Manchester's Jewish cultural center, claiming that the speaker, the chief rabbi of Efrat, Israel, Shlomo Riskin, was a "heretic."

The Reform Synagogues of Great Britain published a Calendar of Torah and Haftarah Readings, 5755–5757, and a new *Pilgrim Festivals Machzor*; the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues issued a new prayer book, *Siddur Lev Ha-dash*.

Education

In July 1994, Jewish Continuity—Chief Rabbi Sacks's fund-raising plan for Jewish education—announced a partnership with the Joint Israel Appeal (JIA), British Jewry's central fund-raising organization, which pledged at least £12 million to Continuity over the ensuing three years. Said JIA president Sir Trevor Chinn, "JIA has always been involved in saving Jewish lives and in the social development of Israel and will continue to do so. But you can not look at the national priorities of the Jewish people today without recognizing that Jewish continuity in the diaspora is a major element." In September the chairman of the Jewish Agency, through which JIA funding for Israel is channeled, sharply criticized the agreement with Continuity, stating that this "unilateral, almost secretive decision breaks the rules of the partnership between us." Agency officials were particularly concerned about whether donations to Israel would suffer.

In February 1995, Continuity gave £250,000, its largest single grant, for Israel programs for Anglo-Jewish youth, supplementing JIA's own contribution of £500,000 to Zionist youth programs.

Fears that Chief Rabbi Sacks's remarks about the non-Orthodox would affect the policy of Jewish Continuity were partially allayed in January 1995 when chairman Dr. Michael Sinclair confirmed that Continuity remained a "community-wide" initiative. Continuity grants in April 1995, in fact, included £26,000 to the new Masorti Academy, £23,000 to Leo Baeck College, the Progressive rabbinical training institute, and £18,200 to the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues. The safeguard for this even-handed policy was the Independent Allocations Board, which Continuity set up specifically to reassure the Progressive section in May 1994.

In June 1994 it was announced that Rabbi Dr. Daniel Sinclair would succeed Rabbi Dr. Irving Jacobs as principal of Jews College. In August the Masorti movement launched the Masorti Academy, an institution for training rabbis for the movement as well as offering an adult education course leading to a diploma. In December the British Sephardic community decided to establish a seminary to train future Sephardic rabbis, naming Dayan Dr. Pinchas Toledano, Av Bet Din of the Sephardic congregation, as principal.

At secular institutions, the Centre for Modern Hebrew Studies was established at Cambridge University in February 1994. In March the Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust Studies was founded at Leicester University. In May Oxford University announced that it would offer a B.A. in Jewish studies. In July Rabbi Dr. Norman Solomon, director of Birmingham's Centre for the Study of Judaism and Jewish-Christian Relations, was retrenched due to a funding crisis. In January 1995, Prof. Philip Alexander resigned as president of Oxford's Centre for Hebrew Studies (OCHS). A six-month dispute over the autonomy and financing of Yiddish studies at OCHS ended in April 1995 with the resignation of leading Yiddishist Dovid Katz, who became director of research of a new Oxford Institute for Yiddish Studies, which he had launched in October 1994.

Publications

The European Jewish Publication Society was established in London in February 1995, its aim to subsidize the publication of manuscripts on subjects of Jewish literary, educational, or historic interest that might not be taken up by commercial publishers.

South African-born Ronald Harwood received the 1994 Jewish Quarterly Prize for fiction for his novel *Home*; the nonfiction award went to Leo Abse for *Wotan My Enemy*, a psychoanalysis of Germany and the Germans; the poetry prize was awarded to Ron Taylor for an unpublished poem, "The White Jew of Cochín."

New literary studies included *Tradition and Trauma: Studies in the Fiction of S.J. Agnon*, edited by David Patterson and Glenda Abramson; and *Construction of "the Jew" in English Literature and Society* by Bryan Cheyette.

New works on local British history were *London Jews and British Communism, 1935–1945* by Henry Felix Srebnik; *Uniting the Tailors: Trade Unionism Amongst the Tailors of London and Leeds, 1870–1939* by Anne J. Kershen; *The Northampton Jewish Cemetery* by Michael Jolles; *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain, 1840–1920*, edited by David Englander; *The Jewish East End: Then and Now* by Aumie and Michael Shapiro; *Living Up West: Jewish Life in London's West End* by Gerry Black; *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841–1991* by David Cesarani; *Minerva or Fried Fish in a Sponge Bag: The Story of a Boarding School for Jewish Girls*, edited by Zo Josephs; *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman: The Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade, 1895–1995* by Sharman Kadish; and *We're Not All Rothschilds*, Leila Abrahams' account of Brighton and Hove Jewry.

The plethora of works inspired by the Middle East peace process included *Gaza First: The Secret Norway Channel to Peace Between Israel and the PLO* by Jane Corbin; *From War to Peace: Arab-Israeli Relations, 1973–1993*, edited by Barry Rubin, Joseph Ginat, and Moshe Maoz; *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* by Benny Morris; *Handshake in Washington: The Beginning of Middle East Peace?* by John King; two books by Shimon Peres: *Battling for Peace* and *The New Middle East*; and *Building Bridges: The Arab-Israeli Multilateral Talks* by Joel Peters, who, with Keith Kyle, also edited *Whither Israel?*; and *Israel at the Crossroads: The Challenge of Peace*, edited by Efraim Karsh and Gregory Mahler. Karsh also edited a new quarterly journal, *Israel Affairs*, which first appeared in autumn 1994.

Books about Israel included *The Gates of Gaza: Israel's Road to Suez and Back, 1955–1957* by Mordechai Bar-On; *Press and Politics in Israel* by former *Jerusalem Post* editor Erwin Frenkel; and *The Supreme Court Building, Jerusalem* by Yosef Sharon. Major works on political themes were *Democracy and Arab Political Culture* by Elie Kedourie and *On Modern Jewish Politics* by Ezra Mendelsohn.

Three Yiddish works were published by Three Sisters Yiddish Press: *Drei Shvester* (Three Sisters) by Menke Katz; *Der Flacher Shpitz* (Flat Peak) by Heershdovid Menkes (alias Dovid Katz); and *Moscover Purim Shpielen* (Moscow Purim Plays) by Gennady Estraiikh.

Holocaust literature contained several books concerning Poland, such as *Did the Children Cry?* by Richard Lukas, an account of the sufferings inflicted on Polish children by the German invaders; *A Survivor's Saga* by Richard Stern; and *Konin: A Quest* by Theo Richmond. Other new works touching on the Holocaust were *Crimes of War* by Roger Hutchinson, detailing the libel case alleged Nazi war criminal Antanas Gecas brought against Scottish Television; *Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* by Eva Fogelman; *Auschwitz and After: Race, Culture and "the Jewish Question" in France*, edited by Lawrence D. Kritzman; *A Cat Called Adolf* by Trude Levi; *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination* by Tony Kushner, a history of the British and U.S. governments' responses to the Holocaust; *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, edited by David Cesarani; and *Weekend in Munich*, Robert Wistrich's analysis of the manipulation of the arts to political ends in the Third Reich.

New and noteworthy works of fiction included *Kolymsky Heights* by Lionel Davidson; *The Marble Kiss* by Jay Rayner; *The Stamp Collector* by David Benedictus; *The Far Side of Desire* by Ralph Glasser; *Moo Park* by Gabriel Josipovici; *Dr. Clock's Last Case* by Ruth Fainlight; and *Dreamers* by Elaine Feinstein, who also published *Selected Poems*. Two books of short stories were Amy Bloom's *Come to Me* and Frederic Raphael's *The Latin Lover and Other Stories*. *Gabriel's Palace: Jewish Mystical Tales* and *Elijah's Violin and Other Jewish Fairy Tales* by Howard Schwartz, and *Broken Bridge* by Lynne Reid Banks aimed at a younger readership.

Poetry published during the period included *Wordsounds* and *Sightlines* by Michael Horovitz; *You Are, Aren't You* by Michael Rosen; *Treasury of Jewish Love: Poems, Quotations and Proverbs* by David C. Gross; *A Weekly Scotsman* by David Daiches; *Voices from the Dolls' House* by Adèle Geras; *Hebrew Poems* by David Prashker. Translated verse was represented by *Flowers of Perhaps: Selected Poems of Ra'hel*, translated by Robert Friend; and *Modern Poetry in Translation*, edited by Daniel Weissbort.

Progressive rabbi Sidney Brichto published *Funny . . . You Don't Look Jewish: A Guide to Jews and Jewish Life*. Works on religious subjects were *Moses of Oxford* by Shmuel Boteach; and *Faith in the Future* and *Will We Have Jewish Grandchildren? Jewish Continuity and How to Achieve It* by Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks.

Works on the arts included *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine, 1880-1948* by Jehoash Hirshberg.

Biographical and autobiographical studies included *Sacred Games* by Gerald Jacobs, a biography of Hungarian Jew Miklos Hammer; *Fromental Halevy* by Ruth Jordan; *Isaiah Berlin* by John Gray; and Berlin's own work, *The Magus of the North*, an introduction to the work of 18th-century German thinker Johann Georg Hamann; *A Lesser Child* by Karen Gershon; *Troublesome Boy* by Harold Rosen; *Summing Up: An Autobiography* by Yitzhak Shamir; *A Giant Among Giants*, in which Samuel C. Melnick tells the story of his grandfather, Rabbi Shmuel Kalman Melnick; *Overview*, a collection of occasional writings by Steven Berkoff; *Remembering My Good Friends* by George Weidenfeld; *As Much as I Dare* by Arnold

Wesker; *Intermittent Journals* by Dannie Abse; and *The Electronic Elephant: A Southern African Journey* by Dan Jacobson.

Two anthropological works were *Jewish Identities in the New Europe*, edited by Jonathan Webber; and *Eat and Be Satisfied: A Social History of Jewish Food* by John Cooper.

Personalia

Knighthoods went to Leslie Turnberg, professor of medicine at Manchester University and president of the Royal College of Physicians, for services to medicine; and Hans Singer, emeritus professor at Sussex University, for his contribution to economics. Nobel Prize winner Cesar Milstein, deputy director of Cambridge Medical Research Council's laboratory, was made a Companion of Honor.

Among British Jews who died in 1994 were Jack Brenner, secretary of the London Board for Shechitah and National Shechitah Council from 1948 to 1977, in January, aged 86; Jon Kimche, journalist and Middle East expert, in March, aged 83; Nakdimon Doniach, Hebrew scholar, in April, in Oxford, aged 89; Harry Farbey, AJEX general secretary, in April, in London, aged 72; Rudi Friedmann, communal worker and Zionist civil servant, in April, in London, aged 81; Clive Labovitch, Jewish communal worker and publisher, in April, aged 61; Alec Nove, Soviet scholar, in May, aged 78; Julius Emmanuel, prominent in "In Manchester" Jewish theater, in May, in Manchester, aged 78; Monty Modlyn, media personality and charity worker, in May, aged 72; Sidney Somper, Jewish educator, in June, aged 85; Stanley Segal, Jewish educator specializing in children with special needs, in June, aged 74; Shmuel Pinter, principal, London's Yesodey Hatorah schools for 40 years, in June, in London, aged 75; David Lewis, Oxford University professor of ancient history and Oxford communal figure, in July, in Oxford, aged 66; Elsie Lady Janner, outstanding Jewish communal worker, in July, in London, aged 88; Bernard, Lord Delfont of Stepney, one of the three Winogradsky (Grade) brothers powerful in the entertainment business, in July, in Angmering, Sussex, aged 84; Frank Muller, Institute of Jewish Affairs librarian for 25 years, in August, in London, aged 80; Rabbi Isaac Bernstein, controversial minister of Finchley Synagogue, in August, in London, aged 54; Elias Canetti, Nobel Prize winner in literature (1981), in August, in Zurich, aged 89; Chaim Raphael, Jewish historian, author of mystery stories under the nom de plume Jocelyn Davey, and former treasury spokesman, in October, in London, aged 86; Mary Mikardo, active socialist and Zionist, in October, in Manchester, aged 88; Marjorie Moos, Progressive Hebrew teacher, in November, in London, aged 100; Julian Symons, crime writer, in November, aged 82; Meshulam Aschkenazi, Hassidic rabbi, in November, in London, aged 92; Haskell Isaacs, medical doctor and oriental scholar, in November, in Cambridge, aged 80; Keith, Lord Joseph, former Conservative cabinet minister, in December, in London, aged 76.

British Jews who died in the first six months of 1995 included Lord Kagan,

clothing manufacturer and friend of former prime minister, Harold Wilson, in January, in London, aged 79; Harry Golombek, international chess expert, in January, in London, aged 83; Joseph Grizzard, journalist, in January, in London, aged 73; Sam Goldsmith, London editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 1958-75, in January, in London, aged 84; Miriam Karalova, Yiddish theater leading lady, in February, in London, aged 92; Bernard Olivestone, Federation of Synagogues staunch supporter, in March, aged 91; Salli Kesten, founder of the Judaica Philatelic Society, in March, in London, aged 84; Dorothy Stone, communal personality, in March, in London, aged 86; Sydney Simone, bandleader, in March, in London, aged 81; Jacob Weingreen, Hebrew scholar and grammarian, in April, in Dublin, aged 87; Arnold Abraham, Lord Goodman, British public servant and active patron of Jewish causes and Israel, in May, in London, aged 81; Nathan Rubin, former United Synagogue secretary, in May, in Guernsey, aged 74; Harold Berens, comedian, in May, in London, aged 92.

MIRIAM & LIONEL KOCHAN

The Netherlands

National Affairs

THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW—1994 and the first half of 1995—encompassed significant local and national elections and the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Holland from German occupation in World War II.

The elections for the Municipal Councils on March 12, 1994, revealed the declining popularity of both Labor (PvdA) and the Christian Democrats (CDA), partners in the government's ruling coalition for the previous four years. This trend was confirmed in the elections for the Second Chamber of Parliament on May 8, in which both Labor and the CDA lost considerably, Labor dropping from 49 to 37 seats, and the CDA from 54 to 34 seats, thus losing its place as the largest party. The center-left D'66 gained spectacularly, going from 12 to 24 seats, and the center-right Liberals (VVD) from 12 to 21 seats. The extreme right-wing Centrum Democrats went from one to three seats, and the more extreme-right C'86 got no seats at all.

With CDA and PvdA no longer holding a majority in the Second Chamber, a new coalition was formed, this time of PvdA, D'66, and the VVD, with former Labor deputy prime minister Willem Kok succeeding Ruud Lubbers (CDA) as premier, and Hans van Mierlo of D'66 as deputy prime minister and foreign minister. The composition of the new government was rather surprising, since the views of Labor and the VVD on social issues had always been diametrically opposed. Although the PvdA and D'66's campaign slogans called for change, in fact the policies of the new government were very similar to those of the previous one.

Three members of the new Second Chamber, of different parties, were born to two Jewish parents, but did not stress their Jewish identity. The new cabinet had no members of Jewish origin.

A lamentable event was the disappearance from political life of Ed van Thijn, a Jew, who had been a Labor interior minister in 1981–82, parliamentary Labor chairman in 1982–83, and mayor of Amsterdam since 1983, a position he greatly loved. When the then Labor minister of the interior died unexpectedly in January 1994, Labor leader Willem Kok urged Van Thijn to succeed her and to give up his position as Amsterdam's mayor. Van Thijn acceded to this appeal, but in May 1994, after the parliamentary elections, he and the minister of justice had to resign in connection with an alleged scandal in the Amsterdam police for which both men were held ultimately responsible. In the meantime, someone else had been appointed mayor of Amsterdam, and Van Thijn was not included by Kok in his new cabinet.

The economy in general showed favorable growth, with low inflation, though unemployment remained high, particularly among new immigrants.

The arrival of persons from Third World countries seeking political asylum in Holland continued unabated, in particular after July 1994, when Germany, Belgium, and France made admission to those countries more difficult.

V-E Day Anniversary

Plans for commemorating the end of World War II in May 1945 engendered debate over a role for Germany in the events. Fifty years after the end of the war, relations between the Netherlands and Germany were still problematic. Public-opinion polls showed that prejudice against Germans was prevalent even among young people and their parents born after 1945. At the same time, Germany was the main trading partner of the Netherlands.

In the end, German representatives were not invited to the memorial for the war dead on May 4, 1995, nor to the celebration of liberation on May 5, but were invited to an international symposium in The Hague on the future of Europe, on May 8.

German chancellor Helmut Kohl paid an official visit to Holland on May 22–23, 1995, primarily to Rotterdam, whose center had been destroyed by German Luftwaffe bombardment on May 13, 1940. In his address at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam, he called the bombing a crime, as was the entire war unleashed by Hitler; he also mentioned the Jewish victims of the Nazis in Holland.

Numerous events marked the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the Netherlands from Nazi occupation—ceremonies, exhibitions, symposia, a large number of books (most of them in Dutch), plays, TV and radio documentaries, and the like. Some dealt with local history, others with such aspects of the occupation as resistance, hiding, collaboration, Nazi reprisals, and various battles.

Many commemorative events paid special attention to the fate of the Jews, 80 percent of whom—over 102,000—perished at the hands of the Nazis. One of the themes dealt with was the inadequate help given by the large majority of the Dutch people. This point was stressed by Queen Beatrix in her official address in The Hague on May 5, as it was in her address in the Knesset in Jerusalem on March 28. In her speech on May 5 she said, *inter alia*: “In remembering the Second World War, a particular feeling of shame befits us that we did not do more for our Jewish fellow-citizens.” (See more about her address in the Knesset, below.) Another theme presented in many documentaries and programs was the hostility, or at least indifference, with which many of the survivors were met after their return from the camps or from hiding, and the difficulties they had regaining their possessions and property.

The Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, RIOD, held an international symposium in Amsterdam, April 26–28, 1995, on “Memory and the Second World War in Comparative Perspective,” with the participation of several scholars from abroad.

(See also “Holocaust Commemoration,” below.)

Israel and the Middle East

Queen Beatrix and Prince-Consort Claus paid an official three-day visit to Israel, March 27–29, 1995, after having made a similar visit to Jordan in December 1994. This was the first official visit by a Dutch royal couple to Israel. Beatrix and Claus had visited when she was still crown princess, and her mother, Juliana, had visited when she was no longer queen, with her husband, Bernhard. But in view of the hostile relations between Israel and the Arab world, successive Dutch governments had thought it inadvisable for a Dutch head of state to visit Israel. After the signing of the Oslo agreement between Israel and the PLO, the objections vanished.

The highlight of the visit was Beatrix's address to the Knesset, which was simultaneously broadcast in full on Dutch TV. Referring to the fact that the large majority of the Jews of Holland had perished during World War II, she acknowledged that, while many Dutch non-Jews had tried to save Jews at the risk of their own lives, they were the exception rather than the rule. (This was intended to debunk the myth still current among Israelis and others that nearly the entire Dutch population had helped to save the Jews.) The same observation was made by Shevach Weiss, the Knesset chairman, in his welcoming address, and had been made the night before by President Ezer Weizmann at the official dinner for the royal pair.

In what was described as a private visit, Beatrix and Claus, at their explicit wish, toured the holy places in the Old City of Jerusalem—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Al Aqsa Mosque, and the Western Wall. At the same time, Dutch foreign minister Hans van Mierlo, who accompanied the royal couple during the official part of the trip, visited Yasir Arafat in Gaza and later met with Faisal Husseini in Jerusalem. The latter had wanted the meeting to take place in Orient House—the PLO's headquarters—but the Israeli authorities objected. The meeting took place at the private residence of the Dutch representative to Jericho, who resides in Abu Tor, on the border between west and east Jerusalem.

The Netherlands Department for Development Aid to Third World countries paid for 20 Palestinian policemen from the Gaza Strip to undergo training in Holland in peaceful methods of riot control. It also donated Fl. 6 million for their maintenance in the Gaza Strip, as well as Fl. 6 million for the Palestinian Authority and Fl. 1 million for Palestinian universities, primarily Bir Zeit in the West Bank.

PLO head Yasir Arafat visited Holland on February 17–18, 1994, primarily to meet with Nelson Mandela, who was in Holland on an official visit. Arafat visited Prime Minister Lubbers, whom he asked to mediate between Israel and the PLO, and addressed a meeting of Dutch industrialists, whom he asked to invest in the autonomous areas.

The commission of the Netherlands Aviation Council (RLD) investigating the cause or causes of the disaster in which an El Al Boeing 747 cargo aircraft crashed over the Bijlmer District of southeast Amsterdam on October 4, 1992, published its conclusions on February 24, 1995. The main cause, it found, was the breaking off of engine number 3, which in turn dragged with it engine number 4. Israel was

satisfied with this conclusion. Boeing took full responsibility; 43 persons had lost their lives (including four Israelis—three crew members and a passenger) and four had been seriously wounded. Boeing paid damages, some extremely high, to 600 claimants, many of them recent immigrants. A Dutch journalist, Vincent Dekker, who had followed the disaster from the beginning, published a book titled *Going Down, Going Down*—the last words of El Al pilot Yitzhak Fuchs before crashing—in which he accused El Al of hiding part of the truth.

At the end of April 1995, the Netherlands ended its participation in the Multinational Force of Observers in the Sinai, which it had maintained since 1982 with communications personnel and military police. During these 13 years, some 2,400 Dutchmen had served in Sinai.

Anti-Semitism and Extremism

The extreme right, as represented by the Center Democrats (CD), CP'86, and the Nederland Volksfront—the latter two split-offs of the CD—were, as shown by the above-mentioned election results, relatively unimportant and far less influential than the Front National in France and the Volksfront of Filip Dewinter in Belgium. The CP'86, which was much more extreme than the CD, tried to stir up anti-immigrant sentiment through street demonstrations and marches. In May 1995, the Hague district court sentenced five members of the executive of CP'86 to fines of Fl. 10,000 each for racial discrimination and inciting xenophobia, but did not ban the party as such.

No serious cases of anti-Semitism occurred during the period under review. Neither the STIBA (Foundation for Combating Anti-Semitism) nor the CIDI (Center for Information and Documentation on Israel), which was also concerned with anti-Semitism, found much occasion for taking action.

Considerable attention was paid to a controversial book by Evelien Gans, *Goyish Envy, Jewish Narcissism*. Gans, a woman of Jewish origins with strong left-wing leanings who had recently regained interest in her Jewish roots, charged that there was considerable anti-Semitism in Holland, largely inspired by non-Jewish envy of Jews enjoying and exploiting their status as victims. A large part of her book was devoted to the columnist Theo van Gogh, whose writings in various media habitually ridiculed persons of Jewish origin, primarily the youngish Jewish author Leon de Winter, who had brought lawsuits against van Gogh on and off for the past ten years.

Van Gogh in turn attacked Gans in his column in the weekly of the University of Amsterdam, *Folia*, using offensive language that led to his dismissal from the paper. Van Gogh continued, however, as a columnist for other media, including television, claiming his right to "freedom of expression."

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Netherlands Ashkenazic community (NIK) reported its membership at the end of 1994 at 5,620, against 5,703 at the end of 1993. Three fifths, or 3,032 members, were living in the Amsterdam area, 387 in the Rotterdam area, and 382 in the Hague area; the remainder were scattered in 9 middle-sized and 21 very small communities. The membership of the Sephardic community, largely based in Amsterdam, was about five hundred, including recent immigrants from Middle Eastern countries. The membership of the Liberal Jewish community (LJG), with six congregations, was about 2,500.

Since the total number of Jews or persons of Jewish origin in Holland was estimated at between 25,000 and 30,000, this meant that only about one-third belonged to the organized religious community. Some 10 percent or so were members of general Jewish groups, such as Maccabi or WIZO. Still others limited their Jewish contacts to making use of the services of Jewish welfare organizations to apply for benefits to war victims.

Communal Affairs

Within the NIK, Rabbi Lody van de Kamp, who had been a communal rabbi of The Hague since 1981 and of Amsterdam since 1988, became the rabbi of the Ashkenazic community in the Rotterdam area in August 1994. The board of the Amsterdam Ashkenazic community (NIHS) decided not to appoint a third rabbi as Van de Kamp's successor but to leave the number of communal rabbis at two. Sam Behar, age 62, a member of the Sephardic congregation and a former army chaplain, was appointed to do pastoral work for 12 hours a week.

The stability of the NIK and the NIHS was threatened by a rift between a small group of ultra-Orthodox Jews, led by former chief rabbi Meir Just and communal rabbi Frank Lewis, and the majority, which supported the Orthodox character of the community but was more tolerant of different views. The conflict was expressed in various issues, one being the institution of more stringent conditions for the conversion of a non-Jewish partner in a mixed marriage.

The conflict between Rabbi Just and the executive of the NIK over the funds received by the chief rabbinate for supervision of kosher slaughter was resolved in 1995. Rabbi Just had claimed that he was entitled to use these funds at his own discretion, specifically to finance a preparatory yeshivah for two 14-year-old boys who later were to attend a yeshivah abroad. The parties agreed that the money belonged to the NIK as such and not to the chief rabbinate, but that the NIK should use it mainly for strengthening religious activities among Dutch Jewry (though not to educate the two boys).

Rabbi Shmuel Katzmann, age 27, originally from New York and a son-in-law of

Rabbi Isaac Vorst of Amsterdam, was appointed a second Ashkenazi rabbi in The Hague, primarily in charge of the Scheveningen congregation and the recently opened Jewish old-age home there. Katzmann and the earlier appointed rabbi, Pinchas Meijers, and Rabbi Vorst all belonged to Chabad-Lubavitch. Meijers and Katzmann both received their training at Chabad institutions abroad.

In Amsterdam, the small synagogue in Linnaeus Street in the eastern part of the city was closed down for lack of worshippers. Most of the congregants had moved to the south of the city, where the suburb of Amstelveen now had the main concentration of Jews. For the same reason, the Sephardic community bought a house in Amstelveen where services could be held. The Sephardic community appointed 24-year-old Mordechai Enekar, born in Morocco, as assistant rabbi. He received his training at the Gateshead Yeshivah in England.

The David Henriques de Castro Foundation was established to raise money for the restoration of the tombstones in the nearly 400-year-old Sephardic cemetery at Ouderkerk, southeast of Amsterdam. Henriques de Castro was the author of a monumental work on the tombstones of this burial ground, written a century ago.

A conflict arose in the Liberal Jewish synagogue in Amsterdam about the wearing of a *tallit* (prayer shawl) by women during services. A number of women, largely from the United States or otherwise newcomers to the community, had introduced this custom, to which the majority of the established members objected. It was agreed that Rabbi David Lilienthal would help decide each case individually.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Liberal Jewish monthly *Levend Joods Geloof*, a symposium was held in Amsterdam in January 1995 on the theme "Europe, A Many-coloured Coat," on the contributions Jews have made to European civilization.

The new building of the Cheider, the strictly Orthodox Jewish school, was officially dedicated on February 2, 1994, at an impressive ceremony attended by Princess Margriet. It had been unofficially in use since November 1993.

A new Jewish old-age home, the Mr. L.E. Visser Home, was opened in Scheveningen near The Hague, to replace the Jewish old-age home in Rotterdam. It contains a synagogue that also serves residents and tourists in this seaside resort and replaces the former synagogue at the Harstenhoekway, which was closed down. Many months after the official opening of the Visser Home, some 20 rooms were still unoccupied for lack of candidates.

JMW opened a second house in Amsterdam for the temporary accommodation of Jews applying for asylum in Holland whose applications had not yet been acted on. At the same time, beginning in December 1994, JMW ceased giving legal assistance to applicants for asylum in Holland who came from Russia and claimed to be Jews but were not, having made use of forged papers or of papers they bought.

WIZO Holland was host to the European WIZO conference, December 11-12, 1994, which had as its theme "Equal Rights for Women." With funds collected in Holland, WIZO opened a center in the Arab village of Rihaniyah in Galilee.

The European branch of the International Council of Jewish Women held a

conference in Amsterdam in the Liberal Jewish Center in March 1995, with the participation of women from 22 European countries, on the theme "Jewish Identity Under Pressure."

Holocaust Commemoration

The central Jewish commemoration of the end of World War II and the liberation of Holland, organized jointly by the three Jewish communities—Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Liberal—was held in the Sephardic Esnoga in Amsterdam on Sunday afternoon May 7, 1995, almost 50 years to the day that the first synagogue service in liberated Amsterdam took place in the same sanctuary, which, as a protected monument, had been left untouched by the Germans. Those taking part then, with the late Rabbi Justus Tal conducting the service, had just emerged from their hiding places in the Amsterdam area, largely still unaware of the fate of their dear ones.

The Esnoga was also chosen for the present event because it is the largest synagogue building in Amsterdam—to its 1,100 seats were added benches so that overall it could accommodate 1,400. Tickets were no longer available a fortnight before the event.

Although *Yizkor* and *Kaddish* were recited, as well as prayers for the royal family and for the State of Israel, this was not a religious service. Former chief rabbi Meir Just had objected to participating in a religious service together with representatives of the Liberal Jewish community and had even forbidden Chief Cantor Hans Bloemendal to officiate. The solution found was to have Bloemendal sing as a soloist in the synagogue choir, but not as *hazzan*. The dispute received much publicity, in the general as well as the Jewish press.

The impressive ceremony was attended by Prince-Consort Claus, by Crown Prince Willem-Alexander, by Premier Willem Kok, who was one of the speakers, and by the Israeli ambassador. The entire event lasted over an hour and was shown in full on Dutch television. Other speakers were Rabbi Barend Drukarch, of the Sephardic community, who as a young man had survived in hiding in Amsterdam, and former mayor of Amsterdam Ed van Thijn.

The commemoration of Yom Hashoah (Holocaust Memorial Day) on April 26, 1995, took place, as it had for many years, in the courtyard of the Hollandsche Schouwburg, the former Amsterdam theater that was used by the Germans from September 1942 to September 1944 as a collecting point for Jews who had been rounded up and were awaiting transport to Westerbork, a concentration camp. The annual ceremony, which is organized jointly by several Jewish congregations and organizations and is always attended by representatives of the civil authorities, including the present mayor of Amsterdam, Schelto Patijn, was unusually well attended this time.

A few weeks earlier, on April 12, a ceremony took place at Westerbork, in the east of the country, to commemorate its liberation exactly 50 years earlier by

Canadian soldiers. Among those present were survivors, representatives of the Israeli and German embassies, and Crown Prince Willem-Alexander. At the time of liberation only 800 Jews were still in the camp. The other nearly 100,000 who had stayed there at one time or another had all been deported to extermination camps in the east, and only 6,000 of them survived. Also memorialized were the 245 Gypsies who in June 1943 had been rounded up and taken to Westerbork and then to the east, of whom only a few dozen survived.

OTHER EVENTS

In connection with the 50th anniversary of liberation, a number of memorial tablets were unveiled for local Jews who had perished. These were, among others, in The Hague at the site of a former Jewish center; in Dinxperlo, at the site of the former synagogue; in Bois-le-Duc, for the pupils of the Jewish school who had perished; and in the village of Gennep.

In November 1994, the small synagogue of Middelburg, which had been destroyed 50 years earlier by a British shell during the battle for the island of Walcheren, was renovated, thanks to the efforts of a local, largely non-Jewish, committee. As very few Jews now lived in the entire province of Zeeland, it would also be used as a cultural center. On January 30, 1995, the 18th-century synagogue of Amersfoort, which had been in bad repair and been renovated, likewise largely through local efforts, was rededicated.

Among many exhibitions related to the war were "Children in Westerbork" at the Westerbork Center; "Rebel mijn hart" (Rebel, my heart) at the Resistance Museum in Amsterdam, devoted to artists who lost their lives during the German occupation either in the resistance or because they were Jews; and an exhibition of art by Art Spiegelman for his *Maus* books at the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam.

A number of documentaries on the suffering of the Jews from Holland during the years 1940–45 were presented by various Dutch broadcasting companies, both on TV and radio. Some had been shown earlier, such as these two by Willy Lindwer: *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank* and *Child in Two Worlds*, about the reactions of Jewish children to their stay with non-Jewish foster parents.

A new production by Willy Lindwer was *The Fatal Dilemma*, a balanced look at the much maligned "Joodsche Raad" (Jewish Council) that was established by order of the Germans and that was accused after the war of having collaborated and cooperated in the deportation of most Jews from Holland. A book on the subject was published simultaneously.

Settela, a documentary by Aad Wagenaar, a journalist, contended that the girl in a well-known picture—wearing a head scarf and looking out of a train wagon in Westerbork just as the doors were about to close—was not Jewish but a Gypsy girl, Settela Steinbach. On June 16, 1944, she was deported from Westerbork, together with 244 other Gypsies. The picture was a still from a film about Wester-

bork made at the order of the Nazi camp commander by the German-Jewish filmmaker Rudolf Breslauer, who himself was deported on September 4, 1944.

Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* was the most popular film in Holland in 1994. It was launched at a gala premiere, the proceeds of which went to the Anne Frank Foundation to help fund the worldwide showing of its documentary *The World of Anne Frank*.

The Survivors of the Shoah Project of the Spielberg Visual History Foundation, which records the personal stories of survivors, was launched in Holland in February 1995. Some 120 interviewers were selected from 200 applicants, most of them non-Jewish. The goal was to interview about a thousand survivors from Holland, but by the end of May only 85 persons had shown an interest in being included.

The Yad Vashem Memorial in Jerusalem continued to honor Righteous Gentiles in Holland. The ceremony held on June 6, 1995, at which 19 awards were presented, 10 of them posthumously, had a very special character, because of the 50th anniversary of liberation. It took place in the Sephardic Esnoga in Amsterdam, which was filled to capacity, and was jointly organized by the Israeli embassy, the Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Liberal Jewish communities, and the Friends of Yad Vashem Society. The awards were presented by the director of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, A. Shalev. The speakers were Minister of Defense Joris Voorhoeve and Rabbi Benyamin Jacobs. A special feature of the event was a video presentation in which each of the rescuers, or one of his or her children, and one of the Jews he or she had helped to survive, told of their shared experiences.

The much disputed proposal to give a Yad Vashem award to Alfons Zündler, the German guard at the Hollandse Schouwburg in 1942–43 who had helped several Jews to escape but who had been a member of the SS, continued to arouse protest from an ad hoc action committee. Yad Vashem eventually decided to send him a letter of thanks but not to give him an award.

At the end of April 1995, a reunion took place in Amsterdam between Luba Tryczynskaja, now living in Miami, Florida, and the 50 or so Jewish children she had helped to survive in Bergen Belsen, after their parents had been deported from there in December 1994. "The angel of Bergen Belsen," as she was called, received the Silver Medal of the Municipality of Amsterdam.

On May 7, 1995, prior to the central Jewish commemoration of VE-Day in the Esnoga, the Genootschap voor de Joodse Wetenschap, the Jewish Historical Society, organized a symposium on "Dutch Jewry 1945–2020," which was attended by some 180 persons. The symposium was also held to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the society, which was established in 1919 by a small group of Jewish scholars engaged in Jewish studies. The society was now open to all interested Jewish university graduates and had a membership of about 350. Meetings were held about eight times a year.

The Jewish women's organization Deborah, in connection with the commemorations of the 50th anniversary of liberation, organized a symposium on "Jewish Women in the Resistance Movement."

Other Holocaust-Related Matters

Following the lead of the Second Chamber of Parliament, the Senate voted on July 7, 1994, to cease giving permanent payments under the Law for Payments to War Victims (WUV) to members of the second and later generations, those born after World War II. Financial support for psychiatric treatment would be continued, however. The Jewish Social Welfare Foundation (JMW), the Organization of Second Generation Victims, and the three main Jewish communities protested, as did the Organization of Jewish War Victims from Holland in Israel, Ayalah.

JMW began organizing programs for Jews still feeling the effects, in one way or another, of their experiences during the years 1940–45. In March 1994, it offered a well-attended conference on "The Jewish Child During the War," for members of the first, second, and third generations. In May it presented a conference in The Hague for the same constituency on "Speaking About Silence," which was attended by some 400 persons and was opened by the minister of social welfare. The conference received much attention in the media.

The Anne Frank Foundation, which is not a Jewish institution, received permission from the Amsterdam municipality to expand the Anne Frank House by demolishing some adjoining houses. The Anne Frank House had become much too small to accommodate the thousands of visitors a day (some 600,000 a year), with long queues always waiting outside. The costs of the reconstruction, which were estimated at some \$10 million, would be defrayed partly by the Amsterdam municipality and partly, it was expected, by sponsors.

Culture

The Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam continued to receive a large number of visitors. In the period under review, it opened one semi-permanent exhibition, which would be on view for the next five years, on the participation of Jews in the economic life of the Netherlands since 1796, and four temporary exhibits. One offered some 40 paintings by the German-Jewish painter Felix Nussbaum (1904–1944), organized with the cooperation of the Kulturgeschichtliches Museum in Osnabruck, where he was born and grew up. His parents moved to Amsterdam after *Kristallnacht* in 1938 and were eventually deported; the artist and his wife lived in Brussels, from where, in 1944, he too was deported. Another temporary exhibition was of sketches by Art Spiegelman for his cartoon novels *Maus I and II*, and a third consisted of photographs of monuments and posters created by Dutch-Jewish artist Ralph Prins, born in 1926, both for Jewish memorials and for Amnesty International.

The fourth and most important of the temporary exhibitions was titled "The Marginal Great," featuring works of some 60 Dutch-Jewish painters who were active between 1845 and 1940. The works were either on loan for the exhibition or were in the possession of the museum but not usually shown to the public. There

were paintings by both well-known and lesser-known painters, and only some of the works had explicit Jewish subjects.

An International Jewish Music Festival was held in Amsterdam, November 16–29, 1994, with special attention to klezmer music. Among the performers was the American Klezmer Conservatory Band.

Publications

A large number of books published in 1994 and early 1995, nearly all of them in Dutch only, were personal accounts by Jews of their wartime experiences.

Two new noteworthy books not related to the Holocaust, written entirely or partly in English, were *From Peddlers to Factory Owners: Jewish Enterprises in the Netherlands 1796–1940*, edited by Hetty Berg and others, a companion to the exhibition in the Jewish Historical Museum; and *Treasures of Jewish Booklore*, containing 50 contributions by specialists in their own fields on rare books in the possession of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, the Hebraica and Judaica department of the Amsterdam University Library. The magnificently produced, illustrated volume was published on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Leiser Rosenthal (1794–1868), whose library forms the nucleus of the present Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana and was presented by his heirs to the Amsterdam municipality.

Geoffrey Wigoder's *Joodse Cultuur*, a richly illustrated work, appeared in Dutch translation before its publication in the original English.

Popular novelist Leon de Winter was invited by the Commission for the Promotion of the Dutch Book (CPNB) to write the "Book Week Present" for 1995, a 96-page paperback given free of charge to anyone spending a specified amount during the annual Book Week. Like previous works, his new novella, *Serenade*, deals with a Jewish theme. It is about a Jewish woman, the mother of the "I" who is more or less the alter ego of the author, a survivor of the Holocaust, who suddenly disappears into Bosnia where she wants to help the victims—a most improbable plot in which sex plays a large part. Despite some protests over the sexual content, the Ministry of Education distributed 200,000 copies to high-school students—linking it to the 50th anniversary of Dutch liberation.

Personalia

Gerhard L. Durlacher received the 1995 Anne Frank Prize of the Anne Frank Fund in Basle as well as the AKO Prize (Dutch booksellers) for his novel *Quarantaine*, based on his experiences on returning from the concentration camps to Holland. A sociologist by profession, who began writing about his wartime experiences when he was in his fifties, he was also awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Amsterdam.

Otto Treumann, aged 75, a graphic designer, was honored by the Foundation for the Graphic Arts for his life's work. In addition to commissions for non-Jewish

organizations, he designed a "logo" for El Al and designs for many Jewish organizations in Holland, such as the Jewish National Fund.

In the Queen's Birthday List for 1995, the award of Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau was given to, among others, Prof. Hans Bloemendal, chief cantor of the Ashkenazic congregation of Amsterdam; Mrs. R. ("Ted") Musaph (née Andriess), inter alia chairwoman of the board of governors of the Jewish Historical Museum; and Rabbi Avraham Soetendorp, the Liberal rabbi of The Hague.

Mrs. Anna Cohn (née Erwtelman) became chairwoman of the European branch of WIZO. Jaap Meijers and Herman Menco were succeeded as chairman and honorary treasurer of the United Israel Campaign by Joseph Elburg and Dick Bruinsma, respectively.

Among prominent Dutch Jews who died in 1994 and the first half of 1995 were Prof. Ivo Samkalden, a former minister of justice and from 1967 to 1977 mayor of Amsterdam, aged 82; Manuel Ph. Menco, for 23 years chairman of the Jewish community of Groningen and at the time of his death a member of the executive of the Netherlands Ashkenazi community, aged 68; Edna Rafaelowitz, Polish-born, with her late husband one of the champions of Yiddish in Holland, aged 82; Hermann Bleich, Polish-born journalist who came to Holland in 1938 and after 1945 became Dutch correspondent for many Swiss and German papers and for the Israeli *Ma'ariv* as well as chairman of the Association of Foreign Correspondents in Holland, aged 78; and in Israel, Aaron Schuster, chief rabbi of Amsterdam from 1953 to 1972, a founder of the Conference of European Rabbis, aged 89.

HENRIETTE BOAS

Italy

National Affairs

ITALIAN PUBLIC LIFE IN 1994 and early 1995 was marked by tempest and turmoil. Italians went to the polls in the wake of three years of corruption investigations and political upheaval that destroyed the political parties that had ruled the country since World War II and disgraced numerous luminaries. Parliamentary elections were held March 27, 1994, coinciding with the first day of Passover. Following Jewish and other protests, state authorities extended voting until after sundown on March 28 so that observant Jews could vote.

The elections caused grave concern in the Jewish community. They brought a stunning victory to a center-right "Freedom Alliance" coalition headed by media magnate Silvio Berlusconi. Berlusconi, who only entered politics in January 1994, allied his new Forza Italia party with the federalist Northern League and the National Alliance—a new right-wing party based on the neofascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) and led by MSI leader Gianfranco Fini. National Alliance candidate Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of Il Duce, trounced her opposition to win a Parliament seat in Naples. Berlusconi's 25-member cabinet included five members from the National Alliance, three of whom were MSI members. This marked the first time in postwar Europe that members of a neofascist party entered government, and the development drew protest and warning from many quarters within Italy and abroad. Italian officials went out of their way to play down this concern and reiterate their belief in the democratic process. In May, for example, Foreign Minister Antonio Martino met with Jewish leaders in Washington to reassure them that the government was not extremist.

The new president of the Chamber of Deputies, Irene Pivetti, also caused some initial concern. A fundamentalist Catholic, Pivetti had been cited for anti-Semitic writings in the Institute of Jewish Affairs' 1993 *Anti-Semitism World Report*. Two months after she took office in April, Pivetti met with Rome chief rabbi Elio Toaff and Israeli ambassador Avi Pazner, who also met with Foreign Minister Martino.

In August, Labor Minister Clemente Mastella sparked accusations of anti-Semitism against Berlusconi's government when newspapers quoted him as blaming the weakness of the lira at least partly on New York Jewish financiers. "The presence of the National Alliance in the government worries New York's Jewish lobby," Mastella was quoted as saying. "Jewish high finance still does not get the distinction between the old [neo-fascist] Italian Social Movement and the National Alliance. We should explain to them that the evolutionary line carried forward by Gianfranco Fini is increasingly distant from the old concept of a static and nostalgic right."

Mastella apologized for his remarks, saying that they had been taken out of context and misinterpreted by the media. He had what the Labor Ministry termed a "long and friendly conversation" with Chief Rabbi Toaff to "[clarify] the sense of the words which when distorted provoked an unjustified row." Toaff accepted the explanation but warned of what he believed was rising anti-Semitism in Italy.

Berlusconi was forced to resign in December, after being notified that he was under investigation for corruption and after the Northern League pulled out of the coalition. A government of technocrats headed by banker Lamberto Dini, which did not include neofascists, took over. Meanwhile, in a national convention in late January 1995, Fini formally cut National Alliance links with the MSI and declared the National Alliance a mainstream rightist party that rejected racism and extremism. Some hard-line MSI members refused to go along and maintained their own small party.

Jews tended to remain skeptical of the change in the National Alliance and wary of Fini, however. In February 1995, the Martin Buber-Jews for Peace group, a political-cultural organization dedicated to combating racism and anti-Semitism and promoting Jewish cultural activities and Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, issued an open letter to American Jewish groups urging them not to meet with Fini if he traveled to the United States.

In regional elections in April 1995, right-wing forces, including the National Alliance, did far worse than expected, with center-left candidates scoring impressive victories. Jewish leaders expressed satisfaction at this.

Israel and the Middle East

The dramatic changes in Italy's political system and ruling elite in the wake of the wide-ranging corruption scandals combined to create a closer relationship between Italy and Israel. The foreign policy of Italy's previous governments, dominated by the Christian Democratic Party, was overtly pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian, and the left-wing Communist opposition was also strongly anti-Zionist.

The evolution of a new political leadership—paralleling the positive evolution of the Middle East peace process—influenced a change in foreign policy direction to one noticeably friendlier to Israel. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres both visited Italy in 1994. In the late spring and early summer of 1995, Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli arranged to host secret Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in several locations in Italy.

Vatican-Israel Relations

Events unfolded rapidly following the agreement between Israel and the Vatican to establish full diplomatic relations, signed December 30, 1993. Three weeks after the agreement was signed, Archbishop Andrea Cordero Lanza di Montezemolo was named the Vatican's first envoy to Israel, and veteran Israeli diplomat Shmuel

Hadas was named Israel's first envoy to the Holy See. Italian-born Lanza di Montezemelo, 68, had considerable experience in the Middle East and at the time of his nomination was serving as the Holy See's Apostolic Delegate to Jerusalem and Palestine and as the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio to Cyprus.

In early February 1994, a huge interfaith conference brought 750 Christian and Jewish leaders from 92 nations to Jerusalem, among them senior Vatican officials. Israeli prime minister Rabin met with Pope John Paul II at the Vatican in March 1994 and asked him to use the Vatican's influence with the PLO and Arab states to get the Middle East peace process back on track. At the meeting Rabin also renewed Israel's invitation for the pope to visit Israel. No specific dates were mentioned, but a Vatican spokesman said the pope accepted the invitation "with the sincere hope that circumstances will permit him to make this desired visit." Foreign Minister Shimon Peres also reiterated the invitation during a meeting with the pope at the Vatican in November 1994. During 1994 and early 1995, John Paul several times said he wanted to visit Israel and the Holy Land and walk in biblical footsteps, particularly as the year 2000 approached.

Full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel were finally formalized in June 1994, and Lanza di Montezemelo and Hadas were confirmed as ambassadors. Two weeks later, the Dead Sea Scrolls went on display at the Vatican, marking the first time the scrolls had been exhibited in Europe, and the first time that an official Israeli exhibition had gone on show at the Vatican.

Meanwhile, the Vatican also improved its relations with the Arab world. The Vatican established diplomatic relations with Jordan on March 3, 1994. In mid-January 1994, a delegation from the Palestine Liberation Organization met with senior officials at the Vatican in a move to open more regular contacts between them, which led to formal diplomatic ties being established in October. The links fell short, however, of full diplomatic relations.

Racism and Anti-Semitism

Racist attacks, skinhead activities, and manifestations of anti-Semitism worried Jews and non-Jews alike. Concern was also raised by a form of revisionism manifested in a growing trend to depict wartime fascists as victims on a par with the victims or opponents of fascism. The reevaluation of fascism and its legacy became a subject of widespread debate in the media and in political and intellectual circles.

In December 1994, for example, an organization of fascist war veterans put up about 1,000 posters bearing a large portrait of Mussolini on Milan walls. This was to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Italian Social Republic, Mussolini's fascist puppet state set up in 1944 in northern Italy after the Allies took over the southern part of Italy. The placing of the posters was approved by city officials but sparked protest from opposition parties. Independent Milan city councilman Nando Dalla Chiesa branded the posters an example of the "irresponsible institutional legitimization of those who were accomplices of the tragedy of the

Holocaust." In March 1995, a group of 11 Italian historians touched off a related debate in some intellectual circles by writing a letter to *La Stampa* newspaper defending the right of Holocaust deniers and revisionists to publish their beliefs, calling it a free-speech issue. The letter was in response to the decision by the French government, following other governments, to ban such publications.

Numerous incidents of racist violence and vandalism and skinhead activity were publicly condemned by Jewish leaders. In February 1994, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (UCEI) issued a strong denunciation of "the acts of racism against immigrants and refugees that take place almost every day in Italy." Most racist incidents involved dark-skinned immigrants, but there were also some specifically anti-Semitic episodes. In one such episode, in early January 1994, a local priest in Rome, Don Curzio Nitoglia, delivered a sermon with a strong anti-Semitic message during a service held to commemorate the killing of three neofascist youths 16 years earlier. The priest's remarks were in sharp contrast to the overall positive developments in Jewish-Christian relations and came just a few days after Israel and the Vatican signed an agreement paving the way to full diplomatic relations. Also in January, a Rome court sentenced a 22-year-old youth to four months in jail for anti-Semitic vandalism amounting to "apologizing for genocide," then released him on conditional liberty. His conviction was for actions in November 1992, when a group of skinheads stuck up adhesive signs bearing a star of David and slogans such as "Zionists out of Italy" on a number of shops belonging to Jews in a Rome neighborhood. A Norwegian Jewish woman living in the central Italian town of Assisi was attacked twice—once in August 1994 and again in January 1995—in assaults apparently motivated by anti-Semitism.

In May 1994, a rally by 300 skinheads was held in the northern city of Vicenza with the authorization of Vicenza's police chief, prompting outrage and protest both locally and nationwide. The police chief and another official were removed from their positions. One week after the skinhead rally, about 3,000 people staged an antiskinhead demonstration in Vicenza. The demonstration, however, was marred by violent incidents between ultra-left-wing demonstrators and rightists, despite a heavy police presence.

In 1995, a bar owner in Bolzano in northern Italy touched off a furor by selling bottles of red wine labeled with the pictures of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Bolzano is the capital of Italy's Alto Adige, or South Tyrol, region, which was part of Austria until World War I and has a mixed German and Italian-speaking population. The South Tyrolean People's Party, which represents German speakers in Alto Adige, tried to have the bar owner prosecuted for selling his Mussolini wine, but a judge ruled that the wine label did not contravene Italian laws against fascist propaganda.

Researchers at the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation (CDEC) in Milan kept careful track of racist and anti-Semitic trends, manifestations, and publications. A research center largely devoted to studies and documentation on the Holocaust and anti-Semitism in Italy, CDEC marked its 40th year of operation in 1995.

Nazi War Criminals

The case of Erich Priebke and efforts by Italian authorities to have him extradited to Italy from Argentina to face war-crimes charges was a developing issue of major concern. Priebke, an SS captain and deputy to Herbert Kappler, the Gestapo chief during the Nazi occupation of Rome, was tracked down in early May 1994 in the Argentine Andean town of San Carlo Bariloche by ABC News. Italy asked that Priebke, 81, be extradited on charges of involvement in the massacre at the Ardeatine Caves of 335 Romans, 75 of them Jews, carried out in March 1944 in reprisal for a partisan attack that killed 33 German storm troopers in Rome. Priebke escaped from a British prisoner-of-war camp in 1948, just before he was to appear before a war-crimes tribunal, and fled to Argentina. As of May 1995, Argentine authorities said Priebke would be extradited, but no date was set. In the wake of the Priebke case, an Italian magazine claimed in late May 1994 that nine Nazi war criminals either currently lived or had lived at one time in Italy with impunity since World War II.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

Some 35,000–40,000 Jews lived in Italy. There were more than a score of organized Jewish communities, only one of them, Naples, south of Rome. Most Italian Jews lived in the country's two main cities: 15,000 in Rome and 10,000 in Milan. The other communities ranged from a few dozen to just over 1,000 Jews, and a number of other Jews lived scattered in towns and cities without organized community facilities.

Communal Affairs

In July 1994, delegates from all Italian Jewish communities gathered in Rome for the Congress of the Rome-based Union of Italian Jewish Communities (UCEI), the umbrella organization of Italian Jewry. The congress is held every four years to elect officials and chart Italian Jewry's official policy for the next four years: policy within the community, relations with Italian society at large, and formal relations with state institutions. The three-day congress was given wide coverage in the Italian media. Italian president Oscar Luigi Scalfaro opened the meetings with a speech underlining the importance of Jewish culture in Italian life.

Delegates elected a new council and retained Tullia Zevi as president of the union. The first woman president of the organization, she had served in that office since 1983.

Delegates unanimously passed a resolution calling for vigilance against right-wing extremism and neofascism in Italy and urging international Jewish organizations to

consider local Jewish opinion before meeting with right-wing Italian politicians. The resolution warned that "the theory of historical revisionism today finds grounds for legitimization in the creation of a 'gray zone' in which the struggle for liberation and Nazi-Fascism, and thus democracy and barbarism, are being placed on the same plane."

Other resolutions dealt with financial matters and fund-raising; urged decentralization of UCEI activities; reiterated support for Israel in the peace process; recommended a solution be found for small communities that have no rabbi and few Jewish facilities; proposed plans for enhancing Jewish cultural and educational activities; and urged greater collaboration between the Beth Dins (rabbinical courts) in Milan and Rome, particularly on such matters as dietary laws and conversion. Resolutions also dealt with the problems (financial and other) of safeguarding the Jewish cultural heritage in Italy, suggested compilation of a catalogue of Jewish artistic and cultural treasures, and urged formal coordination among the growing number of Jewish museums in Italy.

The year 1994 saw the growth of Jewish community centers in Italy, particularly the center in Rome, which programmed many activities, courses, lectures, and social events. There was also a strengthening of relations and activities linking Italian Jews and other Jewish communities in the Mediterranean region. This took place within the framework of a Mediterranean regional group sponsored by the European Council of Jewish Communities and initiated at the end of 1993.

Numerous Jewish organizations of all types operated in Italy. These included WIZO, ORT, Hashomer Hatzair, Keren Hayesod-Hamagbith (UJA), Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael (Jewish National Fund), the Union of Young Zionists, the Italian Jewish Youth Federation, the Italian Sephardic Federation, and the Martin Buber-Jews for Peace group, a politically active organization of young adults.

In addition, there were organizations specifically dedicated to relations between Italy and Italians, Jewish or not, and Israel. The Federation of Italy-Israel Associations, founded in 1989 to spread knowledge of Israel in Italy, included 50 chapters throughout the country, with a total of 2,000 members. The Europe-Israel Association, formed informally during the Gulf War to disseminate correct information about Israel, was officially constituted in 1992. It sponsored a wide range of events and initiatives aimed at making Israel and the Jewish experience better known in Italy.

Principal Jewish publications included *Shalom*, the magazine of the Rome Jewish community; *The Bulletin* of the Milan Jewish community; *Ha Kehilah*, the newsletter of the Turin Jewish community; and *Rassegna Mensile d'Israel*, an intellectual and literary monthly published in Rome, which celebrated its 70th year of publication in 1995.

Italian Jewish communities faced a number of challenges, many of them related to the small size of the community as a whole. An officer of the Rome Jewish community described assimilation and intermarriage as a "serious problem," but said that many children of mixed marriages were brought up as Jews. (The intermar-

riage rate was about 50 percent, comparable to the rest of Europe.) In March 1994, about 70 people from European countries and Israel took part in a strictly kosher Jewish singles weekend at a Milan hotel, organized by Armonia, Italy's first Jewish matchmaking organization, set up 18 months earlier. Among many other Jewish youth activities sponsored by communities and organizations was a gathering of 70 young people from Rome, Milan, and Barcelona at a thermal resort in Tuscany, April 29-May 1, 1995, for a seminar on "Friendship and Sexuality," organized by the Jewish community of Milan. Speakers included a rabbi, a doctor, and a psychologist.

Religion

The ritual orientation of Italian Jews was Orthodox, with communities divided among Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Italian Jewish rites. Many of the Sephardim in today's communities, particularly in Rome and Milan, immigrated over the past 30 years from North Africa and the Middle East. There was no chief rabbi for all of Italy, but Rome's chief rabbi, Elio Toaff, was a nationally known figure, highly respected among non-Jews as well as Jews.

Chabad Lubavitch, which had a decades-long presence in Italy, became accepted as a more "mainstream" part of the Italian Jewish scene, thanks to a change in policy by the Italian Rabbinical Assembly, which accorded a seat in the assembly to a Lubavitch rabbi and sought to foster better relations. Chabad's activities were mainly in Milan and Rome (Chabad marked 18 years of activity in Rome with a gala dinner in March 1995). In Venice, home to only 500 or so Jews, a Lubavitch rabbi and his wife had opened a Chabad house in the Ghetto in the early '90s, selling books and kosher supplies. During Hanukkah, they set up a huge menorah in a gondola and took it around Venice's canals.

Jewish-Catholic Relations

On the eve of Holocaust Memorial Day (Yom HaShoah), on April 7, 1994, Pope John Paul II hosted an unprecedented concert at the Vatican to commemorate the Holocaust. Some 7,500 people, including cardinals, diplomats, Jewish Holocaust survivors, and numerous political and religious leaders, attended the event at the modernistic Pope Paul VI Hall, where the pope holds general audiences, and millions more saw it on international television. The concert was conceived and conducted by American Jewish maestro Gilbert Levine, who for several years was conductor of the Krakow Philharmonic in Poland. The actor Richard Dreyfuss recited *Kaddish* in an excerpt from Leonard Bernstein's *Kaddish* Symphony. Other musical works performed were by Beethoven, Bruch, and Schubert. At the conclusion of the concert the pope spoke eloquently about the Holocaust and called for a long moment of silence in commemoration.

Two new American cardinals appointed by the pope in October 1994, William

Keeler of Baltimore and Adam Maida of Detroit, were considered friendly to the Jewish community. Keeler, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, had long been involved in Catholic-Jewish dialogue.

In July 1994, the pope angered and perplexed Jews by naming former Austrian president Kurt Waldheim a "papal knight." Waldheim, a former secretary-general of the United Nations, was a Nazi intelligence officer in the Balkans during World War II and had been implicated in the deportations of Jews and reprisal killings of anti-Nazi partisans in the region.

On the occasion of the Day of Christian-Jewish Dialogue, January 16, 1994, a meeting was held in the northern city of Bergamo to launch a campaign to create a forest of 10,000 trees in Israel in memory of Pope John XXIII and Jules Isaac, a French Jewish historian who lost his family in the Holocaust and who after the war promoted Christian-Jewish dialogue. The meeting was sponsored by the diocese of Bergamo, Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael (Jewish National Fund), and the Federation of Italy-Israel Associations.

The year 1995 marked the 30th anniversary of the landmark Vatican document "Nostra Aetate," which opened the way to modern Catholic-Jewish dialogue. In February 1995, American Jewish Committee leaders met with the pope at the Vatican to mark the anniversary. At the meeting they asked him to issue an encyclical condemning anti-Semitism.

Holocaust-Related Matters

Educating young Italians about Judaism and recent history, including the Holocaust and World War II, was a continuing concern of Italian Jews. In early 1995, a survey of 1,000 Italian young people between the ages of 16 and 24, carried out by the Italian Federation of Psychologists and the Jewish Museum in Casale, showed them to be ignorant of recent history, including the Holocaust and Italy's World War II experience. According to reports of the survey published in the Italian press, 28 percent of those questioned thought a "pogrom" was a Jewish holiday, nearly 12 percent thought it was a Jewish prayer, and only 4 percent knew what it really was. Only a little more than 38 percent knew that there had been racist anti-Semitic laws in Italy during World War II. About half the young people said they would like to know more about history. They blamed their lack of knowledge on schools and mass communication.

To this end, two videos were produced to help teachers educate high-school students about Judaism, the Jewish experience, and the Holocaust and motivate them to oppose anti-Semitism and racism. The first, a 70-minute film entitled "Who Are the Jews," was prepared by the Ministry of Education and the Union of Italian Jewish Communities and released in February 1994. It was prepared as part of a package of other course material and documentation. The second was a 20-minute film in the form of a music video entitled "Vernichtung Baby" (Extermination Baby), which used rap and rock music, computer graphics, and fast-cut film clips

in music-video style to teach about the Holocaust in Italy and warn that racism could happen again. Prepared by the Lazio Region and the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, it was unveiled in April 1995 at a one-day seminar for educators in Rome on teaching about the Holocaust and anti-Semitism.

In addition to these videos, the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center in Milan (CDEC) maintained a large video library of commercial and documentary films on the Jewish experience and the Holocaust, which it made available to schools.

Culture

A growing interest in Judaism and Jewish culture among non-Jewish Italians was reflected in the publication of numerous books on Jewish topics and the presentation of many concerts, plays, exhibitions, and other cultural events with Jewish themes. Newspapers and magazines published many articles on Jewish and Holocaust themes, and there was ample coverage of commemorative events related to the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. There were also a number of conferences and seminars on issues related to Judaism, Jewish culture, Israel, and the Middle East.

On March 9, 1994, "La Tutela dei Beni Culturale Ebraici," a major conference on the care and management of Jewish cultural monuments, Judaica objects, archives, archaeological remains, and the like, took place in Bologna under the auspices of the Institute for Cultural Heritage of the Emilia-Romagna Region, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, the city of Bologna, the Italian Senate, and the Italian Culture Ministry. The conference discussed a wide range of topics, including the current lack of nationwide coordination of activities aimed at preserving Jewish relics and the issue of the Jewish catacombs in Rome. There was also a major conference on the Jewish history of Pisa. One of the most important conferences on Italian Jewry took place in London at the end of April 1995. Held under the auspices of the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College, London, the three-day international conference on "The Jews of Italy, Memory and Identity," examined the history, archaeology, and culture of the Jewish communities.

In February 1995, a gala ceremony took place in the little Tuscan hilltown of Pitigliano to rededicate the totally reconstructed Baroque synagogue. Originally built in 1598, the synagogue collapsed after World War II. Reconstruction, funded by the municipality, took nearly ten years. The structure will serve as a Jewish museum but also will remain consecrated as a house of worship. Pitigliano had an important Jewish community from the 16th century until the war, but only a handful of Jews live there now. Also in February, a ceremony unveiled a plaque commemorating the Jewish presence in the small town of Lugo di Romagna, near Ferrara.

Moni Ovadia, a Milan-based Jewish performer whose cabaret-style musicals employ Yiddish culture and lore, won rave reviews with two shows—*Oylem Goylem*

in 1994 and *Dybbuk* in the spring of 1995—and there were numerous other performances by a variety of Italian and foreign performers on Jewish themes. They included *Pitchipoi*, *Stories from the Warsaw Ghetto*, whose national premiere was May 3, 1995, in the central Italian city of Terni, and a concert of Catalan Jewish songs sung by Lidia Pujol in Rome in March 1995.

The numerous Jewish-interest exhibits included an exhibition of Jewish book plates that opened in September 11, 1994, in Soncino, site of Italy's most famous Hebrew publishing house. A major exhibition on racism and anti-Semitism under fascism, "La Menzogna della Razza, documenti e immagini del razzismo e dell'antisemitismo fascista," was shown in Bologna the last three months of 1994 and then traveled to other cities. A major exhibition on the Dreyfus affair opened in Rome in December 1994 and then traveled to Forlì. More than 100,000 people saw a big exhibition of Marc Chagall's works in Milan in early 1995, and in February 1995, the Bordone gallery in Milan hosted an installation on Auschwitz by German artist Joachim Seinfeld.

Publications

Well over 100 books on Jewish topics were published in 1994/early 1995. They included fiction, poetry, history, sociology, religion, Holocaust and other memoirs, and art books, by Italian authors as well as translations of Israeli and other foreign Jewish writers. Among them were several books detailing the art and history of Jewish communities in specific Italian towns and regions.

Rome chief rabbi Elio Toaff's book *Essere Ebreo* (To Be a Jew) became a major best-seller, and *La Sinistra e Gli Ebrei in Italia* (The Left and the Jews in Italy), by Maurizio Molinari (1995), raised important political issues. Erri De Luca's new translation of the Book of Exodus was also a big success.

Personalia

Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff was feted on his 80th birthday with ceremonies, tributes, and celebrations, including a gala ceremony on May 14, 1995, at Rome's city hall, the Campidoglio, hosted by Rome mayor Francesco Rutelli. Italian president Oscar Luigi Scalfaro conferred on Toaff the award of Knight of the Great Cross of the Italian Republic to mark the occasion.

At a solemn ceremony at Rome's city hall in May 1995, five Italians were honored by Israel as Righteous Gentiles for rescuing Jews during World War II.

Two non-Jews who died in 1994 had a special relationship with Jews and Israel. Former Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini, a longtime leader of the Republican Party, died of cancer August 4, 1994, at the age of 69. A journalist and historian who turned politician, in 1981 he became Italy's first prime minister who did not come from the Christian Democratic party. He held various other government positions and served as president of the Senate from 1987 until early 1994. In

writings, speeches, and other activities throughout his career, Spadolini staunchly defended Israel, often representing a minority view among Italy's political leadership, who were largely pro-Arab. He visited Israel often and had close ties with Italy's Jewish community. The Federation of Italy-Israel Associations launched a drive to raise funds for a forest in Spadolini's name in Israel.

Guelfo Zamboni, an Italian diplomat who saved nearly 300 Jews during World War II by giving them false papers, died in Rome in March 1994, at the age of 97. As Italian consul in Salonika in 1943, under Nazi occupation, he was able to provide documents enabling 280 Jews to flee to Athens, which was under Italian military occupation, thus saving them from deportation to Auschwitz. In October 1992, Israeli ambassador to Italy Avi Pazner conferred on Zamboni the medal of honor from Yad Vashem, and 280 trees were planted in Jerusalem, one for each of the Jews he saved.

RUTH ELLEN GRUBER

Central and Eastern Europe

Federal Republic of Germany

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1994 THROUGH the first half of 1995 was marked by a number of significant events. Germany's ruling conservative coalition survived a turbulent election in 1994, but lost ground to center-left parties. Far-right parties became politically insignificant, due to dropping voter support and internal strife. The pullout of most foreign troops from German soil gave new political weight to unified Germany, prompting the government to start redefining the country's international role. The country's worst postwar recession ended, but recovery was uneven, and unemployment remained at close to 10 percent. Finally, a multitude of 50th-anniversary commemoration ceremonies marked the last stages of World War II and Germany's defeat and surrender.

In the summer of 1994, all Russian troops withdrew from Germany, and the Western allied troops pulled out of Berlin. In July, U.S. president Bill Clinton visited Germany to assure the Germans of the strength of the U.S.-German partnership. In Berlin, Clinton visited the reconstructed New Synagogue in the eastern part of the city (see "Religion," below).

50TH-ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

The growing interest in recent years in Germany's Nazi past was reflected in the thousands of commemorative events marking the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, including events related to the destruction of the Jews. Lectures, exhibitions, concerts, panel discussions, and official ceremonies were organized by government authorities as well as by private groups. There was also extensive media coverage of events, including hundreds of radio and television programs focusing on the Holocaust and Jewish topics. This led some observers to express concern that the volume of programs could lead to oversaturation, alienating instead of informing the audience.

The commemorations began in December 1993, with a seminar to mark the 30th

anniversary of the Auschwitz trials held in Frankfurt between 1963 and 1965. The seminar, organized by the Fritz Bauer Institute, was held in the same civic center in the Frankfurt city district of Gallus where the trials were held. Numerous Auschwitz survivors shared their experience as witnesses at the mass trial of former Auschwitz personnel, describing a climate in Germany at the time of the trial of indifference and silence. During the conference, a monument by Michael Sander was unveiled in front of the civic center—a steel stele symbolizing the fences and smokestacks of Auschwitz.

On August 1, 1994, on the 50th anniversary of the uprising against the Nazis by the people of Warsaw, German president Roman Herzog apologized to the Polish people for German atrocities committed during the war. At a ceremony in Warsaw, Herzog said it filled Germans with shame that their nation and people would forever be linked to the pain and suffering inflicted a millionfold upon the Poles.

On January 26, 1995, the German Parliament marked the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Chancellor Helmut Kohl termed the Nazi era “the darkest and most horrible chapter in German history.” German president Roman Herzog attended the commemoration in Poland, at Auschwitz, on January 27. There were Jewish-Polish tensions over the official Polish ceremony, which did not emphasize Jewish suffering, and Herzog instead attended the parallel Jewish memorial service at Birkenau.

The German Catholic bishops issued a statement in connection with the anniversary, acknowledging that Catholics share guilt for the extermination of the Jews. They asserted that the historical anti-Jewish stance among many in the Church “contributed to the fact that Christians during the Third Reich did not put up adequate resistance to the racist ideology of anti-Semitism.” The bishops called for a reexamination of relations between Catholics and Jews, stressing Pope John Paul II’s message that anti-Semitism is a sin against God and humanity.

In Frankfurt, the Fritz Bauer Institute organized an intensive two-week program of Holocaust remembrance on the occasion of the Auschwitz anniversary. Almost all events, including concerts, discussions with survivors, films, and lectures, were sold out. At the central ceremony in the Frankfurt Schauspielhaus on January 29, German parliamentary president Rita Süßmuth told the audience, “There must not be and can not be an end to remembrance.” Those who deny the Holocaust, she said, “extinguish the suffering of the victims and rob them even after their death of their dignity.”

An interdisciplinary colloquium, “Echo of the Holocaust,” was organized by the University of Hamburg’s education department on January 24–26, 1995, drawing more than a thousand participants. Scholars and museum educators from the United States, Israel, and Western Europe presented current research on the Holocaust.

The commemoration of the liberation of concentration camps on German soil began April 8, 1995, at Buchenwald, with hundreds of former prisoners and U.S. army veterans attending the ceremony. The first large-scale monument in Germany

to the half million Sinti and Roma (Gypsies) murdered by the Nazis during World War II was unveiled at the site. A new, more comprehensive exhibition on the history of Buchenwald was also opened, dealing with camp life, resistance efforts, and collaboration with camp authorities. The exhibition includes a 1943 telephone book from the nearby city of Weimar with the entry "Konzentrationslager Buchenwald" ("Concentration Camp Buchenwald").

The weekend of April 22, more than 20,000 people—including more than 3,000 former prisoners—commemorated the liberation of the Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, and Flossenbürg camps. Speakers at the different ceremonies called for tolerance, civil courage, and active remembrance of the crimes of the Nazis.

The central German government event in honor of concentration-camp victims was a ceremony in Bergen-Belsen on April 27, coinciding with Yom Hashoah, the Jewish Holocaust Memorial Day. More than 6,000 visitors attended. Ignatz Bubis, head of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, thanked individuals who had helped Nazi victims to survive, as well as the Allies who liberated Germany at the cost of many of their own as well as many German lives. President Roman Herzog and former Israeli president Chaim Herzog—who was an officer in the British army unit that liberated Bergen-Belsen—were also among the speakers.

About 5,000 people attended the commemoration at Dachau on May 1, and on May 4 about 800 former prisoners gathered at the former camp at Neuengamme, near Hamburg. In addition to official government events on Holocaust commemoration, there were numerous private initiatives. In Passau, for instance, local historian Anna Rosmus organized a return on May 1–3 of former Passau Jewish residents, as well as inmates and U.S. liberators of the forced-labor camp in Pocking-Passau.

VE-DAY OBSERVANCE

The spring of 1995 saw a bitter political debate about whether May 8—the date of German surrender—symbolized defeat for the Germans or liberation from fascism. A group of leading conservative politicians and intellectuals, including members of the right-wing Republican Party, published a manifesto arguing that May 8 was a day of liberation only for those persecuted by the Nazis. They claimed that for most Germans, May 8 meant the division of the country, the onset of Communist rule, and the expulsion of 12 million ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe. However, a poll conducted in April by the Mannheim Forschungsgruppe Wahlen found that 80 percent of Germans (and 87 percent of those under 30) regarded May 8 as a symbol of liberation rather than of defeat.

May 8, 1995, the 50th anniversary of VE Day, of Nazi Germany's defeat by the Allies, was marked by a state ceremony at the Berlin Schauspielhaus, attended by U.S. vice-president Al Gore, British prime minister John Major, French president François Mitterrand, Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, German president Roman Herzog, and German chancellor Helmut Kohl. (Bonn had rebuffed an invitation request from Polish president Lech Walesa, who pointed out—with some

justification—that Polish forces under Allied command had played a significant role in helping to defeat Germany. The diplomatic rift was settled when Polish foreign minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, a survivor of Auschwitz, was invited to address the German Bundestag in late April.)

At the ceremony on May 8, President Herzog said that Germans were fully aware of their responsibility for the Holocaust. The Germans did not become democrats overnight, he said, but they had matured to become reliable and peaceful partners in Europe and in the world. In a newspaper interview several weeks later, Herzog announced that the “fight against forgetting,” referring to the Holocaust, would remain one of the central tasks of his remaining four years in office.

Also on May 8, at the Berlin city hall, federal and state officials announced that a “House of Memory” would be built on the Prinz-Albrecht-Gelaende, site of the former SS headquarters in Berlin. The building, by Swiss architect Peter Zumthor, would house exhibitions and archives relating to Nazi victims. Since 1987, there had been a temporary exhibition on the site called “The Topography of Terror.”

In Berlin, the 50th-anniversary events to commemorate the end of World War II began on May 7, with a peace march. Several thousand demonstrators marched through the Scheunenviertel, Berlin’s traditional Jewish quarter. The same day, the 19th-century New Synagogue in Berlin was reopened after seven years of reconstruction work (see “Religion,” below). The more than 3,000 guests at the opening ceremonies included former Jewish residents of Berlin, as well as dignitaries such as Chancellor Kohl and President Herzog. Josef Burg, the former Israeli interior minister, who was born in Berlin, talked about the long history of Jews in Germany. Berlin mayor Eberhard Diepgen said the contribution of Jews to Berlin was an inextricable part of the city’s history.

Chancellor Kohl attended VE-Day ceremonies in London, Paris, and Moscow. The invitations came after the German government had signaled its displeasure at being shut out of D-Day ceremonies in June 1994 in France. Shortly before his arrival in London, Kohl caused a stir among Jewish organizations and veterans groups with a written statement that made little distinction between the suffering of Jewish concentration camp prisoners, German soldiers, and expellees from Eastern Europe.

In Moscow, on May 9, Chancellor Kohl made a clearer statement about German responsibility for the war than in the statement issued prior to his arrival in London. He said, “The historical responsibility remains: The National Socialist regime in Germany launched the Second World War. It planned and executed a campaign of annihilation, first directed against Poland, then in the genocide of European Jewry.”

Israel and the Middle East

Although the 30-year diplomatic relationship between Germany and Israel was marked with great ceremony in 1995, and included visits to Israel by the German president, parliamentary president, and chancellor, the relationship was still far

from normal. The Israeli government did not send a representative to attend May 8 commemoration ceremonies in Germany—despite an invitation from Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Israeli president Ezer Weizman—undoubtedly because anti-German sentiments remain strong in Israel, home to about 300,000 Holocaust survivors. However, there was widespread coverage in Israel of ceremonies in Germany to mark the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps, and in May 1995, the Hebrew University held a well-attended four-day symposium on National Socialism, with presentations by German and Israeli historians.

Although the shadow of the past was an inevitable presence, Israeli diplomats sought to improve relations with Germany, whom they viewed as Israel's most important economic and political partner in Europe.

In October 1994, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel traveled to Israel. In December, the newly elected German president, Roman Herzog, made a brief visit, demonstratively choosing Israel as the site of his first trip outside Europe. Herzog emphasized Germany's special responsibility to Israel, trying to counteract the continuing mistrust in Israel of unified Germany. The trip was praised by most Israeli media.

In May 1995, members of the environmental Green Party visited Israel and the West Bank. Previous trips of the left-wing party had ended disastrously, because of the open sympathy of some delegation members for the Palestinians. But this trip, headed by the party's pragmatic parliamentary leader, Joschka Fischer, was more successful. During a visit to Yad Vashem, Fischer emphasized that Germany must keep the books open on Holocaust remembrance, and comments by delegation members on the peace process were considered more balanced than in previous years. Representatives of Holocaust survivor groups thanked the Green Party for its help in trying to settle unresolved compensation claims.

In June 1995, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem dedicated the Helmut Kohl Institute for European Studies, a sign of the growing importance of Europe—and Germany—for Israel's future. Kohl was also awarded an honorary doctorate by Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheba. Kohl was accompanied on the trip by leading German businessmen, who until this time had made almost no investments in Israel. There was a breakthrough on the trip when representatives of Volkswagen signed an agreement to set up a magnesium production factory with the Dead Sea Works and a magnesium research institute in Beer Sheba at Ben-Gurion University.

During his visit, Kohl promised to try and reduce European trade barriers for Israel. A point of disagreement during the visit was German-Iranian relations, with Kohl denying that Germany delivered weapons to Teheran and defending ties to Iran as the best means of reaching peaceful solutions with the Islamic state. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Kohl agreed to have more frequent telephone contact, as a step toward improving intergovernmental ties. Israeli officials also pressed Germany to take a more active role in the Mideast peace process, which so far had been limited largely to the opening of a diplomatic office in Jericho in August 1994. Kohl visited Yasir Arafat during the trip, which began with stops in Egypt and Jordan.

The Israeli government was upset with Bonn when the German press reported in February 1995 that Germany was trying to free long-missing Israeli aviator Ron Arad from prison in Iran. The Israelis felt the negotiations should be kept secret. Shortly after the story broke, Israeli prime minister Rabin flew to Bonn for an unannounced meeting with Chancellor Kohl.

In July 1994 an Israeli army chief of staff visited Germany for the first time, on an invitation from German chief of staff Klaus Naumann. Gen. Ehud Barak included Sachsenhausen on his tour, where he called on German politicians to "stop with an iron hand" all forms of anti-Semitism, neo-Nazism, and nationalism.

Anti-Semitism and Extremism

For the second consecutive year, there was a decline in right-wing violence, according to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. In 1994, 1,489 violent attacks were attributed to right-wing extremists, down from 2,232 in 1993. The large majority of the attacks were against foreigners and minorities, but 41 were against Jewish targets.

The most alarming incidents for the Jewish community were two firebombing attacks on the synagogue in Lübeck. The first, the night of March 24, 1994, caused considerable damage to the two front rooms of the synagogue. The next day, thousands of local residents gathered spontaneously to protest the attack, the first synagogue burning in Germany since the Nazi era.

In late April 1994, four young male suspects, all from broken homes in a poorer district of Lübeck, were arrested. During the trial, they eventually confessed and were convicted of arson, receiving sentences of between two-and-a-half and four-and-a-half years. The court ruled that there was insufficient proof to convict them of attempted murder. The nearby Hamburg Jewish community, among others, criticized the ruling as insufficient.

On May 7, 1995, there was a renewed arson attack on the same synagogue, and an adjoining shed burned down. No immediate arrests were made in the case. Jewish leaders said the attack may have been planned to coincide with the opening the same day of the reconstructed New Synagogue in Berlin.

In one of the few cases of anti-Semitic-motivated violence, in February 1994 three people were convicted of murder and sentenced by the Wuppertal court to 8 to 14 years in prison. The three were accused of murdering a man in a bar in 1992 who said he was Jewish, although he was not.

Nonviolent anti-Semitic incidents increased dramatically. Federal authorities reported 1,366 anti-Semitic propaganda offenses in 1994, more than double the number of the previous year. Most of the incidents involved the distribution of anti-Semitic literature and hate letters against Jews. Law-enforcement authorities attributed the rise in part to increased awareness of anti-Semitic propaganda and a greater readiness to report its existence. For instance, numerous complaints were filed after an 85-page anti-Semitic brochure entitled *German Manifest* was mailed

to hundreds of public figures. Prosecutors believed the pamphlet was written by a 69-year-old Essen man who claimed to be a former SS officer.

Helping to put these events somewhat in perspective, the Allensbach Institute of Opinion Research reported in September 1994 that anti-Semitism in Germany had steadily declined since the end of World War II. In 1949, every third German still held strong anti-Semitic beliefs. In 1994, 15 percent of the population was anti-Semitic, according to the most recent poll, which had not yet been published. The institute said older people are more anti-Semitic than younger Germans.

Attacks on former concentration camps continued. In July 1994, at Buchenwald, a group of 23 drunken right-wing extremists destroyed display cases and threatened an employee. There was public outrage at the lack of intervention by police, and disciplinary measures were later taken against several policemen. All 23 hooligans were indicted on charges of property damage, illegal display of Nazi symbols, and breaching the peace. As of mid-1995, three trials resulted in 16 convictions. One young man was sentenced to one year and eight months in jail, the others received suspended sentences or juvenile detention.

The three major right-wing political parties—the Republicans, the German People's Union, and the National Democratic Party of Germany—had jointly lost nearly 10,000 members since 1993 (according to the 1994 Report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution). Their combined total membership was 44,500. In their 1995 annual report on constitutional threats, federal intelligence authorities for the first time designated the Republican Party as extreme right-wing, with anticonstitutional views.

The ebb in right-wing voter support could be explained by several factors. One was the lower number of refugees coming to Germany—"foreigners" were a major source of irritation to the right—as a result of the 1993 constitutional amendment restricting political asylum. Another was the greater effort by German authorities to crack down on right-wing extremism. Since November 1992, 11 right-wing parties and organizations had been banned by state and federal authorities. The value of such banning was disputed, however. Supporters saw it as an important signal that extreme right-wing ideology was unacceptable to a democratic society. Critics, including many law-enforcement officials, charged that banning forced groups underground, where they were harder to monitor. The 1994 Report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution noted a slight drop in the number of militant right-wing extremists (5,600 to 5,400), but an increase in the number of active neo-Nazis (an estimated 3,000, up from 1,700).

In place of registered organizations, a loosely affiliated cell structure had emerged among neo-Nazis, raising concern about a potential right-wing terrorist network, in which groups and individuals communicate through electronic mail boxes, mobile telephones, and telephone information networks. An increasingly popular meeting place was skinhead rock concerts, registered as private parties in order to circumvent authorities. Federal authorities estimated that there were at least 40 right-wing bands.

Right-wing music publications and other neo-Nazi propaganda literature was flourishing, much of it printed in countries like Denmark, Spain, and the United States, where laws do not forbid publishing hate literature. In March 1995, Danish authorities arrested a major publisher of right-wing material, U.S. neo-Nazi Gary Lauck, and were considering an extradition request from Germany, where Lauck was wanted for the dissemination of hate literature. In general, German authorities were pushing for more international cooperation in the fight against neo-Nazi propaganda.

A disturbing development was the publication of "hit lists." The neo-Nazi magazine *Einblick* published names and addresses of more than 200 opponents of right-wing ideology, encouraging the use of violence against political opponents. Two men were sentenced to prison for publishing the list, one for two years, the other for one year.

Public discussion about the causes of right-wing extremism started to focus on the concept of nationhood being expressed by some conservative and neoconservative intellectuals. Among these were German novelist Martin Walser, who called right-wing extremism "the answer to our neglect of nationalism," playwright Botho Strauss, who criticized the antiauthoritarianism of the left, and Rainer Zitelmann, a former Maoist who now wrote for the conservative daily newspaper *Die Welt*. Numerous law-enforcement officials expressed concern that the new right provided a socially acceptable sanction for extreme right-wing activities.

Holocaust-Related Matters

A 1994 poll commissioned by the American Jewish Committee (conducted by the Emnid Institute) showed that factual knowledge in Germany about the Holocaust is extremely high: 92 percent of Germans know that Auschwitz, Dachau, and Treblinka were concentration camps, and 91 percent can identify the yellow star as the symbol Jews were forced to wear on their clothing during the Nazi regime. However, more than 1 in 3 think the Holocaust is no longer relevant because it happened more than 50 years ago. Western Germans have far more negative attitudes toward Jews than eastern Germans: 44 percent of Jews in the west believe that Jews are exploiting the Holocaust for their own purposes, in contrast to 19 percent of Germans in the east; and 24 percent of Germans in the west think that Jews have too much influence in German society, compared to only 8 percent of eastern Germans.

One of the survey's more disturbing findings is the high degree of animosity expressed toward many minority groups: 22 percent of Germans would prefer not having Jewish neighbors, but 68 percent reject having Gypsies (Sinti and Roma) as neighbors, 47 percent Arabs, 39 percent Poles, 37 percent Africans, 36 percent Turks, and 32 percent Vietnamese.

The Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Ludwigsburg reported that 1,163 cases were opened in 1994, based largely on newly available archive

material from the former East German secret service. However, most of these cases would take years to investigate, because of serious understaffing problems in Ludwigsburg. Thirty-five cases were currently under active investigation; 64 other investigations were completed in 1994 and turned over to law-enforcement officials.

A four-year-old war-crimes trial against a former member of the SS was stopped by a court in Münster in February 1994 because of the defendant's poor health. The 90-year-old Latvian, Boleslav Maikovskis, chief of a Latvian police unit during Nazi occupation, was accused of participating in the shooting of 170 people in the village of Audrini and the execution of a Jewish person.

Spanish authorities arrested former Nazi general Otto Ernst Remer in June 1994, but had not yet ruled on Germany's extradition request. Remer, who denies the Holocaust, had fled to Spain in March, after a German court sentenced him to 22 months in prison on charges of incitement to racial hatred.

On July 1, 1994, U.S. authorities handed over administration of the former Berlin Document Center to German officials. The documents remain open to view by the general public, including U.S. citizens. However, German law requires a 30-year waiting period after death before personal documents are released. A project to microfilm all documents for the National Archives in Washington had not been completed.

Although German schoolchildren learn the basic facts about the Third Reich, there is no systematic approach to Holocaust studies in most German high schools. Individual teachers, however, sometimes pursue local history projects with their students. In Lübeck, a group of 15-year-old students researched the history of Jewish children in their city who were murdered by the Nazis. In the spring of 1995 the students convinced the school administration to change the school name to the "Sibling-Prenski-School," in honor of three children from Lübeck murdered during the Holocaust.

In April 1995 a federal court in Berlin reaffirmed the principle of the unrestricted return of property in eastern Germany to former Jewish owners. The court awarded a centrally located piece of property, part of the former Checkpoint Charlie, to the heirs of a Jewish businessman.

The American Jewish Committee handed over to the German government in May 1995 a list of 4,500 Holocaust survivors in the Baltic countries, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Romania who had not gotten compensation. The AJC urged the German government to give these survivors access to a special fund set up in 1992 by the German government for hardship cases among survivors.

The Bonn government's reply was evasive. German officials were reportedly worried about possible claims from millions of uncompensated Nazi victims in Eastern Europe if individual payments were made to Jews there. In Latvia, for example, the government was demanding compensation not just for 120 Jewish Holocaust survivors but for 11,000 Latvian "legionnaires" who fought for the German Wehrmacht and the Waffen SS. The Green Party proposed setting up a national foundation that would pay monthly pensions of at least 500 marks to all Nazi victims who were never compensated.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

A longtime employee of the German National Tourist Office in New York, Elke Berg, was fired in May 1995 for her extreme right-wing views. The newspaper *Tageszeitung* uncovered her translation work for an article denying the Holocaust in the right-wing *Journal of Historic Review*. Her husband, Friedrich Paul Berg, is a leading Holocaust revisionist. The tourist office also came under fire for a 1984 study of the U.S. market that recommended that Jews, blacks, Latinos, and Asians be excluded as target groups for German tourism.

The German Tourist Office denied using the study, citing in its defense a pamphlet published in 1987, "Germany for the Jewish Traveler." But the brochure also came under fire. *Aufbau*, the German-Jewish newspaper in New York, criticized a section describing the cultural life of the German Jewish community between 1933 and 1938 as "flourishing." The brochure concluded that "in the midst of unprecedented persecution, German Jews produced a vibrant community." The tourist office said it would remove the passage when it reprinted the brochure.

A series of mild court rulings in the well-publicized case of Holocaust revisionist Günther Deckert triggered widespread outrage. The ensuing public pressure prompted the government to pass a law in September 1994 making Holocaust denial a criminal offense, punishable with up to a five-year jail sentence. Previously, courts had to convict defendants on charges of racial hatred, or incitement to public disorder, which are more difficult to prove.

The case involved the leader of the right-wing National Democratic Party (NPD), Günther Deckert, who arranged for U.S. Holocaust revisionist Fred Leuchter to deliver a speech in Weinheim in 1991—translated into German by Deckert—presenting his pseudo-scientific theory that gas was used only for delousing—not killing—at Auschwitz. The Mannheim prosecutor's office filed charges against Leuchter and Deckert for disseminating lies about the Holocaust. A lower court convicted Deckert in 1992 of incitement to public disorder, giving him a suspended one-year sentence. Leuchter was briefly arrested in 1993 by German authorities when he returned to Germany to appear on a television talk show, but was released by a judge on a technicality.

On March 15, 1994, the First Senate of the Bundesgerichtshof (the federal court) overturned the Deckert ruling, a judgment that caused considerable public consternation. The judges ruled that the lower court had not proven that Deckert shared Leuchter's views on Holocaust denial and ordered a retrial. At the retrial, the Mannheim judges again convicted Deckert on charges of incitement of racial hatred and defamation and denigration of the dead and reimposed a one-year suspended sentence. The mild sentence, as well as the open sympathy of the judges for Deckert's right-wing opinions, stirred nationwide outrage. In the verdict, the judges sympathized with Deckert's "desire to strengthen opposition forces in the German nation against Jewish claims stemming from the Holocaust." The judges said they could not ignore the fact that crimes of other nations remained unpunished, while

Germany continued to face political, moral, and financial obligations stemming from the persecution of the Jews.

The ruling was condemned by top government officials, including the justice minister, and there were widespread calls for the dismissal of the three judges who wrote the opinion. However, the Mannheim court refused, on the grounds that decisions made under public pressure could threaten the independence of the courts. Two judges were put on an extended leave of absence, ostensibly for health reasons. Presiding judge Rainer Orlet eventually took early retirement.

Deckert lost his second appeal. The federal court in Karlsruhe ruled that the Mannheim court conviction on charges of incitement of racial hatred was valid, ordering a different court to set the sentence. In April 1995, the Karlsruhe court imposed a two-year prison sentence. Deckert again appealed, but the federal court was unlikely to overturn the decision. The Mannheim prosecutor filed a new indictment against Deckert, for organizing a lecture by British historian David Irving, a leading denier of the Holocaust.

Another court sentence on Holocaust denial provoked widespread criticism. The state prosecutor indicted two men for a message on a right-wing telephone network that criticized the film *Schindler's List* for "keeping alive the Auschwitz Myth." A Hamburg court ruled that "Auschwitz Myth" is a neutral term that does not automatically imply a denial of Holocaust atrocities. The Hamburg prosecutor's office filed an appeal against the judgment.

HOLOCAUST MEMORIALS

The plan of a private foundation to build a national Holocaust memorial in Berlin engendered nationwide controversy. The foundation's prize-winning design, created by a Berlin artists group headed by Christine Jakob-Marks, consisted of a gargantuan slab of dark gray concrete covering an area roughly the size of two football fields, to be inscribed with the names of millions of Holocaust victims. The original plan to raise funds by selling the names was scrapped after protest by the Jewish community.

Among other objections to the design, some Jewish leaders feared that the absence of a complete listing (many Holocaust victims have not been identified and may never be) could encourage right-wing extremists to continue questioning the reality of the Holocaust, or that the sight of millions of names would generate a sense of anonymity, instead of individual identity, as the artists intended. Many art experts questioned whether a monument of this scale could convey a sense of reflection and remembrance.

Even in the face of all this criticism, the private foundation backing the memorial refused to reopen the competition. However, the monument was also being funded by the federal government and the city of Berlin, and top officials on both levels rejected the Jakob-Marks design. No decision was expected until late 1995.

In May 1994, a monument to German-Jewish writer Walter Benjamin was un-

veiled in Port Bou, the city on the French-Spanish border where Benjamin committed suicide on his flight from the Nazis. The monument, designed by Israeli artist Dani Karavan, is dedicated to all refugees who fled the Nazi regime. The project was nearly stopped after the Federal Press Office canceled its funding, but Germany's state governments agreed to pay for the monument, together with the Catalanian government.

The German federal and state governments pledged to spend DM 30 million on the conservation and maintenance of the memorial site at Auschwitz in Poland. An initiative launched by the public television station NDR, called "Against Forgetting," also collected funds for the preservation of Auschwitz. The Polish government appealed for funds to stop deterioration and help maintain buildings and grounds on the enormous site.

The maintenance of former concentration camps in eastern Germany was also endangered. The budget for the memorial sites at Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück had been significantly reduced, forcing job dismissals and the postponement of all renovation work. The only current project was the reconstruction of the Jewish barracks in Sachsenhausen, which burned down in a 1992 arson attack by right-wing extremists. The directors of the memorial sites said they no longer had enough staff to fulfill all requests for guided tours.

Several Holocaust memorials were dedicated in this period after extensive controversies were settled regarding their location, size, and artistic merit. In Hannover, a memorial near the opera house was erected in memory of the city's 1,882 Jewish citizens murdered by the Nazis. And in Berlin, a Holocaust monument in the district of Steglitz was dedicated, with the names of the 1,723 Jewish residents deported by the Nazis inscribed on a 30-foot-long reflective steel wall. The municipal city council tried to stop the project, which was designed by Joachim von Rosenberg and Wolfgang Goeschel, but was overruled by Berlin city officials.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish community grew substantially in this period, due largely to the continued immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union. In December 1994, the community had 47,133 registered members (up from 40,917 in 1993). The estimated number of unaffiliated Jews was up to 20,000.

Most regional and local communities reported a growth in membership compared to 1993: Baden 2,411 (up 338); Bavaria 6,500 (up 750); Berlin 9,840 (up 357); Brandenburg 162 (no change); Bremen 396 (up 88); Frankfurt 5,715 (down 62); Hamburg 2,359 (up 564); Hesse 2,575 (up 275); Cologne 2,167 (up 171); Mecklenberg-Western Pomerania 166 (down 5); Lower Saxony 2,828 (up 1,793); North Rhine 5,819 (up 1,095); Rhineland Palatinate 534 (up 27); Saarland 525 (up 101);

Saxony 232 (up 19); Saxony-Anhalt 244 (up 84); Thuringia 180 (down 39); Westphalia 3,052 (up 630); Württemberg 1,428 (up 30).

Soviet Jews

The German government continued its policy of controlled immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union (FSU), under which about 5,000 had entered each year since 1990. However, an estimated 20,000 more emigrants, whose applications had been approved by German consulates in the FSU since 1990, did not come to Germany, probably because applicants moved to other countries. In March 1994, the German government instituted a rule that emigration approval was only valid for one year. The approval process usually took from one to three years.

The German government instituted an organized system of distributing the refugees proportionally among the German states, according to the size of the state. While this policy served to revive Jewish communities throughout the country, it also kept many ex-Soviet Jews far from the centers of Jewish life in Germany, thus limiting their exposure to Jewish religious and cultural experience.

The newcomers received an unlimited residence permit, which gave them access to most social benefits, including health insurance, six months of language training, job training, and subsidized public housing. But as there were long waiting lists in Germany for such housing, many of the immigrants still lived in cramped refugee shelters.

Integration into German life and into the established Jewish community remained difficult for many of the recent arrivals. Eighty percent were professionals, but most had not found jobs, because training and job experience rarely corresponded to German standards. This was a particular problem for doctors. Since 1993, many younger family members had been joined by parents and grandparents, whose poor health further complicated integration.

The small Jewish community structures in Germany were nearly overwhelmed by the task of integrating the immigrants into the community. Many of the Jews from the FSU spoke neither German nor Yiddish, creating language difficulties. Teaching the immigrants the fundamentals of Judaism was complicated by the low number of rabbis and religious teachers in Germany, as well as the lack of teaching materials on Jewish religion in both Russian and German. The larger communities tried to send religious leaders on a regular basis to communities composed mainly of ex-Soviet Jews, to teach them how to participate in Jewish religious life. Several dozen Jewish communities in Germany now consisted primarily of Jews from the former Soviet Union. New communities included Loerrach and Emmendingen, in southwest Germany, near the Swiss border, and Dessau, in eastern Germany.

The Central Jewish Welfare Office offered integration seminars for ex-Soviet Jews at its kosher hotel in Bad Kissingen. The one-week seminar exposed the immigrants to Jewish traditions and prayer, as well as to the basics of the German social system. To date, approximately 600 people had attended. Some of the immigrants started

attending worship services regularly, and a number were elected to leadership positions within local Jewish communities.

Communal Affairs

The continuing stability of postwar German democracy and the growth in the size of the Jewish community were changing the character of the postwar Jewish community profoundly. Many of the Holocaust survivors who settled in Germany after the war assumed that the resumption of Jewish life was only a temporary phenomenon. However, younger Jews in particular were starting to seek a modern, more permanent approach to Jewish communal life. The hostility of Jewish communities elsewhere to the renewal of Jewish life in Germany was also declining.

The Central Council of Jews in Germany announced that it was shutting down the only national Jewish newspaper in Germany, the *Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, because of the paper's continual deficit. However, the decision was rescinded after considerable public protest, including an appeal by prominent Jewish journalists. Supporters said the journalistic quality of the paper had improved considerably in recent years and argued that a growing Jewish community required a national publication. To save money, the newspaper was cut back from a weekly to a biweekly format, and the newly opened Berlin office was shut down.

An Orthodox Jewish group in Berlin, Adass Yisroel, won its court case against the state of Berlin for recognition as the lawful reconstitution of the prewar Adass Yisroel community. Berlin appealed the October 1994 ruling to a district court. If the ruling were to be confirmed, the community could reclaim the considerable property holdings of the prewar Orthodox community.

The case had important implications, because it challenged the exclusive ownership rights of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany to prewar Jewish-owned property in Germany. In 1952 the Bonn government designated the Claims Conference as the legal successor to Germany's prewar Jewish communities, with rights to all property. The postwar communities were considered newly constituted communities without property claims. After unification, the Jewish Claims Conference filed numerous claims on former pieces of Jewish property in eastern Germany. The outcome of the Adass Yisroel suit could affect some of these claims.

Religion

The rapid growth of the Jewish community had forced into the open the long-repressed issue of religious pluralism. The decades-long insistence of Jewish officials on maintaining exclusively Orthodox institutions was increasingly being called into question, especially as the vast majority of Jews in Germany were not practicing Orthodox Jews. Groups of younger Jews, as well as communities with large numbers of Russian immigrants, were trying to launch more religiously liberal frameworks.

(The Reform Jewish movement began in Germany in the 19th century, but most of the Jews who remained in Germany after the war were displaced Eastern European Jews, unfamiliar with the German Reform movement.) Possibilities for attending regular Reform services in Berlin and Frankfurt ended with the withdrawal of U.S. forces there.

At the same time, older Jews as well as many younger Jews and Soviet immigrants preferred to maintain the traditional structures, arguing that the spread of Reform Judaism would lead to a deterioration of knowledge about the religion, eventually endangering the community's viability. There were also concerns that the formation of separate liberal congregations would splinter the existing communities, diminishing their capacity to administer a broad range of social and educational institutions. However, some Jewish officials signaled a willingness to consider offering Reform worship services, in addition to Orthodox ones, to prevent division of the unified communities.

Some of the newly founded communities, such as Oldenburg and Göttingen, constituted themselves as Conservative or Reform congregations. This was not possible in cities with existing communities, which were all Orthodox. In Heidelberg, for instance, the community briefly tolerated simultaneous Reform and Orthodox services within the synagogue, but the Reform services were stopped by the regional rabbi, and the group began to meet outside the synagogue. In Frankfurt, the liberal Kehila Chadasha group began holding biweekly Reform services and Torah discussion groups.

Other groups, such as the Jewish Forum in Cologne, focused more on culture than religion. This rapidly growing organization offered concerts, lectures, discussion groups, and Sabbath get-togethers. A monthly Sabbath service was also instituted.

On June 18, 1995, a national body, the Working Group of Reform Jewish and Conservative Communities and Organizations, was founded by 11 constituents: the Jewish communities of Göttingen, Bamberg, Braunschweig, and Oldenburg; and the following organizations: Derech Chadascha, Heidelberg; Kehila Chadasha, Frankfurt; Jüdische Gemeinschaft Kadima, Hannover; Klub Progressives Judentum, Berlin; Rosh Chodesh, Berlin; Jüdische Forum, Cologne; and a group in formation in Kassel. A membership meeting in October was expected to ratify the decision to found the council.

SYNAGOGUE BOOM

The desire for more permanence and the influx of ex-Soviet Jews combined to produce a boom in synagogue construction. An unusual circular-shaped synagogue in Heidelberg, designed by architect Alfred Jacoby, was dedicated in January 1994. The British-born Jacoby also designed the synagogue that opened its doors in May 1995 in Aachen, with an auditorium, a mikveh, a library, and schoolrooms. The architect's next project was to be a new synagogue in Offenbach. Jacoby was praised by critics as the first postwar architect in Germany to develop a distinctive Jewish

vernacular for synagogue buildings. Altogether, about 30 new or reconstructed synagogue projects were currently under way, financed by German state and local governments.

The Frankfurt West End Synagogue's original turn-of-the-century interior, with elaborate oriental motifs, was restored after six years of renovation. The synagogue, built in 1910, was damaged during the Nazi era and hastily repaired during the 1950s in the then current modern style.

The northern German city of Oldenburg gave the town's newly constituted Jewish community a former church to use as a synagogue and cultural center. The renovated building was opened in 1995. The community appointed Bea Wyler, a Swiss graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, as rabbi. She became the first woman rabbi to work in Germany since World War II.

After eight years of reconstruction, Berlin's New Synagogue on Oranienburger Strasse in east Berlin, with its hallmark golden dome, was reopened on May 7, 1995. The original Reform synagogue was completed in 1866, damaged during *Kristallnacht* in 1938, and partially destroyed in an Allied bombing raid during World War II. The main sanctuary, which once seated 3,000 people, was not rebuilt, but a small room was open for services. The building now housed the Stiftung Neue Synagogue Berlin-Centrum Judaicum (Berlin New Synagogue Foundation-Center for Jewish Studies), a museum and research center focusing on the contributions of Jews to German history. The first exhibition reviewed the 749-year history of Jews in Berlin. Other Jewish institutions were also starting to open offices or branches in the area, which had been the center of Berlin's Eastern European Jewish community in the 19th century.

U.S. VISITORS

Trips to Germany by delegates of American Jewish organizations continued. In April 1994, members of the World Jewish Congress met with Chancellor Helmut Kohl to express concerns about racially motivated violence in Germany and Europe and other matters.

American Jewish Committee delegations visited Germany on several occasions. In March 1994, a delegation traveled to Bonn to present the results of a survey commissioned by the AJC on German attitudes toward Jews and other minorities (see "Holocaust-Related Matters"). In February 1995, AJC members met with high-ranking German officials, including Chancellor Kohl and President Herzog, to discuss the Middle East peace process, Islamic fundamentalism and international terrorism, the export of arms and dual-use materials and technology, extremist and neo-Nazi violence, and German-Jewish relations. On a second visit in May to Bonn and Berlin, sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (the political foundation run by the Social Democratic Party), discussion partners talked about German-Israeli relations, right-wing extremism, unification, and compensation for Holocaust survivors.

In August 1994, seven members of the New York Board of Rabbis toured Germany for the first time. In a statement, the rabbis said they were impressed by what they saw of the country's energy, efficiency, productivity, and creativity. Their concerns about Germany's renewed dominance in Europe were allayed by observations that Germany was haunted by its past and determined to steer its future in a radically different direction.

Jewish-Christian Relations

More than 70 local and regional Christian-Jewish societies in Germany participated in the annual Brotherhood Week, held every March, scheduling hundreds of lectures, seminars, exhibitions, and concerts. Despite continuing controversy over the value of Brotherhood Week for interfaith relations, many of the events in 1994 and 1995 were well attended.

Two topics dominated the May 1995 annual meeting of the national Christian-Jewish Society: the fight against attempts by free churches to proselytize among former Soviet Jews and the issue of whether Christian-Jewish groups can exist without Jewish members. The proselytizing attempts date back 20 years to the first wave of Soviet Jewish immigrants to Germany, but had been stepped up with the large number of new arrivals.

In smaller towns, especially, Christian-Jewish societies helped to integrate ex-Soviet Jews. In the Wuppertal suburb of Elberfeld, the local Christian-Jewish society, together with church groups and youth groups, launched a Jewish social center in 1994 that became an important meeting point for Jews and Christians. Activities included lectures, exhibitions, study groups on local Jewish history, and biblical Hebrew classes. Because 80 percent of the Jewish community was from the former Soviet Union, brochures were printed in German and Russian.

In Cologne, the Christian-Jewish Society's dialogue with Muslims proved popular. For two years running, at least 300 people attended a seminar on "Jews, Christians, Muslims in One World." In addition to theological discussions, attention was devoted to anti-Semitic tendencies among some Muslim groups and the dangers of cooperation between German neo-Nazis and Islamic fundamentalists.

Education

The boom in postsecondary Jewish studies continued. The Moses Mendelssohn Center for European-Jewish Studies at the University of Potsdam launched a Jewish studies department in November 1994. Also in 1994, the University of Duisburg set up a new program focusing on the history and culture of Judaism. The University of Oldenburg began offering a secondary major in Jewish studies.

There was discussion about moving the Academy for Jewish Studies from Heidelberg to Berlin, to attract more Jewish students. However, no concrete decision was made due to concerns over the possible loss of state funding. The academy received permission in 1994 to start awarding doctorates.

Culture

Interest among Germans in Jewish culture remained strong. In February 1994, the city of Frankfurt sponsored a five-day symposium, "Jewish Culture in Frankfurt from the Beginning to the Present." There were numerous lectures on Frankfurt Jewish history, including a talk by "Dr. Ruth" Westheimer about her experiences growing up as a Jewish child in Frankfurt. There was also a highly praised production of an 18th-century Frankfurt Purim play, staged by director Aryeh Eldar with amateur actors.

In March 1994, the eastern German state of Saxony-Anhalt sponsored an Israeli Culture Festival, with more than 70 events, including Israeli dance groups and an exhibition in Magdeburg on the history of the Jews in Saxony-Anhalt. In September Frankfurt held a two-week Jewish cultural festival, with events ranging from concerts by the Israel Philharmonic to a show by American comedian Jackie Mason. In November Berlin held its eighth annual Jewish Cultural Days, focusing on Jewish life in Paris. Numerous French-Jewish performers came to Berlin for the monthlong festival, which included exhibitions and a film series.

In late 1994, the city of Saarbrücken held its third Jewish cultural festival, with more than 20 events, including a three-part play on the fate of children in ghettos and concentration camps. Saarbrücken's German-Israeli Society sponsored "Israeli Days," in June 1995. Bremen held a two-month Israel Festival in the spring of 1995, including a concert of works by composers murdered in the Holocaust. In April 1995, Leipzig held its first "Week of Jewish Culture."

Several prominent theater productions in this period were based on Jewish themes. In January 1994, the so called "Jewsical," *Meschugge Vor Hoffnung* (Crazy with Hope), opened in Hamburg at the Kammerspiele. The depiction of Eastern European shtetl culture was based on Joseph Green's 1938 film *A Brivele der Mamen* and on Isaac Bashevis Singer's story "The Man from Cracow." Critics called the production unimaginative and poorly staged.

A more successful production, in Hamburg, a month later, was *Unheilbar Deutsch* (Terminally German). The play was adapted from a book of interviews with German right-wingers by the Austrian Jewish journalist Peter Sichrovsky. Israeli director Joshua Sobol, whose work is popular in Germany, staged the premiere in June 1994 in Düsseldorf of *Lovely Toni*, a play based on a book by Peter Finkelgruen that describes his attempt to bring to trial the SS men who murdered his grandfather.

One of the most important recent cultural events in Germany was the opening of the film *Schindler's List*. Director Steven Spielberg came to the gala opening in Frankfurt on March 1, 1994, which was attended by the German president and numerous German and Jewish dignitaries. The movie got overwhelmingly positive reviews. Within a year, an estimated six million Germans saw the film, including large numbers of schoolchildren.

Four films of Jewish interest were presented at the Berlin Film Festival in February 1994. The French production *Im Tal der Wupper* (In the Valley of the Wupper),

by director Amos Gitai, based on an actual incident (see "Anti-Semitism and Extremism," above), explores the murder by skinheads in a bar in Wuppertal of a man they wrongly suspect is Jewish. American musician Yale Strom presented his film *The Last Klezmer*, a moving profile of Leopold Kozlowski, one of the last klezmer musicians in Poland. In *Choice and Fate*, Israeli director Tsipi Reibenbach chronicles her parents' response to her endless questions about the Holocaust. *Balagan* (Chaos), by German director Andres Veiel, presents young Israeli and Arab actors who perform a play attacking what they consider to be a cult of the Holocaust in Israel.

There was a special showing of Israeli films at the 1995 Berlin Film Festival, and because of the strength of the entries, the showings were sold out. The films included *Sh'Chur*, Shmuel Hasafri's look at the role of North African culture in Israel; *Aharey Hahagim*, by Amnon Rubinstein, a critical story about Israel's pioneer generation of the 1920s; Leonid Gorovets's *Coffee with Lemon*, about a Russian actor in Israel; Michal Bat Adam's reflections on her childhood, *Autobiographia Dimyonit*; the comedy, *The Song of the Sirens*, by Eytan Fox; and Assi Dayan's *Smicha Hashmalit*, the second part of his trilogy about an aging prostitute.

The most important exhibition about Jewish life was that of the Frankfurt Jewish Museum on the history of the Rothschild family, which opened in October 1994 and continued for six months. In February 1994, more than 70 members of the Rothschild family—most from the British and French branches—came to Frankfurt in honor of the 250th anniversary of the birth of family patriarch Meyer Amschel. Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other dignitaries attended a reception for the family at the Jewish Museum.

A second exhibition at the Frankfurt museum chronicled the rescue of several hundred German Jewish children during World War II by the Rothschild family, who arranged their escape to England and Palestine. In January 1995, a private group brought back several dozen of the former children to Frankfurt, to visit their home town and view the two Rothschild exhibitions.

There were dedication ceremonies in Berlin in May 1995 for that city's new Jewish museum. The building, in the shape of a lightening flash, was designed by well-known Jewish architect Daniel Libeskind. Building completion was scheduled for 1996. Director Amnon Barzel planned exhibitions on current Jewish themes, integrating multimedia resources. In the still unfinished building, the museum opened its first exhibition in May 1995 on Jews in Sarajevo, with photographs by American photo-journalist Ed Serotta.

German-Jewish composer Berthold Goldschmidt, who fled from the Nazis in 1935 to England, celebrated a musical comeback in Germany. The 1994 annual Berlin Festival opened with a performance of Goldschmidt's 1949 opera, *Beatrice Cenci*. And the Komische Oper in Berlin staged a premiere of Goldschmidt's first opera, *Der Gewaltige Hahnrei* (The Powerful Cuckold). The Nazis canceled the original premiere, scheduled at the Berlin City Opera the winter of 1933–34.

Publications

In conjunction with the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, numerous works related to the Holocaust were published. One of the most important was a new translation by musician Wolf Biermann of Yitzhak Katzenelson's *Grosser Gesang vom Ausgerotteten Jüdischen Volk* (*The Great Hymn of the Exterminated Jewish People*). The poem about Jewish suffering and resistance was the last testament of Polish poet Katzenelson. In remembrance of the 50th anniversary of the end of the Holocaust, Biermann was invited to present his translation of the poem in the Bundestag.

Holocaust survivor Arno Lustiger published the first comprehensive book in German documenting Jewish resistance to the Nazis: *Zum Kampf auf Leben und Tod! Das Buch vom Widerstand der Juden 1933–1945* (*The Fight for Life and Death! The Book of Jewish Resistance 1933–1945*). Lustiger was also the curator of an exhibition in June 1995 at the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt on Jewish resistance.

Arno Lustiger and Yitzhak Arad were coeditors of the first German edition of *Das Schwarzbuch—Der Genozid an den Sowjetischen Juden* (*The Black Book—The Genocide of the Soviet Jews*), a compilation of eyewitness accounts collected in the 1940s by Ilja Ehrenburg and Wassili Grossman that was heavily censored by Soviet authorities. The German edition is based on the original uncensored manuscript, which Lustiger found in Moscow in the archives of the former Soviet secret service.

Holocaust researcher Raul Hilberg published his autobiography in German, *Unerbetene Erinnerung—Der Weg eines Holocaust-Forschers* (*The Politics of Memory—The Path of a Holocaust Researcher*). The classic two-volume work by Hermann Langbein, *Der Auschwitz-Prozess; eine Dokumentation* (*The Auschwitz Trial: A Documentation*), was reissued. Martina Kliner-Fruck collected stories of Holocaust survivors in *“Es Ging Ja Um’s Überleben”: Jüdische Frauen zwischen Nazi-Deutschland, Emigration nach Palästina und ihrer Rückkehr* (“It Was a Matter of Survival”: Jewish Women Caught Between Nazi Germany, Emigration to Palestine, and the Return Home). Ilka Quindeau, of the University of Frankfurt’s Institute for Psychoanalysis, published *Trauma und Geschichte—Interpretationen Autobiographischer Erzählungen von Überlebenden des Holocaust* (*Trauma and History—Interpretations of Autobiographical Accounts of Holocaust Survivors*).

Frido Mann, a grandson of Thomas Mann, authored *Terezin: Der Führer schenkt den Juden ein Stadt—Eine Parabel* (*Theresienstadt: The Führer Gives the Jews a City—A Parable*), a novel based on Czech composer Victor Ullman’s opera *The Kaiser from Atlantis*, written and performed in the Theresienstadt ghetto. Mann’s great aunt was interned in Theresienstadt, and his uncle was with the American unit that liberated the ghetto.

Micha Brumlik’s *Schrift, Wort und Ikone—Wege aus dem Bilderverbot* (*Script, Word, and Icon—Ways out of the Ban on Pictures*) analyzes the roots of Judaism. The letters of philosopher Hannah Arendt and her close friend Kurt Blumenfeld

are contained in *Keinem Besitz Verwurzelt* (. . . Not Attached to Property).

Since 1960, more than 2,000 monographs had been published in Germany profiling former German Jewish communities and personalities. In 1994 and early 1995, books were published on former Jewish life in the states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and in the cities of Hamburg, Leipzig, Nürnberg, Soest, and Emmerich. In Suhl, in eastern Germany, a local historian spent decades collecting information on the town's former Jewish community, but could only publish the information after the collapse of the Communist regime.

A group of German and Israeli writers who had been meeting regularly since 1989 published a collection of stories, *Der Vogel Fährt empor als kleiner Rauch—Ein Deutsch-Israelisches Lesebuch* (The Bird Flies Heavenward as a Puff of Smoke—A German-Israeli Reader).

Richard Chaim Schneider's *Between Worlds: A Jewish Childhood in Contemporary Germany* presents a highly mixed picture of postwar Jewish life in Germany. Schneider concludes: "Nowhere in the world do Jews live with such fractures in their souls as in Germany. Jews in Germany live with an oppressive past and face an uncertain future." The soul-searching of Schneider's book is a recurrent theme of the essays in *Jewish Voices, German Words*, edited by Elena Lappin, the first English-language anthology of works by the emerging group of postwar German-Jewish writers. Two other English-language anthologies of essays about Jewish life in Germany are Susan Stern's *Speaking Out: Jewish Voices from United Germany*, and Uri Kaufmann's *Jewish Life in Germany Today*.

The short stories by the young Jewish author Maxim Biller in *Land der Väter und Verräter* (Land of the Fathers and Traitors) portray European and German Jewish life in the 20th century. The latest book by the eastern German-Jewish writer Chaim Noll, who lived in Rome, was the essay *Leben ohne Deutschland* (Life Without Germany). A group of Jews from the former East Germany write about their Communist convictions and their recent discovery of Judaism in *Zwischen Thora und Trabant* (Between Torah and Trabi). East German writer Stefan Heym's latest novel, *Radek*, is based on the life of Polish Jew Karl Radek, a fascinating figure in the Bolshevik revolution. Heym was now a member of Parliament for the reform Communist Party.

Personalia

The Bundesverdienstkreuz (Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany) was given to Edita Koch, founder and publisher of the magazine *Exil*, for her commitment to disseminating German émigré literature. Koch's parents are Czech Jews who moved to Germany in 1968. Other recipients included Alfred Rosenthal, the former director of the Jewish National Fund office in Germany. Historian Arno Lustiger, one of the founders of the Frankfurt Jewish community, was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. Dr. Simon Snopkowski, president of the Bavarian Jewish community,

received the Knight Commander's Cross (Badge & Star) of the Order of Merit for his outstanding service to the Jewish community.

The city of Oldenburg awarded the Carl-von-Ossietzky Prize to Israel Gutman, the former director of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, for his publication of *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust: The Persecution and Murder of European Jews*. Frankfurt am Main awarded an honorary medal to German-Jewish theologian and philosopher Pinchas Lapide, for his renewal of the interfaith dialogue launched in the early part of the century by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig.

The Medal for Art and Science of the Hamburg Senate was awarded to the German-born Israeli historian Naftali Bar-Giora Bamberger for his research on Jewish history in Germany. The city also gave the Senator Biermann Ratjen Medal to singer Esther Bejarano, a concentration camp survivor, for her special contribution to the city's cultural life. Her music group "Coincidence" specializes in songs of Jewish resistance and peace.

The Heinz Galinski Foundation gave its annual award to former German president Richard von Weizsäcker for his courageous personal and public confrontation with German history. Von Weizsäcker donated the DM 50,000 prize money to the Berlin Jewish community, for use in the absorption of Jews from the former Soviet Union. German-Jewish writers Inge Deutschkron and Heinz Knobloch received the 1994 Berlin Moses Mendelssohn Prize for their promotion of tolerance and civil courage.

American lawyer and novelist Louis Begley was awarded the city of Bremerhaven's 1995 Jeanette Schocken Prize for Literature, for his account of his survival during World War II as a Jewish child in Poland, *Wartime Lies*. The 1995 literature prize of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation went to German-Jewish writer Hilde Domin, who began writing during her years of exile from Nazi Germany.

Among prominent Jews who died in 1994 and early 1995 were several founding members of the postwar community: Max Willner, head of the Hessen Association of Jewish communities and a former director of the Central Jewish Welfare Office, who, after surviving four concentration camps, helped refound the Offenbach Jewish community after the war, in January, 1994; Josef Fraenkel, who refounded Darmstadt's Jewish community in 1946, also in January 1994; and Rafael Scharf-Katz, the head of the Jewish community of Thuringia, who helped rebuild Erfurt's Jewish community after German unification, in early 1995.

DEIDRE BERGER

Austria

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1993 THROUGH the middle of 1995 brought a number of important developments: Austria's entry into full membership in the European Union (EU); a decline in the popularity of the ruling coalition and a rise in that of the right; an increase in right-wing violence; and a long-awaited decision by the government to compensate Austrian Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

The referendum in June on Austria's admission into the European Union and the national election in October dominated the Austrian political scene in 1994. The two governing parties, the Socialist Party and its junior coalition partner, the People's Party, favored admission into the EU, while the right-wing Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ) was opposed. Supporters of membership argued that a vote in favor would keep Austria in Europe's political and economic mainstream and give it a voice in determining its policies. Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who was largely responsible for negotiating the terms of Austria's admission, warned that a negative vote would isolate Austria and prompt foreign investors to bypass it in favor of other EU countries. Freedom Party leader Jörg Haider, in opposing entry, warned that membership in the 12-nation organization would result in a loss of national identity and a threat to Austria's long-standing policy of neutrality. Two-thirds of the electorate voted in favor of EU membership—it entered into force on December 30, 1994—which provided a strong boost for the government and was widely seen as a severe defeat for the FPÖ.

As it turned out, neither of the two ruling coalition partners proved able to capitalize on the EU outcome in the general elections that took place on October 9, 1994. Both suffered heavy losses—largely to the Freedom Party and to two smaller parties—with their joint share of the vote plummeting by 12 percent, their worst showing in 50 years. The outcome, political observers agreed, represented the most radical change in Austrian national politics since the establishment of the Second Republic in 1945.

Overall, the Social Democrats won 65 seats in Parliament, a loss of 15 seats; the conservative People's Party managed to win 52 seats, a loss of 8. Jörg Haider, the populist FPÖ leader who dominated the campaign with tirades against foreigners, corruption, and the entrenched party rule, attracted enough votes to become the main opposition leader. His party won 42 seats in the 183-seat legislature, 9 more than in 1990. The environmentalist Greens, who succeeded in becoming a cohesive political force under the leadership of Madaleine Petrovic, increased their representation from 10 to 13 seats, while the Liberal Forum, a breakaway faction of the FPÖ, won 10 seats.

After seven weeks of postelection bargaining over ministerial seats, the Socialist Party and the Peoples' Party agreed to reestablish a coalition government. There were few cabinet changes in the new government that was sworn in on November 29, 1994. Chancellor Vranitzky continued to head the government, and Alois Mock again took up the foreign ministry portfolio. The coalition government, Chancellor Vranitzky pledged, would strive for "continuity and stability."

Although many people undoubtedly voted for the Freedom Party as a protest against the perceived complacency and corruption of the ruling parties, others were attracted to it because of its strident populist stance. Haider had promised that should he become chancellor, illegal immigrants would be expelled and jobless foreigners would be sent home. These views were emblematic of Haider's party, which had become a nesting ground for right-wing extremists and old Nazis.

Haider lost the governorship of his home province of Carinthia in 1991 after effectively praising the "orderly labor policies during the Third Reich" and gave his critics more fuel when he insisted that Romas (Gypsies) had been taken to "work camps," not concentration camps, during World War II. Also troubling was Haider's political philosophy, which favored subordinating Parliament to a strong executive and weakening or even abolishing political parties in favor of a plebiscitary form of popular rule.

IMMIGRATION

Anti-immigrant sentiment sharpened as large numbers of foreigners entered the country following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the continued fighting in Bosnia. In response, the government tightened legislation, making it difficult for asylum seekers to gain entry and setting quotas for new immigrants. As a result, the number of asylum seekers allowed into the country fell drastically. In 1993, only 1,193 persons were admitted, out of a total 15,885 seeking asylum, an approval rate of 7.5 percent. Official figures counted 600,000 foreigners in Austria in 1994, fewer than 8 percent of the 7.6 million population. More than 10 percent of them were unemployed, compared with 5.5 percent of the overall work force.

Seeking to capitalize on growing public resentment toward foreigners, Freedom Party leader Haider proposed a ten-point popular initiative (*Volksbegehren*) that would severely curtail immigration and place certain restrictions on foreigners living in the country. The initiative's supporters garnered 416,000 signatures in January 1993, far short of the million that Haider had initially predicted but a not insignificant number favoring restrictive immigration policies.

Israel and the Middle East

Relations between Israel and Austria improved significantly after Thomas Klestil succeeded Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria in 1992. The following year, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky made an official visit to Israel, the first ever by an Austrian head of government. The chancellor spoke of "a new beginning" in rela-

tions by addressing still unresolved issues of the Nazi past. He publicly acknowledged that Austria had to own up to its responsibility for the crimes of Nazi Germany but rejected the idea that his country bore collective guilt for this past.

Vice-Chancellor Erhard Busek, who also served as minister of science and technology, made a follow-up visit in February 1994 and signed a wide-ranging agreement with the Israeli government on scientific cooperation. The agreement involved the Weizmann Institute, Hebrew University, Bar-Ilan University, and the Technion. There were, as a result of these and other agreements, 30 ongoing projects in the fields of medicine, physics, other natural sciences, and the humanities. In the humanities, two projects were approved, one, dealing with the history of the Jews in Austria and the other with Austrian-Israeli relations after the Holocaust. In addition, a chair in Austrian studies was established at the Hebrew University.

Reflecting this good relationship was a continuing traffic of high-ranking officials between the two countries. The president of the Austrian Parliament, Heinz Fischer, paid an official visit to Israel in March 1994. In return, a number of leading Israeli government officials, including Minister of Trade and Industry Micha Harish, came to Vienna in November, at the invitation of the Austrian government. Of particular significance was the unofficial visit in June 1994 of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who met with Chancellor Vranitzky and with his Austrian counterpart, Alois Mock.

This exchange in political visits culminated in the official visit to Israel on November 13, 1994, of Federal President Thomas Klestil, the first ever by an Austrian head of state. Included in his entourage were Foreign Minister Mock, Minister of Education Rudolf Scholten, and Minister of the Environment Maria Rauch-Kallat. Leading members of Austria's Jewish community also made up the official party, notably the president of the Jewish community, Paul Grosz, Chief Rabbi Chaim Eisenberg, and Simon Wiesenthal.

In an address before the Knesset, President Klestil, while failing to offer an official apology to the Jewish people for Nazi atrocities, acknowledged the complicity of many Austrians in these acts. "We know full well," the Austrian president stated, "that all too often we have only spoken of Austria as the first state to have lost its freedom and independence to National Socialism, and far too seldom of the fact that many of the worst henchmen in the Nazi dictatorship were Austrians. . . . And no word of apology can ever expunge the agony of the Holocaust. On behalf of the Republic of Austria, I bow my head with deep respect and profound emotion in front of the victims." Rejecting the idea of collective guilt, Klestil said that it was wrong to hold all Austrians responsible for the Nazi regime and its deeds. And while raising the subject of compensation for Austrian Jewish Holocaust victims, he did not say whether the government was prepared to do anything about it.

President Klestil's state visit pointed up the solid political ties between the two countries. Vienna, which strongly supported the Madrid peace process, welcomed the agreement between Israel and the PLO for the creation of a Palestinian authority in Gaza and Jericho. The government pledged 200 million schillings (\$10 million) over a five-year period for the strengthening of schools and health and sanitation

facilities in the territories under the Palestinian Authority. It also took an active role in the five multilateral regional meetings linked to the peace process, dealing with energy, refugees, water resources, the environment, and disarmament.

Chancellor Vranitzky and Finance Minister Ferdinand Lacina, along with members of the Austrian business community, attended the three-day Middle East and North Africa economic summit that was held in Casablanca at the end of October 1994. Austrian companies evinced a strong interest in participating in investment programs in national and regional projects once peace in the region was firmly established.

In the United Nations, Austria followed a policy that was generally favorable to Israel. A similar attitude was in evidence in regard to Israel's interests in the European Free Trade Association (EFT), where it held associate member status. As a member of the European Union, Austria was expected to be favorably disposed toward Israeli interests in this more important community of Western European states.

Trade between the two countries increased over previous years, with the total annual amount estimated to be \$200 million. Austria's exports were made up largely of manufactured goods, metals, and machinery, while imports from Israel included textiles, agricultural goods, and medical equipment.

Tourism between Israel and Austria continued to show gains, with an estimated 28,000 Austrians visiting Israel in 1994 and 55,000 Israelis traveling to Austria. The national carriers, Austrian Airlines (AUA) and El Al, maintained regular service between the two countries. The Jewish Welcome Service, a branch of the Austrian Tourist Office, assisted tourists from abroad to become acquainted with Jewish life in Vienna and arranged individual tours from Austria and Israel. Its director, Dr. Leon Zelman, a prominent personality in the Jewish community and a survivor of the Mauthausen concentration camp, frequently addressed students on the Holocaust and Austria's treatment of Jews during the Nazi period.

Holocaust-Related Matters

In ceremonies observing the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, President Klestil, in a speech delivered in April 1995, adopted a more forthright position on Austria's wartime role by depicting it as an ally of Nazi Germany. He urged Austrians to acknowledge "Austria's participation in the war on the side of Hitler's Germany."

In June 1995 the Austrian Parliament voted to pay compensation to an estimated 30,000 victims persecuted during the period of Nazi rule. The government-sponsored bill, which was supported by lawmakers across the political spectrum, established a \$50-million fund to compensate those who were sent to concentration camps because they were Jews, Communists, or homosexuals, and those who fled into exile. The government reported that it had the names and addresses of 12,000 people who were eligible to receive compensation.

Although the bill gained wide support in Parliament, it was strongly attacked by the Greens, who called the 50-year delay in setting up the fund a disgrace and criticized the amount offered as falling far short of what should be paid out. Instead, they demanded the government make \$150 million available over five years. Also critical of the measure was Jewish community president Paul Grosz, who expressed concern because the bill did not specify the amount of money each person would receive and whether former victims could claim additional compensation in special circumstances.

Anti-Semitism

Despite a rising tide of xenophobia, there were no major incidents of anti-Semitism in the country. While anti-Semitic prejudice in the population at large appeared to have declined, it remained alarmingly high among those who expressed support for the Freedom Party. A poll conducted by the Gallup Institute of Austria for the American Jewish Committee, between January 17 and March 1, 1995, showed that FPO supporters—who accounted for 21 percent of all respondents in the survey—were much more likely than other Austrians to harbor negative feelings toward Jews. Thus, 41 percent of FPO supporters, as against 27 percent of other Austrians, believe that “now, as in the past, Jews exert too much influence on world events.” In addition, 36 percent of FPO supporters, as compared with 24 percent of other Austrians, “prefer not” to have Jewish neighbors, and 28 percent—versus 17 percent of other Austrians—think that Jews have “too much influence” on Austrian society.

A similar pattern holds for Holocaust-related issues, with 43 percent of Freedom Party supporters, as against 31 percent of other Austrians, believing that 50 years after World War II, “. . . it is time to put the memory of the Holocaust behind us.” In addition, 41 percent of FPO supporters, as against 25 percent of other Austrians, believe that “Jews were exploiting the Nazi Holocaust for their own purposes.” Finally, 17 percent of FPO supporters, versus 5 percent of other Austrians, maintain that it “seems possible that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened.”

Overall, attitudes toward Jews had improved since the last comparable poll in 1991. In the new survey, 19 percent of all Austrians, as compared with 28 percent in 1991, see Jews as having “too much influence” in Austrian society; 29 percent of all Austrians in 1995, versus 37 percent four years earlier, maintain that “now, as in the past, Jews exert too much influence on world events”; and the percentage of Austrians who “prefer not” to have Jews as neighbors declined to 26 percent from 31 percent. In addition, 28 percent of Austrians in 1995, compared to 32 percent in 1991, believe that “Jews are exploiting the Nazi Holocaust for their own purposes.”

The findings concerning supporters of the Freedom Party were particularly disturbing, given its growing political importance at the national, regional, and local

levels. One encouraging sign was the decision of the FPÖ to vote with the government in supporting compensation for Jews, Communists, homosexuals, and others who were persecuted during the Nazi period. On the negative side were the party's continued strident attacks against foreigners and Haider's utterances about the Nazi past.

Right-wing Extremism and Neo-Nazism

A relatively new and threatening development was the mailing of letter bombs to public figures known for their liberal and pro-foreigner sentiment. The most prominent target was Vienna's Mayor Helmut Zilk, who suffered severe injuries from a bomb explosion in December 1993. Letter bombs were also sent to a Slovenian publisher in the southern city of Klagenfurt and a Tyrolean paper factory that employed many foreigners. Although these two bombs failed to go off, another that was mailed to a school for Slovenian children in Klagenfurt in August 1994 exploded, causing a police bomb expert to lose both hands. The level of violence escalated in February 1995 when, in the worst incident of racial terrorism in 50 years, four Romas (Gypsies) were killed by a pipe bomb in the town of Oberwart. A shadowy neo-Nazi group calling itself the Bavarian Liberation Army claimed responsibility for most of the attacks.

An Austrian court sentenced neo-Nazi Gottfried Kuessel to 10 years in prison (later increased to 11 years) following his conviction in September 1993 for founding an extreme right-wing organization called the People's Loyal Extraparliamentary Opposition (Volkstreuer Ausserparlamentarisch Opposition, VAPO), which publicly espoused neo-Nazi sentiments. After he was first arrested in January 1992, Kuessel's deputy and other members of VAPO were imprisoned for neo-Nazi activities. Kuessel had once described Hitler as one of the greatest Germans of all time; his group was thought to have links to the neo-Nazi underground active in Germany and across Europe. The long prison sentence imposed on Kuessel reflected a trend in the Austrian judiciary to adopt a tougher stance toward those convicted of right-wing extremist and neo-Nazi activities.

After the jailing of their leader, Gottfried Kuessel, many right-wing and neo-Nazi groups began to operate in small underground cells that the police were unable to penetrate. It was widely believed that the right-wing political climate fostered the growth of neo-Nazi and extreme right-wing militancy, and that the militants maintained strong, clandestine ties with neo-Nazi groups in Germany, aided at times by shared computer networks.

A book titled *Handbuch des Oesterreichischen Rechtsextremismus* appeared in 1993, detailing the names and activities of far-right organizations. The book attracted a good deal of public attention when Freedom Party leader Jörg Haider sought an injunction to stop its publication because it showed his picture on the cover. A court ruled that the publisher would no longer be allowed to circulate copies of the book that featured Haider's picture.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Jewish population of Austria was undergoing changes in size, age, and composition. It was getting larger and younger and becoming more varied, but its growth was almost certain to slow down, if not stop, due to newly enacted restrictive immigration and asylum laws. There were 8,000 Jews registered with the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, the official Jewish communal body, but knowledgeable observers claimed that the actual number in the country was at least twice that figure. Many Jews chose not to be counted as members of the community and hence did not figure in the official count.

Reflecting past demographic residential patterns, the overwhelming majority of Jews were concentrated in Vienna, with only about 300 to 400 making their homes in the large provincial cities of Salzburg, Innsbruck, Graz, and Linz.

Whereas in the past, the main source of population growth had been immigration from the former Soviet republics, this had virtually come to a halt; the small but steady growth was now due to increased fertility rates, mainly among the Sephardic and Orthodox Jews. (Most of the Sephardic Jews came from the former Soviet republics of Georgia and Uzbekistan (Bukhara), and a smaller number from Tajikistan.) It was generally agreed that the faster-growing Sephardic community, which accounted for roughly a quarter of the registered community membership, would outstrip the Ashkenazic community in size in the not too distant future. The mainly Russian-speaking Sephardic Jews were already making their voices heard in communal councils by requesting more funds to promote their integration into Austrian society.

Communal Affairs

The Austrian Jewish community conducted its affairs through an elected Board of Deputies of the Kultusgemeinde, made up of 24 members representing its main religious and social groupings. Its chief duties were to allocate the community's 112-million schilling (\$11 million) budget and select a president. In May 1993, the board selected *Hofrat* (Counselor) Paul Grosz for a second four-year term as community president. In this capacity, he was the Jewish community's acknowledged spokesperson and was responsible for implementing the board's decisions.

Elections in 1993 revealed a deep split within the board over the allocation of funds. Two groups, the Alternative List and the Young Generation, which had merged in 1992, continued to hold half the seats; the other 12 were divided among five different groups: the Bund, Sepharadim, Mahazikai Hadat, Mizrachi, and Tik-kun. These groups banded together to present a united front, mainly in support of increased funding for religious activities. For a while, this faction, which called itself the Jewish Platform, boycotted board meetings when their demands went unheeded.

The rift was healed when the board agreed to allocate more funds for religious purposes.

The Sephardic Center, which opened its doors for religious services and social activities in 1993 amid great ceremony, continued to show signs of vitality. By the end of 1994, its membership had grown to 3,000. Located in the second district—the center of Vienna's prewar Jewish population—the Sephardic Center was home to two synagogues, one for Bukharan Jews and the other for Georgian Jews. Both synagogues had daily services. An indication of the growing influence of the Sephardim in community affairs was the size of their representation on the Board of Deputies, where they held three seats.

Or Hadash Synagogue, founded in 1990, conducted Sabbath and holiday services and maintained a small religious school (talmud torah) for its approximately 150 members. The congregation, which is affiliated with the World Union for Progressive Judaism, was serviced by visiting rabbis following the departure of its resident rabbi at the end of 1992. The worship services and religious practices are comparable to those of left-wing American Conservative Judaism. Or Hadash's development had been slowed because of the refusal of the Kultusgemeinde to grant it recognition. Orthodox groups had reportedly threatened to withdraw from that communal body if it recognized the fledgling congregation.

A new house of worship, the Rambam Synagogue, was opened in 1994. The synagogue is located in the Maimonides Center, the geriatric institute of the Kultusgemeinde, home to 150 elderly residents.

Education

Despite its small numbers, the Jewish community supported a growing network of all-day and part-time schools and a yeshivah. The leading day school, the Zvi Peretz Chayes School, with an enrollment of 317 boys and girls, offered classes from kindergarten to the 12th grade. The Chabad-Lubavitch School, with a kindergarten and grades five through eight, had an enrollment of approximately 220 pupils. A major aim of both schools was to integrate the children, a great many of whom came from the former Soviet Union, into the life of the Jewish community. A third day school, known as the Orthodox School, with classes ranging from kindergarten to eighth grade, had an enrollment of about 200 pupils. Or Hadash, the Progressive synagogue, ran its own afternoon Hebrew school, in which some 12 children were enrolled.

An Adult Education School offered a wide range of evening courses on Jewish topics to the general public. The school, which was largely supported by the city of Vienna, attracted a growing number of non-Jewish as well as Jewish students. Its main purpose was to make accessible to non-Jews opportunities to learn about Judaism and Jewish history.

Culture

Austria experienced a strong revival of interest in Jewish history and culture. Numerous exhibitions, lectures, film festivals, literary events, and television programs were devoted to Jewish topics. A regular feature of the Vienna cultural scene were the Jewish Culture Weeks held in May and November. These events included concerts, literary gatherings, poetry readings, and films about Jewish life. A Jewish film week was held in October 1994 in Vienna on the theme of Jewish humor in film. The annual cantorial concerts were held in 1993 and 1994 in Vienna's Stadttempel and continued to attract leading cantors from many different countries.

An Institute for the History of the Jews in Austria was established in St. Polten, on the premises of the former synagogue of that city. An international symposium involving scholars from Israel, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria was held at the institute in May 1994 to discuss the history of the Jews in Austria.

A major cultural event was the opening in November 1993 of the Jewish Museum of Vienna, located in Palais Eskeles in Vienna's first district, at Dorotheergasse 11. The museum's opening exhibition, "Teitelbaum Once Lived Here," presented a history of Jewish Vienna; there were also two photographic exhibitions on Sigmund Freud. The museum subsequently offered a display of early works of Marc Chagall and a show of works by the Austrian Jewish painter Max Oppenheim, as well as other exhibitions. The Chagall exhibition, presented in the spring of 1994, showed little-known works of the renowned artist that were created in his native Russia. The 40 paintings were on loan to the Jewish Museum from various museums and galleries in Russia. The museum held an exhibition marking the centenary of the birth of Joseph Roth (1894–1939), one of Austria's foremost writers. Another exhibition, "Workers and Revolutionaries," opened in November 1994, on loan from Tel Aviv's Beth Hatefutsoth (Diaspora Museum). It portrayed through pictures, film, and artifacts the history of the Jewish labor movement from the 19th to the mid-20th centuries, in Austria, England, Palestine, Russia, Poland, and the United States. In addition, the museum presented an exhibition on the history of the Jewish community of Sarajevo. The museum's library, which holds 30,000 volumes and manuscripts on Jewish topics in German, Hebrew, Yiddish, and English, was opened to the public on November 24, 1994. Following its opening, the museum quickly became a major cultural center of Vienna; in the first year, it attracted 120,000 visitors.

Personalia

Simon Wiesenthal, whose efforts at tracking down Nazi war criminals had brought him international renown, was the recipient of numerous honors. In 1993 he was awarded the Cross of Honor for Science and Art, First Class, by the Austrian government. He received the University of Gratz's Human Rights Prize and was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by the University of Innsbruck.

Thomas Moskowitz, the president of Bank Winter, was responsible for the sale of a record \$124 million of Israeli development bonds to a number of Austrian banks. A ceremony marking the event was held in the Palais Schwarzenberg in June 1994 and was attended by numerous personalities from Austria's financial community, as well as by Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres. Moskowitz organized the ceremony in memory of his father, Simon Moskowitz, founder of Bank Winter and a prominent philanthropist, who died early that year.

MURRAY GORDON

East-Central Europe

THROUGHOUT 1994 AND EARLY 1995, the revival of Jewish communities in East-Central Europe continued apace. A number of communities registered growth in numbers, and hundreds of young people who did not have a Jewish upbringing, or who may not have known about their Jewish heritage, or who had only one Jewish parent (not necessarily the mother) flocked by the hundreds to increasingly well-organized classes, schools, and other formal and informal programs about Judaism and Jewish life.

Efforts to promote cross-border cooperation among the various Jewish organizations and communities in the region and beyond took more concrete shape. The European Council of Jewish Communities (ECJC) took particular lead in coordinating a number of conferences, seminars, get-togethers, and exchanges. Relations between East-Central European countries and Israel also continued to develop in a positive way.

Among the issues of concern were the rise of nationalism and right-wing extremism—including violent skinhead groups, extremist political parties, and continuing attempts to rehabilitate local wartime fascist or pro-Nazi figures—and the question of restitution of Jewish property taken over during or after World War II by the state or private individuals.

Bulgaria

In December 1994 elections, the former Communists, now called the Bulgarian Socialist Party, won 43.5 percent of the vote and an absolute majority of 125 seats in the 240-seat National Assembly. Although industrial output grew and financial indicators were up sharply, economic conditions continued to be rough for Bulgarians, with December 1994 inflation topping 120 percent and 1994 unemployment topping 17 percent.

Bulgaria was honored on the world stage in 1994 for the role it played in rescuing its 50,000 Jews during World War II. In April President Zhelyu Zhelev attended a ceremony in Paris, organized by the permanent delegations of Bulgaria and Israel to UNESCO, along with the European Jewish Congress, commemorating the rescue of Bulgarian Jews during World War II. Zhelev said he hoped for a Europe where anti-Semitism and xenophobia would not be tolerated. Several months earlier, Zhelev received an honorary doctorate from Tel Aviv University, awarded in recognition of Bulgaria's actions in World War II. At a ceremony in New York in May, King Boris III of Bulgaria was posthumously presented the Moral Statesman Award by the Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers of the Anti-Defamation League.

Although there were no serious episodes of anti-Semitism in the period covered, in February 1995 leaders of the Bulgarian Jewish community told President Zhelev they were concerned over "increasingly frequent anti-Semitic and xenophobic publications." During the year there were also several incidents of vandalism against Jewish targets.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

There were some 4,500–5,000 Jews in Bulgaria, most of them living in Sofia and Plovdiv. The community's large proportion of professionals—more than 60 professors, more than 80 lawyers, and about 75 medical doctors, as well as artists, researchers, and the like—gave it high visibility.

Shalom, the main organization of Bulgarian Jews, operated in 17 towns and cities. Bulgarian community leaders took a more active role in international Jewish community affairs than previously. The vice-president of the Shalom organization, Nansen Behar, was appointed to the European Council of Jewish Communities' 1995 executive committee.

A major event in 1994 was the arrival and installation of a rabbi—Behar Kahalone—in Sofia. The holidays were celebrated communally, including Purim parties and community seders. A Jewish kindergarten and elementary school in Sofia met in classrooms allocated in government schools. There were various other Jewish and Israeli-oriented organizations, including a Bulgaria-Israel friendship society, many of whose members were not Jewish.

Restoration work was completed on the exterior of the magnificent Great Synagogue in Sofia, but the interior scaffolding stayed in place. Money remained a problem, and in September 1994 the Bulgarian Jewish community launched a \$4-million international appeal for funds to complete major restoration. Several exhibitions and other cultural events commemorated the 50th anniversary of the salvation of Bulgarian Jews, and the Jewish community's "Simcha" orchestra, founded in 1993 and led by Giu Levy, gave performances in various cities.

The Jewish publishing house Shalom, founded in 1993, continued operation. The first book to be translated was Theodore Herzl's *The Jewish State*. Other books published were Bulgarian translations of Amos Oz's *My Michael* and a collection of short stories by Ephraim Kishon. A Sephardic cookbook was planned, as well as a book on anti-Semitism in the Balkans. The publishing house was funded in part by CBF-World Jewish Relief.

Czech Republic

The Czech Republic consolidated its position as the post-Communist country with the strongest economy and most stable democratic system. Inflation in 1994 at 11 percent was the lowest in the former Communist world, and unemployment was only 3.5 percent. The gross domestic product grew by 2.5 to 3 percent.

There was rising concern at the activities of extreme right-wing groups directed mainly against Romas (Gypsies) and Jews. In February 1994, Vladislav Plechaty, the head of a special police squad aimed at countering the rise of right-wing extremists, estimated that there were 400 skinheads active in Prague alone and at least ten different skinhead factions in operation in the Czech Republic. In July 1994 a commemoration at Terezin concentration camp was disrupted by right-wing extremists who scuffled with and threw eggs at ceremony participants. The incident provoked a furor because police failed to take immediate action, but in January 1995, five men were charged with disorderly conduct in the affair.

In April 1995, the World Jewish Congress (WJC) criticized plans to erect a plaque memorializing Emil Hacha, the Czechoslovak president who signed protocols allowing Germany to occupy the country in 1938. Hacha was imprisoned after the war for his alliance with Hitler and died in jail on June 1, 1945.

A number of events marked the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and the Holocaust. The most important Holocaust commemoration was a three-day series of ceremonies and concerts at Terezin, May 21–23, 1995.

In February 1994, the town of Svitavy decided to honor native son Oskar Schindler with a plaque, in the wake of the success of the movie *Schindler's List*. Schindler was born in Svitavy in 1907. In October 1994 a memorial to the victims of the first transport of 900 Czech Jews to Poland was unveiled at the site of the former Jewish cemetery in Ostrava. President Vaclav Havel, Czech chief rabbi Karol Sidon, and the ambassadors of Israel and Poland attended the ceremony, at which Havel warned of the dangers of racism and anti-Semitism. An exhibition and conference on the Holocaust were part of the commemoration.

In the autumn of 1994, the Czech Parliament passed legislation awarding financial compensation to current Czech citizens who had been prisoners in Nazi camps during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia. The money would be derived from the sale of former Communist-owned property.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

About 5,000 to 7,000 Czechs identifying with the Jewish community lived in the Czech Republic, about 1,300 of them in Prague. In addition, the large foreign community that had settled in Prague since the Velvet Revolution in 1989–90 included an estimated 1,000 Jews or more, mainly from the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. Some estimated that the number of foreign Jews exceeded the number of local Jews in Prague.

Since some 60 percent of (local) Prague Jews were over the age of 65, community efforts necessarily focused on relief and social aid for needy elderly Jews. Social welfare in Prague provided 40 to 60 meals-on-wheels a day, and the community operated the Charles Jordan nursing home.

For younger Jews wanting to learn about Jewish life and become full members of the community, there was a range of educational programs. In the spring of 1994, two British rabbis organized a three-day seminar for would-be teachers of Judaism.

In September 1994, the Ronald S. Lauder Kindergarten, the first Czech Jewish day school to operate since 1939, opened in Prague. It was funded by the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) helping to train staff. Initially serving 12 children in a facility on the premises of a state-run kindergarten, it taught Jewish culture, tradition, and Hebrew language and provided the children with kosher meals.

Under the Czech chief (and only) rabbi, Karol Sidon, the religious orientation of the Czech Jewish community was Orthodox. This caused some friction, particularly among children of mixed marriages who identified as Jews but were not Jewish according to Halakhah (Jewish law), and among members of the foreign Jewish community, most of whom were Reform or Conservative. Prague-born Sylvie Wittmann, who ran a Jewish travel agency, led an alternative, Havurah-type group, called Bet Simcha, at her home. In addition, American Lisa Frankenberg, publisher of the English-language *Prague Post*, helped found a group called Bejt Praha, aimed both at the foreign Jewish community and the public at large. Bejt Praha sponsored a big public event in celebration of Purim, as well as other well-publicized events.

At the initiative of Bet Simcha and Bejt Praha, the High Holidays 1994 saw the first non-Orthodox services held in Prague since World War II. The services, held in the High Synagogue and led by Reform rabbi Douglas Charing of Leeds, England, were conducted in English and Hebrew with a Czech translation, accompanied by a tape-recording of choral singing. At the time of Bejt Praha's inception, there was some tension with the official Prague Jewish community, but by the spring of 1995 it was accepted as an associate member of the community.

Numerous cultural events with a Jewish flavor took place, including concerts, exhibitions, lectures, and dramatic performances, many attended by non-Jews. Efforts were under way, sometimes carried out by volunteer groups, to restore several historic synagogues and to clean up various abandoned Jewish cemeteries around the Czech Republic. The New York-based Jewish Heritage Council of the World Monuments Fund, in a report to the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, published a detailed survey of Jewish monuments in the Czech Republic in January 1995.

In July 1994, participants in a camp held by the Czechoslovak Union of Jewish Youth carried out some repairs on the 16th-century synagogue in Holesov, also used as a Jewish museum, and conducted the first prayer service there since the 1920s. In March 1995, Jews from Prague and abroad danced in the streets of Prague's old Jewish quarter as a Torah scroll that had just been repaired by two Israeli scribes was ceremonially returned to Prague's historic Old-New Synagogue. President Havel, Culture Minister Pavel Tigrid, and various ambassadors also took part in the ceremony, during which the two scribes completed their repair work by inscribing the last words of the Torah in the open scroll. The rolled-up Torah, adorned with a golden crown that had been donated to the Prague community in the 18th century, was escorted from the Jewish Town Hall to the Old-New Synagogue in a joyous procession including musicians and dancers.

On April 29, 1994, the Czech Parliament passed a property restitution law that

would enable individual Jews who are Czech citizens to claim return of their former private property seized by the Nazis. Other legislation provided for the return of 202 properties, mostly synagogues and cemeteries, owned by the Jewish community before World War II. By the spring of 1995, only about half of the communal properties had been returned, and Jewish representatives and others sharply criticized the government for stalling on the matter.

In the most notable example of property restitution, the Czech government officially returned the Prague Jewish Museum, one of the world's largest collections of Judaica, to the Prague Jewish community at a ceremony on October 13, 1994. The ceremony was attended by President Havel and other government officials, Israeli ambassador Moshe Yegar, and Czech Jewish leaders. Leo Pavlat was named new director of the museum, which includes the historic Old Jewish Cemetery, several old synagogues used as exhibition halls, and other buildings. Two of the synagogues, the Old-New Synagogue and the High Synagogue, were separated from the museum and placed under the administration of the Jewish community as houses of worship.

Hungary

In the second free elections since the peaceful ouster of the Communist regime in 1989, Hungarian voters in May 1994 dealt a decisive defeat to the conservative, nationalist-tinged right that had ruled the country for four years and elected a left-wing government.

The Hungarian Socialist Party, the legal heirs to the old Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) Party, won an absolute majority in Parliament, but it entered into coalition with the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats, which had become the second largest party and which had several prominent Jews among its leaders. Gyula Horn, foreign minister in the old Communist government, became prime minister. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, which had headed the ruling coalition since it became the largest parliamentary party in the 1990 elections, was crushed, winning less than 10 percent of parliamentary seats. The voters also decisively rejected far-right nationalist parties. High-profile right-wing, anti-Semitic extremists, such as writer Istvan Csurka, who had been expelled from the Democratic Forum because of his extremism, and Izabella Kiraly, a vocal mentor of skinhead groups, failed to be reelected to Parliament. Csurka, in an article in the far-right weekly *Magyar Forum*, said, "Israel directed the results of the Hungarian elections by remote control."

The resounding defeat of the right was largely based on voter dissatisfaction with inflation, unemployment, and other economic hardship under the conservatives, but it also apparently demonstrated that Hungarians had turned their backs on the nationalist nostalgia for the past—including the interwar and wartime regime of Admiral Miklos Horthy—that characterized Democratic Forum thinking. Hungarian Jews expressed satisfaction with the electoral results.

The new government made a radical break with the past, publicly apologizing to

Jews for Hungary's role in the Holocaust and for Hungarian persecution of Jews before World War II. In July Prime Minister Horn issued such an apology in a message marking the 50th anniversary of the deportation of Hungary's Jews to Auschwitz. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, speaking in Horn's name, repeated the apology in a statement read to a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in New York in October. "It is a self-deception if anyone shifts responsibility for the genocide in Hungary solely and exclusively to Nazi Germany," he said. He added, "The shutting out of society and even persecution of Jews of Hungarian citizenship did not begin on May 19, 1944, when the Germans occupied the country. We should not forget about the murders committed by the White Terror Squads in 1919, [the quotas] in the 1920s and the shameful anti-Jewish laws. . . . Consequently it has to be stated unambiguously that history obliges us to apologize."

Although anti-Semitism and neo-Nazi skinhead activity were cause for concern—there were estimated to be about 5,000 skinheads in Hungary—most of the violence was directed against Romas (Gypsies), with rare attacks against Jewish targets. In January 1995, for example, two skinheads were arrested in the eastern city of Debrecen on charges of setting fire to Torah scrolls at the synagogue there. According to an attitude study, *Anti-Semitism Among Hungarian College and University Students*, published in July 1994 by the American Jewish Committee, 25 percent of students were anti-Semitic to a greater or lesser degree, 32 percent shared some common negative stereotypes about Jews, and 43 percent were free of all forms of anti-Semitism.

There were numerous commemorations of the Holocaust in Hungary throughout 1994—the year that marked the 50th anniversary of the mass deportation of Hungarian Jews—and the spring of 1995. In January 1994, and again in 1995, large crowds including Jews and high-ranking Hungarian officials gathered to observe the 49th and 50th anniversaries of the liberation of the Budapest ghetto. There were also ceremonies in tribute to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who rescued tens of thousands of Jews and who later disappeared in the Soviet Union.

On March 18, 1994, the 50th anniversary of the Nazi occupation, Hungary paid tribute to victims of the Holocaust. A government statement vowed to fight any resurgence of extremism and said the "coolly premeditated, organized, massive and indiscriminate extermination of Hungarian Jews can never be forgotten. . . . The government believes the eternal remembrance of the Holocaust and stable democracy can jointly strengthen Hungary to resist any threat to human dignity and peace."

Numerous ceremonies throughout Hungary marked the 50th anniversary of the deportations of Jews from specific towns and cities, which began in the spring of 1944. At the beginning of July 1994, Hungarian officials, Jewish leaders, and international dignitaries attended a commemorative ceremony in Budapest. "We are here to recall dark days and dark deeds," President Arpad Goncz told the gathering. New prime minister Gyula Horn sent a message saying, "Hungarian Jewry is owed an historic apology."

At the end of 1994, Christian churches in Hungary issued a joint statement,

calling the Holocaust "the most shameful event of the 20th century" and asking forgiveness for Christians "who failed to act against the deportation, persecution and killing of 600,000 Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust." In January 1995, President Arpad Goncz represented Hungary at a ceremony in Poland commemorating the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, where most of Hungary's prewar Jewish population was exterminated.

In late 1994 Israel appointed a new ambassador to Hungary, Hungarian-born Yoel Alon. (Alon, a victim of the infamous experiments on twins carried out by Josef Mengele at Auschwitz, left Hungary for Israel in 1949 with his family, who had survived the Holocaust.) Talks were under way on a free-trade agreement between Israel and Hungary, expected to be implemented in 1996. Malev Hungarian Airlines sponsored a Budapest Culture Week in Jerusalem in April 1995, the first such event in that city. Budapest and Tel Aviv are "sister cities," and previous Budapest Culture Weeks had taken place in Tel Aviv.

At the end of 1994, ten Hungarian Christians were honored by Israel as Righteous Gentiles, for saving Jews during the Holocaust. In December the Jewish Agency for Israel honored Hungary for its role in aiding the transit of more than 200,000 Jews from the former Soviet Union to Israel between 1989 and 1992.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Estimates of the number of Jews in Hungary ranged from 54,000 to 130,000. The reason for the wide estimate is that only a minority of Hungarian Jews were registered with the Jewish community or had formal contacts with other Jewish bodies. Some 90 percent of Hungarian Jews were in Budapest, the rest scattered in about 30 other towns and cities.

The Federation of Jewish Communities in Hungary was mainly concerned with communities outside Budapest, while the Association of Jewish Communities in Budapest encompassed most Hungarian Jews. Both organizations operated under a single joint executive director and were supported by the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in carrying out religious, social-welfare, and education activities. About 200 Hungarian Jews settled in Israel in 1994, a 25-percent increase over 1993. Almost half of them were young Hungarian Jews who had gone to study in Israel and decided to remain.

The majority of Hungarian Jews were nonobservant. Most practicing Jews were Neolog (Conservative/Reform), as were the chief rabbi and Rabbinical Seminary. There was, however, a small Orthodox community with its own administrative organs. Sim Shalom, a small progressive Jewish group independent of the official Jewish institutions, began operation in early 1994. Its members met for study and worship and brought in Liberal rabbis from England to conduct holiday services and give lectures.

A large percentage of Hungarian Jews were elderly, many of them needy. The JDC supported cash grants and food programs including meals-on-wheels. Some

550 elderly Jews attended five day-care centers in Budapest and Szeged. Two of the centers opened in 1994.

A new Jewish community center, the Balint Center, sponsored by the JDC and financed in part by a \$300,000 grant from World Jewish Relief as well as grants from the World ORT Union and the Doron Foundation, opened October 16, 1994. Welfare Minister Pal Kovacs spoke at the inaugural ceremony, which was attended by the U.S. and Israeli ambassadors to Hungary. The new center, the biggest of its kind in East-Central Europe, is housed in a downtown building that was owned by the Jewish community before World War II and was recently returned to the Jewish community by the Hungarian government. The center offers a wide range of activities—educational programs, art shows, a club for Holocaust survivors (of which there were about 30,000 in Hungary), a social club, library, and computerized education system with access to the Internet. In December 1994, the center was the scene of a Hanukkah celebration and carnival that drew more than 500 people.

Jewish educational programs flourished. In September 1994, Ronald S. Lauder, head of the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, took part in a ground-breaking ceremony in Budapest for a new campus for the Lauder-Yavneh school, due to open in 1996–97. Founded in 1990, the Lauder-Yavneh school had more than 550 students from 5 to 18 years of age, who attended classes in three separate locations. The Lauder Foundation provided more than \$4 million toward the construction costs of a new school building that would permit the school's kindergarten, elementary school, and high school to operate on the same premises. The five-acre site was provided rent-free on a 99-year lease by the Budapest municipality. The Anna Frank Jewish Community High School had an enrollment of 250 in 1994–95, up from 190 the previous year. In 1994, its fifth anniversary year, the Lauder-JDC International Camp at Szarvas drew more than 1,800 Jewish children and family members from former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and several different republics of the former Soviet Union. Although new construction increased camp capacity by 15 percent, children still had to be turned away for lack of space.

The European Council of Jewish Communities held its annual General Assembly in Budapest, November 19–20, 1994, which included a seminar on "Hopes and Fears: Jewish Identity in the New Europe" and a professional workshop on "The Jewish Family Before the Year 2000." Representatives of Jewish communities in more than a score of European countries took part in the gathering.

There were numerous Jewish and Jewish-interest cultural events. An enlarged Budapest Jewish Museum, part of a complex of buildings attached to the Dohany Street Synagogue, was inaugurated at the end of February 1995 with an art exhibition on "Victims and Killers," including drawings both of Hungarian Jewish victims in the Budapest ghetto and the war-crimes trials of Hungarian Nazis after World War II. President Arpad Goncz attended the inaugural ceremony. Also on exhibit were more than 180 gold and silver ritual objects and other treasures worth more than \$250 million that had been stolen from the Jewish Museum in December 1993.

Most of the objects were recovered in Romania in August 1994 after a joint investigation by Hungarian, Israeli, and Romanian police. The three suspects in the theft included two Romanian citizens and one Romanian-born Israeli. The last 30 missing items were found in Romania in February 1995.

The Maccabi Publishing House, Hungary's first publishing house specializing in Jewish books, issued the first line-by-line bilingual edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed in Hebrew and Hungarian on facing pages. Among many Jewish-oriented concerts and performances, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra performed in Budapest as part of a tour of Europe. A concert of klezmer and Hungarian folk music was presented in Budapest at the beginning of December. The Yavneh-Lauder Youth Theater drew audiences of 200 to 300 people for performances in Budapest and the provinces, including at a Jewish Culture Week in the western Hungarian town of Tata. All their plays had Jewish themes, and the group had begun work on a play about wartime heroine Hannah Szenes, using original archival material.

Poland

Poland's economic indicators, fueled by a flourishing private sector, were up in 1994, with a 4.7-percent growth in Gross Domestic Product. The private sector accounted for 56 percent of the GDP. The unemployment rate began dropping but was still about 16 percent at the end of the year. The inflation rate was 29 percent in December, down from 37 percent a year earlier.

Auschwitz survivor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, 73, was named foreign minister in a cabinet reorganization in March 1995 that brought in a new left-wing government coalition led by Prime Minister Josef Oleksy. Bartoszewski, a Roman Catholic writer and historian, was an honorary citizen of Israel and one of the first people honored as a Righteous Gentile for helping organize the Żegota organization, a resistance group that braved harsh reprisals in order to help save Jews in Poland during the Holocaust. He was described by Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal as the "most sincere friend Polish Jews ever had in this century."

Throughout 1994 and early 1995 there were numerous events commemorating the last years of World War II, and monuments to Holocaust victims were set up in a number of different towns and cities around the country.

In April 1994, more than 6,000 Jewish teenagers from over 35 countries traveled to Holocaust sites in Poland as part of the fourth biennial "March of the Living," sponsored by the World Zionist Organization. On Yom Hashoah, Holocaust Memorial Day, the young people marched in silence from Auschwitz to Birkenau. After their stay in Poland, they flew on to Israel. A smaller "mini" march took place in April 1995. Despite its worthy intention, to teach young Jews about the Holocaust and instill a stronger sense of Jewish identity, the march raised some criticism among Polish Jews and non-Jews. Critics contended that it fostered a negative basis for Jewish identity and that it perpetuated negative stereotypes of Poles, ignoring recent developments in Polish-Jewish relations. In April 1994 and 1995, ceremonies

were held in Warsaw to mark the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of April 1943.

A central commemorative event for all Poles was the 50th anniversary of the anti-Nazi Warsaw uprising of August-September 1944. That battle—which took place more than a year after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising—was the high point of Polish resistance to the Nazis and a major factor in Polish hatred of the Soviets. In more than 63 days of fighting against the Nazi occupiers, 200,000 Poles died—most of them civilians—and Warsaw was devastated. Throughout the fighting, the Soviet Red Army stood on the other side of the Vistula River from downtown Warsaw, refusing to lend assistance. About 1,000 Jews (out of the 7,000 to 30,000 Jews estimated still living then in Warsaw) fought in the uprising.

Fighters in the uprising are regarded in Poland as untarnished heroes, but there was also a “dark side” to the historic episode. This was brought to light in January 1994 when the leading newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* published an article describing anti-Semitic acts carried out by some resistance fighters. These included the murder of 25 to 100 Jews by Polish criminals, members of a rabidly anti-Semitic organization whose units took part in the fighting against the Nazis. The article also detailed instances when Jews were helped by resistance fighters, including the liberation of 348 Jewish prisoners from a fortified prison. The article opened the door to a wide-ranging debate over Polish-Jewish relations during World War II.

In August 1994, several hundred Jews from around the world gathered in Lodz to mark the 50th anniversary of the liquidation of the Lodz Ghetto. There was also a ceremony at Chelmno, the site of the death camp where many of the 200,000 Lodz Jews who died in the Holocaust were killed.

The 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau was commemorated on January 26–27, 1995, but the event was marked by conflict between Jews and Poles over how Auschwitz should be remembered and its symbolic meaning for each of them. Some Jewish groups charged the Polish organizers with attempting to “Polonize” or “Christianize” Auschwitz by minimizing or ignoring the magnitude of the Jewish losses (some 90 percent of the estimated 1.1 to 1.5 million people killed in the camp complex were Jews). Bitterness over this led to Jews staging a separate memorial ceremony at Birkenau on January 26, the day before the official commemorations at Auschwitz and Birkenau. The latter were attended by heads of state and representatives of more than two dozen countries and were televised internationally. Pressure by Jews, including Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel, convinced the Polish organizers to change the program and begin the main official ceremony with the Kaddish and other Jewish prayers. And only pressure by Wiesel and others induced Polish president Lech Walesa to include reference to the Jewish dimension of Auschwitz in his speech at the main event. In two earlier speeches during the commemorations, Walesa failed to make specific reference to the Jews.

A public-opinion survey released on the eve of the anniversary commemorations underscored the different perceptions of Poles and Jews that clouded the ceremo-

nies. The survey, conducted for the American Jewish Committee, showed that Poles are highly knowledgeable about some aspects of the Holocaust, and that the vast majority of Poles—more than 85 percent—strongly favor keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive. At the same time, Poles feel their own suffering in World War II was equal to that of the Jews, and also take a generally positive view of Polish behavior toward Jews during the Holocaust.

Anti-Semitism in Poland remained a concern, although there were no violent manifestations of anti-Semitism reported in 1994 and early 1995. Several ultranationalist parties operated in Poland, as well as skinhead gangs, but they were considered a fringe phenomenon and isolated politically. Boleslaw Tejkowski, the leader of one of these tiny groups, the Polish Nationalist Party, was sentenced in October 1994 to a one-year suspended sentence for inciting ethnic strife and slandering Polish authorities, bishops, and Jews. In Wroclaw in March 1994 there were scuffles between skinheads and antiracists, and in April 1995 about 80 ultranationalists, most of them skinheads, demonstrated in central Warsaw, chanting anti-Jewish and antiliberal slogans. Police did not intervene, asserting that there was no violence and that the demonstration was legal. Some episodes of vandalism were reported, including the scrawling of anti-Semitic graffiti at Warsaw's Jewish cemetery in January 1994 and on the Warsaw Ghetto memorial in February 1995. At the end of 1994 a seemingly anti-Semitic advertisement, showing a caricature of a money-grubbing Jew, appeared in the in-flight magazine of Poland's Lot airlines. Lot's North American manager apologized for it. Several extremist publications with anti-Semitic content were published in Poland.

There were a number of educational, cultural, and other initiatives aimed at combatting anti-Semitism and promoting information about Jews, Jewish history, and Judaism. Hebrew and Jewish studies classes were introduced in some Krakow and Warsaw high schools. Fifty Polish guides at the Auschwitz Museum went to Israel for a three-week course at Yad Vashem in order to study Judaism, Jewish history, the Holocaust, and facts about Israel, to provide them with a better background for their job.

In July 1994, the International Council of Christians and Jews held a conference in Warsaw, attended by participants from 23 countries. At the conclusion of the conference, the Polish Council of Christians and Jews presented its Man of Reconciliation Award to Father John T. Pawlikowski, professor of Social Ethics at the Catholic Theological Union at the University of Chicago. Pawlikowski had been long involved in promoting Catholic-Jewish dialogue and had visited Poland on eight lecture tours, during which he spoke to students and professors in Warsaw, Lublin, and Krakow. In October President Lech Walesa awarded Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, and Wiesenthal also received an honorary doctorate from Krakow's Jagiellonian University.

In June 1994, Krakow was the scene of its fourth Festival of Jewish Culture, a weeklong extravaganza of concerts, exhibits, films, and theatrical performances

rooted in Jewish heritage. Most of the performers were Jews from Israel, the United States, and Western Europe, but the overwhelming majority of the audience was made up of non-Jewish Poles. Interest was so high that a second Jewish Culture Festival, organized by the Austrian Consulate in Krakow, ran in that city during the same time period. At the end of September, Jewish groups from Ukraine as well as Poland took part in the second Festival of Poland's National Minorities held in Gdansk, which included a conference on minority cultures in Central and Eastern Europe.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

It was difficult to quantify the number of Jews in Poland. Estimates ranged from the 7,000–8,000 officially registered with the community or receiving aid from the JDC, to 10,000–15,000 people of Jewish ancestry who showed interest in rediscovering their heritage, to as many as 30,000 to 40,000 people of Jewish ancestry. Events over the year demonstrated growing interest among younger Jews seeking to recover or claim a Jewish identity. Education and youth programs run by the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation and the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) increased in scope, attracting hundreds of participants.

The JDC made a policy decision to devote more of its budget to education and less to its traditional welfare services. By 1994–95, two-thirds of the JDC Poland budget was devoted to welfare, down from 90 percent just two years earlier. The JDC maintained support of the Jewish religious organization, the Union of Polish Jewish Religious Communities, and had eight social workers covering the country, providing social services and financial aid for more than 2,000 needy elderly Jews. But about 300 people were dropped from the JDC social-welfare case load and integrated into the state system.

One-third of the JDC budget went to educational programs, most of them technically run by local Polish Jewish organizations, primarily the Union of Polish Jewish Religious Communities and the Jewish Socio-Cultural Association (TSKZ). Major education initiatives included the arrival in Warsaw in May 1994 of Yossi Erez as resident JDC Consultant on Community Organization, Jewish Education and Culture. Erez concentrated much of his work on training staff and teachers to work in communities, such as 17 Polish youth instructors ages 19–30. The Jewish Educational Resource Center opened in Warsaw by the JDC provided materials for teaching and learning.

The Ronald S. Lauder Foundation expanded its educational and youth activities, which included youth clubs and educational centers in Warsaw, Lodz, Wroclaw, and Krakow, plus programming in Katowice, Walbrzych, and Gdansk. The clubs in Lodz and Wroclaw were opened in 1994; the club in Krakow opened in January 1995. The opening ceremony for the club in Krakow was held during commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and was attended by Ronald S. Lauder, Elie Wiesel, and Speaker of the Knesset Shevach Weiss, among

others. The youth club and educational center in Warsaw housed and supported a youth club, Jewish library, the Polish Union of Jewish Students, a student monthly, *Jidele*, and the Makabi sports club. In addition to daily educational activities, there were social events and Shabbat and holiday dinners. Summer and winter retreats attended by more than 500 people were held at the Lauder camp in Rychwald, where Jewish families learned the fundamentals of Jewish religion and tradition.

In September 1994 the Lauder-Morasha School opened in Warsaw, the first primary school under Jewish auspices in Poland in more than 25 years. The school opened with 18 first-graders, and there were plans to expand to grades 2–3 in 1995.

Besides educational and youth activities, there were other indications of Jewish revival. The Jewish community of Gdansk reestablished itself just before Passover 1994 and drew 80 Jews to its first event, a seder. The community obtained permission to hold some of its events in the former synagogue. In April 1994, a Jewish wedding took place in the courtyard of the historic Remuh Synagogue in Krakow. It was believed to be the first Jewish religious wedding in Krakow in at least 40 years. The bride was English and the groom Austrian. A Jewish wedding between an Israeli man and a Polish woman took place in Warsaw's Noszyk Synagogue. Over the year more than a dozen Jewish men and boys were circumcised.

Efforts to restore Jewish cemeteries and synagogues were undertaken by private individuals and foundations, as well as the state-sponsored Remembrance Foundation, founded in 1993. Several Holocaust memorials also were dedicated in Jewish cemeteries, some of them constructed out of fragments of tombstones. The Foundation took the initiative in a program of affixing granite memorial plaques on extant synagogue buildings no longer used as synagogues. By March 1995, plaques had been affixed to 11 synagogues in various parts of Poland. In January 1994, the New York-based Jewish Heritage Council of the World Monuments Fund published the first comprehensive survey of existing Jewish relics in Poland, a work encompassing more than 1,000 sites, mainly synagogues and Jewish cemeteries.

Toward the end of 1994, ambitious plans were announced by the Jewish Historical Institute to erect a Museum of the History of the Jews in Poland, in Warsaw, with a planned opening in 1997. Former Israeli president Chaim Herzog, German president Roman Herzog, and the Hon. Ronald S. Lauder were named chairmen of the international honorary committee for the project.

An important historical discovery was made in Warsaw in early 1994, when a cache of documents and everyday objects detailing life in the Warsaw Ghetto came to light during renovation work on the building housing the Lauder Foundation and other Jewish organizations. The finds included personal papers and memorabilia of the four-member Melchior family, all believed killed during the Holocaust. Publicity over the finds led an Israeli woman who had escaped from Poland in 1939 to contact the Lauder Foundation. She proved to be the sister of the father of the Melchior family, and the discovery of the documents was the first news she had had of her family in over 50 years.

Romania

Romania's economic situation stabilized somewhat in 1994. For the first time in five years real wages increased, although they remained well below what they were five years before, and gross domestic product grew by 3 percent. The exchange rate of the leu against the dollar was also stable, and annual inflation fell to 62 percent, compared to 300 percent for 1993.

The political front was marred by the formal entry of an extreme nationalist party, the Party of Romanian National Unity (PRNU), into the government, and also by continuing efforts to rehabilitate both Romania's wartime fascist dictator, Ion Antonescu, who was executed as a war criminal in 1946, and the Nazi-like Iron Guard movement. The Party of Romanian National Unity formally joined the cabinet on August 18, 1994. Before that, the government of the ruling Party of Social Democracy in Romania was kept in power by the informal support of the PRNU and two other extreme nationalist parties.

In January 1994, President Ion Iliescu sent letters to the Anti-Defamation League and Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D., N.Y.) giving his personal assurance that he would "use all my constitutional powers to prevent and, if the case, to put an end of any action [designed to] revive anti-Semitism in Romania. . . . The Romanian people and the government of Romania have nothing in common with extremist attitudes." The letters were written in reaction to concern in the United States over the efforts to rehabilitate Antonescu, including recent dedications of statues and streets in his honor. In November 1994, a new bust of Antonescu was unveiled in the northern town of Piatra Neamt at a ceremony attended by local officials and war veterans. Rabbi Andrew Baker, head of European Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, registered a complaint about the new bust with Romanian ambassador to Washington Mihai Horia Bodez.

In the spring of 1994, a Council of Europe Mission to Bucharest expressed disappointment with Romania's record on human rights. Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, in a statement to the Council of Europe, said, "There are growing insults and threats against us. . . . We need a law which clearly punishes such xenophobia and anti-Semitism." In the fall, President Iliescu met in London with British Jewish leaders who told him of their concern about the rehabilitation of Antonescu and reports of rising anti-Semitism in Romania. Iliescu, whose accompanying delegation included Nicolae Cajal, the president of the Federation of Romanian Jewish Communities, reiterated his criticism of the efforts to rehabilitate Antonescu.

In the spring of 1994, senior Romanian government representatives and church leaders joined with Jewish leaders and members of the Jewish community at a ceremony in the city of Oradea to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the deportation of Jews from Transylvania. Victor Opalski, personal representative of President Iliescu, read a message from Iliescu that referred to the 1,300 towns and villages devastated in the region. "Out of the 166,601 Jews [deported] only 25,000 returned," Opalski said. This marked the first time that a Romanian official publicly cited

figures of how many Jews were killed and from how many towns.

In September 1994, Alfred H. Moses, a 65-year-old lawyer, president of the American Jewish Committee, and a longtime advocate of Romanian Jewry, was appointed U.S. ambassador to Romania. Since the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu, Moses had spoken out several times against rising anti-Semitism and the attempted rehabilitation of Antonescu. His appointment was covered widely in the Romanian media, and many newspapers profiled him as a well-known representative of American Jewry. But his appointment also infuriated the Romanian extreme right. Seven right-wing extremist Romanian parliamentarians—ignoring the fact that many right-wing and other Romanian political leaders had been close supporters or aides of Ceausescu—sent a letter to U.S. senator Jesse Helms protesting the Moses appointment on “moral grounds,” charging that Moses “was, for a long time, associated with the Ceausescus; this disqualifies him in the race for the position of ambassador in Romania.”

In February 1995, Romanian police recovered the last 30 items of the Judaica objects stolen from the Budapest Jewish Museum. Most of the stolen treasure had been found and returned to the Budapest Jewish community in the summer of 1994 (see “Hungary”).

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Fewer than 15,000 Jews in Romania were officially affiliated with the Jewish community. More than half of them were over 60 years of age, and fewer than 8 percent of them were under 20. About 500 elderly Romanian Jews died in 1994, and roughly the same number, mainly young people, emigrated to Israel. At the same time, about 400 to 1,000 Israelis of Romanian origin were reported to have returned to Romania, many of them maintaining dual homes and dual citizenship.

The JDC continued to be a main support of the Romanian Jewish community, directly assisting 2,500 families. The JDC's assistance program provided 1,200 daily meals-on-wheels and about 2,800 food parcels distributed several times a year. It also provided funds to support four nursing homes and other medical and social-assistance programs.

The Jewish community suffered a severe blow when Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen died on May 6, 1994, at the age of 81, nearly four weeks after suffering a series of strokes. Rosen had served as chief rabbi since 1948 and as president of the Federation of Romanian Jewish Communities (FEDROM), Romanian Jewry's secular organization, since 1964. Throughout the Communist period he conducted a difficult and potentially dangerous political balancing act, trading off public support of the Communist regime—some called it servility—for religious and communal rights for Romanian Jews. These included the right to emigrate, at a price secretly agreed upon by Romania and Israel, reportedly \$1,000 to \$5,000 per person. He thus oversaw the exodus of almost all the nearly 400,000 Romanian Jews who survived the Holocaust. In addition, he won concessions that allowed scores of synagogues

and Jewish communal services to function and Jewish aid organizations, primarily the JDC, to operate.

After the revolution that overthrew and executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu at the end of 1989, Rosen became the lightning rod for increasingly open and virulent anti-Semitic attacks by extremist political parties and politicians. He also led the drive to have Romania and Romanians recognize Romania's complicity in the Holocaust and initiated protests against the growing efforts to rehabilitate Antonescu.

President Iliescu, Jewish religious leaders, senior diplomats, including the Israeli ambassador to Romania, and hundreds of Jews attended a memorial service for Rosen at Bucharest's main synagogue, before his body was flown to Israel for burial in Jerusalem. "As head of state, I express appreciation for Rabbi Rosen, the man who led the Romanian Jewish community for so many years, a loyal Jew and a loyal Romanian citizen," Iliescu said. Rabbi Arthur Schneier of New York called Rosen "a great patriot, a man who built bridges between Romania and Israel in the most difficult times." Rosen's widow, Amalia, who had worked closely with her husband over the decades, died seven months later, in December 1994.

In mid-June, five weeks after Rabbi Rosen's death, 75-year-old microbiologist Nicolae Cajal was elected head of the Romanian Federation of Jewish Communities. Cajal, president of the medical science branch of the Romanian Academy, a vice-president of the Academy of Medical Science, and president of Romania's Consultative College for Applied Research and Development, was elected to serve as an independent senator in the country's first postrevolutionary Parliament in 1989. He had served for many years as one of Rosen's chief advisers, and his election to head the FEDROM was welcomed by the Jewish community. It also was reported on Romanian television and radio.

After assuming his new position, Cajal became a familiar public figure through television appearances. Departing from Rosen's overt denunciations, he took a less confrontational stance on issues such as anti-Semitism, presenting it as a more isolated, fringe phenomenon in Romanian society and stressing the importance of combatting it through education. He also moved to decentralize the operation of the FEDROM and to democratize Jewish community leadership. A key element in this was his own election as Jewish lay leader, separate from the office of chief rabbi. (Rosen had held both offices.) Cajal also announced in July 1994 that the Jewish community planned to run a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in elections in 1996.

On May 28, 1995—Rosen's Yahrzeit, as it happened—Romanian-born Israeli rabbi Yeheskel Mark, 67, was elected the new chief rabbi.

Slovakia

The political situation in 1994 was tumultuous. Three different governments held power: Prime Minister Vladimer Meciar's government lost a vote of confidence in

March and was replaced by a new government led by Jozef Moravcik. After inconclusive parliamentary elections September 30 and October 1, Meciar eventually became prime minister again in December. His government coalition included the far-right Slovak National Party, which raised concern. Thousands of people took part in two big demonstrations in Bratislava protesting the political situation.

Efforts continued to rehabilitate Father Jozef Tiso, the leader of the wartime Independent Slovak State that was set up by the Nazis, and Andrej Hlinka, a prewar separatist leader. About 2,000 people rallied on March 14, 1994, in Bratislava, in the largest of demonstrations in several cities marking the 54th anniversary of the founding of the Independent Slovak State. In October there were several demonstrations marking Tiso's birthday. In September 1994, the decision by the Bratislava City Council to rename the city's central square after Andrej Hlinka was denounced by Jewish leaders and several politicians from both left and right.

Occasional episodes of anti-Semitism were reported, including anti-Semitic articles in the media. In April 1994, vandals overturned about 60 tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Vrbove, northeast of Bratislava. Local authorities apologized, and the youths convicted of the vandalism were sentenced to community service.

Senior government officials as well as Jewish organizations condemned anti-Semitism. In September 1994, President Michal Kovac warned against the "forces of extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism pushing themselves forward." In December Prime Minister Meciar said his government denounced "all manifestations of intolerance, above all chauvinism, aggressive nationalism, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia." The American Jewish Committee helped organize, in association with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, a conference on tolerance in Eastern and Central Europe, held in Bratislava in July. In August 1994, an Israeli delegation took part in ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising; for the first time, Jewish participation in the uprising was officially recognized and also written about in detail in many publications. In February 1995, Slovakia's Jewish leaders protested when Parliament named Maros Puchovsky, editor of the anti-Semitic weekly *Zmena*, to the council that operates the state radio network.

In August 1994, Slovakia and Israel signed an agreement to open links between airports and transport authorities in the two countries. It was signed by Israeli transport minister Yisrael Kessar and Slovak foreign minister Eduard Kukan. On November 24, 1994, Moshe Yegar, Israeli ambassador to the Czech Republic, bestowed a posthumous Righteous Gentile award on a Slovak couple. At a ceremony at the Israeli embassy in Prague, the award was presented to the daughter of the late Vojtech and Anna Mjartus, who hid three Jews in their home in a small Slovak village during World War II. Yegar noted that in the same village, 18 other Jews were hunted down and executed by the Nazis.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

There were an estimated 3,000 Jews in Slovakia, mainly in Bratislava and Kosice. American-born rabbi Baruch Myers, a Chabad Lubavitch Hassid who arrived in Bratislava in 1993, became a focal point for renewed Jewish religious life in Bratislava. Among other activities, he organized Sabbath dinners and ran a kindergarten and Sunday school. In July 1994 he initiated a two-week summer day camp for about two dozen children, financed by Chabad and JDC. He distributed colorful Chabad pamphlets giving simple explanations of Jewish holidays, their history and observance, as well as recipes for traditional holiday foods, all translated into Slovak. This project was financed by private sources in Chabad and by the JDC. Plans were under way to open a full-time Jewish day school, and a new mikveh was opened in Bratislava in June 1995.

Myers was not sent by Chabad to Bratislava, but was hired by the Bratislava Jewish community. He came under criticism from some members of the mostly secular Jewish community, however, who found his Orthodoxy too strict and too oriented toward Chabad. A nonreligious focus of Jewish life was the Jewish Forum, which programmed regular lectures and other programs that were well attended.

In the spring of 1994 the Union of Slovak Jewish Communities fired Lazar Kleinman from his position as rabbi in Kosice. He was accused of professional and personal activities and behavior that harmed the community, including involvement in politics. Kleinman charged that his dismissal was not carried out according to Slovak law and brought suit against the Slovak Jewish Union. As of one year later, he was still fighting his dismissal and still remained in Kosice.

In July 1994 the Czechoslovak Union of Jewish Youth had a camp at Liptovsky Mikulas, hosted by the Christian Youth of Slovakia. In a shared program called "bridges," the 50 or so Jews and 35 Christians helped restore both a synagogue and a small church. They concluded with a special concert in which Jewish musicians played in the synagogue while Christian musicians performed in the church. The two locations were linked by a broadcast network so that the audience in both places, totaling about 1,000 people, could hear both concerts.

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Bosnia-Herzegovina

As war continued to ravage Bosnia-Herzegovina for the third year, the Sarajevo Jewish community's social aid organization, La Benevolencija, gained in stature—and international recognition—as one of the most respected conduits of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo residents, regardless of their religion or ethnicity. Working in conjunction with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) and Britain's World Jewish Relief, La Benevolencija distributed more than 350 tons of

food and ran a soup kitchen that handed out 360 meals a day. Its medical team, clinic, and three pharmacies (a fourth opened at Passover 1995) fulfilled a crucial service for the entire city. It also ran a post office and cultural programs. In 1994 "Friends of La Benevolencija" societies formed in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands to raise funds and collect goods for La Benevolencija distribution. At the beginning of 1995, the JDC convened the first donors' conference of European aid societies supporting La Benevolencija in order to coordinate their donations and activities.

In February 1994, a six-bus convoy organized by the JDC and La Benevolencija, in cooperation with other organizations, brought nearly 300 Jews, Croats, Serbs, and Muslims out of Sarajevo to the JDC-run refugee center at Makarska on Croatia's Adriatic coast. About 100 of the evacuees were Jewish. Among the evacuees was an elderly Muslim woman, Zajniba Hartaga-Susic, who was designated a "Righteous Gentile" and invited to live in Israel.

In recognition of the service carried out by La Benevolencija and the Sarajevo Jewish community throughout the war, Sarajevo Jewish community leader Ivica Ceresnjcs was awarded the French Legion of Honor medal in October 1994.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

In the spring of 1995 there were an estimated 900 Jews in Bosnia—an astonishing number considering that 1,800 Jews had left the country since the outbreak of war, and that before the war broke out there were believed to have been only 1,200 Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The "surplus" consisted of people who before the war had not affiliated with the community or identified themselves as Jews suddenly coming forward and joining the community. Most Bosnian Jews were in Sarajevo, but there were small, isolated communities in six other locations, both in Bosnian government-controlled and Serbian-controlled areas. One of these communities, Banja Luka, in Serbian-controlled territory, saw its Jewish community grow from seven before the war to 70 by the spring of 1995. Auschwitz survivor Edita Kasikovic, a Banja Luka Jewish community leader who was a source of strength for other community members, died in April 1995.

In Sarajevo, there were about 75 Jews under the age of 25, and a Jewish Sunday school opened with a student body of 20 Jewish children and 20 non-Jewish children.

At Passover in April 1995, the priceless Sarajevo Haggadah was taken from its secret storage place and displayed at the community seder in Sarajevo. Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic brought it to the seder at the request of the Sarajevo Jewish community, to dispel rumors that it had been sold to purchase weapons. Bosnia's National Museum director, Munever Imamovic, in a letter to the newspaper *Oslobodjenje*, said he had resigned in protest over the display, which he viewed as too great a risk for the priceless book. The Haggadah was handwritten and illustrated in northern Spain in the late 14th century and brought to Sarajevo in the

15th century by Sephardic Jews fleeing the expulsion from Spain and Portugal.

At the seder, which was held at noon Saturday for security reasons, Izetbegovic joined Jews as well as the heads of the city's Muslim, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic faiths, including Cardinal Vinko Puljic. Izetbegovic urged Jews to stay in Sarajevo. "I appeal to you to stay in the country because it is your country too," he said. "Our aim is that this be a country of tolerant nations and religions."

Many tombs and monuments in the Sarajevo Jewish cemetery, on the front lines of the fighting, were reported to have been ravaged and destroyed by shell fire, and the terrain of the cemetery was riddled with trenches.

Croatia

President Franjo Tudjman and the Croatian government came under criticism by Jews, Serbs, and Western human-rights groups for several actions that critics said minimized the crimes of the fascist Ustashe regime that ruled the Independent Croatian State during World War II. Among these was the substitution of the kuna for the dinar as the unit of Croatian currency. The kuna was the currency used by the wartime Croatian state. Croatian authorities fended off criticism, saying that the kuna's origin as a unit of value dated back to medieval times. Kuna means "marten" — an animal whose valuable furs were used as units of exchange.

Tudjman attended the Zagreb premiere of *Schindler's List* on March 25, 1994, and also publicly apologized to Jews for their treatment during World War II. In February 1994 he also apologized for sections of his book, *Wastelands of Historical Reality*, that were widely viewed as anti-Semitic. In a letter to international B'nai B'rith president Kent Schiner, he said that negative reaction to his book since its 1989 publication "has affected me deeply and has caused me to re-examine my statements and to re-evaluate those parts of the book in which I cited documents and personal views of some writer or participant." He wrote: "It is in terms of my evolving relationship with and increased understanding of the Jewish people that I now realize the hurtfulness of certain of the portions of this book and the misunderstanding they have caused. For this I offer an apology, both as the president of a newly independent state which wishes to forge a firm and enduring friendship with the Jewish people, and as a human being who desires to make amends in furtherance of such a friendship." He pledged that he would "work toward an ever better understanding between the Jewish communities and the Republic of Croatia." He made similar remarks in April at a ceremony honoring Branko Lustig, a Croatian-born Jew who was a producer of *Schindler's List*. Lustig was awarded the Croatian Order of Duke Trpimir.

The prime minister, speaker of Parliament, and archbishop of Zagreb attended Holocaust Remembrance Day ceremonies on April 8, 1994, organized by the Zagreb Jewish community in the Jewish cemetery. At the end of April 1995, Croats marked the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Jasenovac death camp, where Croatia's wartime regime killed thousands of Jews, Serbs, Gypsies, and Croatian

antifascists. About 300 Jews gathered for a commemorative ceremony at the Zagreb Jewish community center.

In June 1994, a Croatia-Israel Society was established in Zagreb. In March 1995, Israel honored nine Croats as Righteous Gentiles for their role in saving Jews during World War II. The ceremony at the Zagreb Jewish community center was the first of its kind to take place since Croatia declared its independence in 1991. More than 50 people in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina had been honored as Righteous Gentiles.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Fewer than 2,000 Jews lived in Croatia, about 1,500 of them in the capital, Zagreb. Others were mainly in and near Split, on the Adriatic coast. Supported by the Joint Distribution Committee and other organizations like British-based World Jewish Relief, about a dozen elderly Jewish refugees lived in an old-age home in Split, and about two dozen were being cared for in a hotel in nearby Makarska.

There was no rabbi in Croatia, but the JDC sent a full-time Jewish educator to Zagreb in January 1995. A Jewish education and computer laboratory was also opened in Zagreb. There was a wide range of organizations and activities, including the Menorah Club—an association of refugees from Sarajevo housed in Makarska, Split, and Zagreb—who made money by knitting *kippot* (skull caps) and selling them internationally. In 1995 the club also began producing Jewish New Year's cards.

Serbia and Montenegro (Yugoslavia)

The Jews of the Yugoslav Republic (Serbia and Montenegro) tried to maintain a normal life against the backdrop of the Bosnian war, but due to sanctions and global opposition to Yugoslavia's role in the four-year-old conflict, they felt cut off from the Jewish world at large. The Jewish community tried to maintain a clear distance from political involvement, but some community leaders expressed fears that critical statements by foreign Jews about Serbia's role in Bosnia could be used to harm local Jews.

Economic sanctions and other difficult conditions connected with the war in Bosnia affected Jews as well as other citizens. Support from the JDC, Britain's World Jewish Relief, and other organizations was essential, both for normal community operation and humanitarian and social aid, including aid for refugees and food, financial, and medical aid for Jews living in Bosnian communities under Serbian control, such as Banja Luka and the Grbavica neighborhood near Sarajevo. The Jewish community pharmacy in Belgrade at its peak issued 1,600–1,700 prescriptions a month to Jews all over Yugoslavia.

Various ceremonies took place commemorating the Holocaust, particularly in Vojvodina province, which had been annexed by Hungary during World War II. The biggest of these ceremonies was the two-day commemoration July 10–11, 1994,

of the 50th anniversary of the deportation to Auschwitz of 4,000 Jews from the town of Subotica, on the Hungarian border. The ceremony included an ecumenical prayer service in the town's former synagogue, a special session of the town government, and the unveiling of a monument, as well as the opening of an exhibition on local Jewish history.

Jews were concerned over isolated manifestations of anti-Semitism. These included the appearance of reprints of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and other anti-Semitic works issued by the Velvet editorial house, anti-Semitic material on computer networks, and anti-Semitic articles in some publications. The Belgrade Jewish community pressed charges against the publisher and editor of the *Protocols* reprint, and copies of a small-circulation newspaper that ran excerpts from it were confiscated by police. Serbian Orthodox church leaders condemned anti-Semitic articles, including one that appeared in an Orthodox student newspaper.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

There were about 3,000 Jews in Yugoslavia, with more than 2,000 in the capital, Belgrade, among them at least 200 Jewish refugees from Bosnia who chose to remain in Yugoslavia. Some outlying communities saw their membership grow as people who had not previously identified as Jews reclaimed their Jewish identity, and several new Jewish communities were formed. This was particularly dramatic in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo province, where a community of 37 people was reported. Before the war broke out, no Jews were reported to live in Kosovo. Nearly half of Belgrade's Jews were over 50, but about 20 percent were children.

Despite the difficult conditions, the Jewish community in Serbia and Montenegro, the largest and liveliest of the Jewish communities in ex-Yugoslavia, enjoyed a wide range of religious, educational, and cultural activities involving all age groups.

The top floor of Belgrade's synagogue was transformed into a youth and education center, where some 150 children a week attended five separate youth and student clubs. In April 1994, the community's "Braca Baruh" choir marked its 115th anniversary with a performance of Leonard Bernstein's *Chichester Psalms* accompanied by the Belgrade Philharmonic. Holidays such as Passover and Purim were celebrated with community festivities in various locations. As many as 300 people attended the 1994 Purim celebration in the city of Novi Sad. For Passover 1995, a Serbo-Croatian translation of the Haggadah, sponsored by the JDC, was available for use.

A major event in the life of the community was the arrival in February 1995 of a rabbi, Itzhak Asiel, a local man who trained for more than six years in Israel, supported by the JDC. He replaced the former rabbi, Cadik Danon, who retired in frail health. Danon's daughter was being trained by the JDC to be an assistant to Asiel. Asiel was based in Belgrade but traveled regularly to scattered smaller communities in Subotica, Novi Sad, and elsewhere. He also reintroduced kosher slaughter into Yugoslavia.

The Belgrade-based Federation published a lively monthly bulletin, and several

other Jewish communities published newsletters. In various towns efforts at restoring or documenting Jewish monuments, including cemeteries, took place, and there was repair work on the Jewish Museum in Belgrade. On March 25, 1995, Friday-night services were held in the synagogue in Novi Sad for the first time in decades. On March 30, the synagogue was the scene of an ecumenical "Prayer Service for Peace."

The community suffered the loss of two prominent members. Ladislav Kadelburg, the longtime president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia, died, as did internationally noted Jewish scholar Eugen Werber.

RUTH ELLEN GRUBER

Russia/Former Soviet Union

National Affairs

THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE collapse of the Soviet system were difficult for the USSR successor states and their inhabitants, and the 1994–95 period was not exceptional. Aside from ecological and natural disasters—an oil pipeline rupture in the Arctic and a major earthquake that killed 1,200 people in Sakhalin—economic and social problems continued to plague the former Soviet Union (FSU).

In Russia, life expectancy for men dropped from 64 years in 1990 to 59 in 1993 (lower in rural areas) and from 74 to 72 for women. The birthrate declined to 1.3 children per woman, while the rates for abortions, infant mortality, and suicide increased dramatically. Little wonder that there was a population decline in two-thirds of Russia's regions and that the overall population declined by 124,000.

Some of these developments could be attributed directly to the economic situation. In 1990 in Russia, people spent about 38 percent of their income for food; in 1993, they spent 70 percent. At the end of 1994, the average monthly wage in Russia was \$100, considerably higher than in Ukraine and many other successor states. A quarter of the population was said to be living below the poverty line. Economic reformers Yegor Gaidar and Boris Fyodorov resigned from the government, and economic power seemed to lie in the hands of directors of large state-owned enterprises, collective farms, and their political patrons. There was widespread discontent with Western aid, much of which did not seem to filter down to the population. This fed a growing resentment of the West, based partly on the perception that Russia was no longer a major actor in the international arena and that Western mass culture was capturing much of the younger population.

Still, there were some hopeful signs: increasing privatization, a slowing of inflation, and the emergence of some wealthy strata in the population. Some of these gains were vitiated by large-scale criminality; one estimate was that organized crime controlled 50,000 enterprises (*Izvestia*, October 22, 1994).

Ukraine began to move in new directions. It agreed to destroy its entire nuclear arsenal, thereby gaining about a billion dollars from the sale of reprocessed nuclear fuel. This was desperately needed, since inflation in 1993–94 ran between 70 and 100 percent a month. Ukraine, which once had supplied a quarter of the Soviet Union's grain, now imported grain; its gross domestic product declined by 25 percent in 1993, and the average wage was \$18 a month. In parliamentary elections in June 1994, Communists got the largest bloc of votes. In July, Leonid Kuchma, a former Communist Party organizer and director of a missile factory, beat out Leonid Kravchuk for the presidency of the republic. Kuchma was perceived as a

conservative pro-Russian, but he moved to improve relations with the West and promised serious economic reform and privatization.

In Belarus, the most conservative European republic, Alexander Lukashenko was elected president in July 1994. He had pledged to "halt predatory privatization" and to integrate Belarus's currency with Russia's. Other signs of some reintegration of former states were military agreements signed between Russia and Georgia and between Kazakhstan and Russia, the latter gaining control of four military bases in Kazakhstan.

The Armenian-Azerbaijani war continued. Armenian forces occupied 20 percent of Azerbaijan, which had 1.1 million refugees from the fighting and was expending about 70 percent of its budget on the struggle. On the other hand, Armenia had no working industry, constant fuel shortages, and high inflation.

By the fall of 1994, the last Russian troops had left Estonia and Latvia, having previously evacuated Lithuania. On August 31, 1994, the last Russian troops left Germany. Since 1991, about 700,000 soldiers and half a million dependents had returned from Eastern Europe and Germany. Employing and housing them was a major challenge, primarily for Russia.

The most dramatic event of the period was the war in Chechnya, a region in the North Caucasus, part of the Russian Federation, inhabited largely by the Muslim Chechens, which declared independence in 1991. While Moscow dealt successfully with similar claims by Tatarstan and other regions, it failed to reach agreement with the rebel government in Chechnya and instead backed the pro-Russian faction. Fighting between the two Chechen groups broke out in September 1994; on December 11, Russian forces launched a massive attack on the Chechen capital, Grozny, in order "to preserve the Federation." The attack, which involved heavy air bombardment of Grozny, failed to subdue the Chechen resistance. At the same time, it aroused massive domestic and foreign opposition and criticism. Only on January 19, 1995, did the presidential palace, a symbol of resistance as well as its military center, fall to Russian troops, who by then had destroyed much of the city. Chechen fighters retreated to mountainous regions and continued to fight the Russians.

President Boris Yeltsin's traditional supporters, reformers and democrats, criticized him severely for the war, while his erstwhile political enemies, Communists and nationalists, supported the attack on Chechnya to preserve the integrity of the Russian Federation. Some fighting continued into the spring and summer of 1995, though Chechen and Russian negotiators were trying to work out a settlement.

Israel and the Middle East

Political, commercial, and tourist relations between Israel and many of the former Soviet republics continued to expand. In 1994, there were about 60,000 tourists from the FSU who visited Israel, 7,000 of whom changed their status to immigrants. A growing number of Israeli immigrants from the FSU were doing business with their native countries. In 1993 Israel exported \$115 million worth of goods to Russia and

imported \$57 million worth. Israel formally agreed to reduce its requirements for licenses, tariffs, quotas, and duties on imports from Russia.

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin became the first Israeli head of government to visit Russia when he went to Moscow in April 1994. He met with Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and with Jewish leaders. Also in 1994, Prime Minister Sergei Tereschenko of Kazakhstan visited Israel, which had exported over \$35 million worth of goods to Kazakhstan and had also provided agricultural and other expertise, as well as constructing "turnkey" enterprises there. The president of another Central Asian republic, Turkmenistan, Saparmurad Niyazov, visited Israel in May 1995. The same month, Israeli president Ezer Weizmann went to Moscow for the celebration marking the 50th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany, during which he met with Russian president Boris Yeltsin.

When Lithuanian prime minister Adolfas Slezičius visited Israel in October 1994 and signed several agreements, he stated that Lithuania would restore property rights, not to individuals, but to religious communities. He apologized for the collaboration with the Nazis by some Lithuanians. In a statement shown on Lithuanian television, Slezičius said, "We should recognize that hundreds [there were actually thousands—AUTHOR] of Lithuanians took direct part in this genocide. This obligates us to repent and ask the Jewish people for forgiveness for the unique suffering inflicted on our fellow citizens." This aroused considerable discussion in Lithuania, where some argued that Jews should apologize to Lithuanians for supposedly having "collaborated" with the Soviets in the imposition of Communism on Lithuania. Nevertheless, when Lithuanian president Algirdas Brazauskas visited Israel in March 1995, he pledged that war criminals would be prosecuted.

Anti-Semitism

Jews in the former Soviet republics seemed to be accepting anti-Semitic expressions and activities with greater equanimity than in years past, perhaps because none of the governments of the successor states pursued anti-Semitic policies. Anti-Semitic manifestations were most visible among radical, marginal, nationalistic groups, many of whom disseminated their ideas to far wider circles. Among the more bizarre anti-Semitic tracts in circulation was one charging that the October 1993 confrontation between President Yeltsin and Parliament was a Jewish plot to destroy Moscow by making every Russian "rush to defend his capital and become involved in a fratricidal war, which would cause the death of Russia." Another leaflet claimed that behind the confrontation was an "anti-Russian, Zionist and American plot" involving Israeli armed forces and local units of Betar, the Zionist organization.

An unexploded bomb was found at the entrance to Moscow's Choral Synagogue in January 1994, and a fire of unknown origin had destroyed the Marina Roshcha Synagogue in the same city a month earlier. On May 10, 1995, a bomb was thrown at the only synagogue in Riga. A bomb threat forced postponement of the opening

of a lecture hall for the Samara National Jewish Center. Jewish tombstones were damaged in Krasnoyarsk and Omsk (Siberia), Chisinau (Moldova), Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan), Kazan (Tatarstan), Kaunas (Lithuania), and Tambov (Russia).

Russian president Yeltsin fired Boris Mironov as chairman of the Russian Federation's Committee on the Press after Mironov demanded the resignation of his deputy, Sergei Gryzunov, who had officially warned four publications to desist from inciting pogroms. The newspaper *Al-Quds*, which promoted a neo-Stalinist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Israel line, was closed in December 1994 on the grounds that its owner was a Jordanian citizen and Russian press law forbids ownership of newspapers by foreigners. Viktor Korchagin, director of a publishing house that published fiercely anti-Semitic materials, was fined but given amnesty soon after. In March 1995, politician Alexei Vedenkin, a leader of the neofascist Russian National Unity Party, was arrested for "arousing ethnic enmity and discord." He had threatened on television to shoot two parliamentary deputies.

Author Zoya Krakhmalnikova, a convert to Russian Orthodoxy, gave a long interview in *Literaturnaya gazeta* (September 28, 1994) in which she charged that the Russian Orthodox Church was infested with anti-Semitism. Local and foreign Jewish organizations and individuals criticized a CBS "60 Minutes" segment, "The Ugly Face of Freedom," shown on October 23, 1994, which reported on anti-Semitism in Ukraine, particularly Western Ukraine. Yosef Zissels and Ilya Levitats, heads of two Ukrainian Jewish national organizations, and Yaakov Bleich, chief rabbi of Ukraine, said the program gave an unbalanced and highly exaggerated account of anti-Semitism in that country.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The constant flow of emigrants, on one hand, and some re-identification as Jews by people who had not been so identified previously, on the other, made it difficult to ascertain the size of the Jewish populations in the successor states. The Jewish Agency for Israel released a demographic analysis that estimated the Jewish population in the former Soviet Union at 1,434,800. Of these, 656,000 were said to be in the Russian Federation; 474,000 in Ukraine; and 98,000 in Belarus. The criteria used were not those of Jewish law (Halakhah), but self-identification and/or estimates by Agency emissaries in the FSU who were using the criteria of the Israeli Law of Return, which allows non-Jewish relatives of Jews to immigrate to Israel and acquire citizenship almost immediately. (For quite different estimates and a discussion of the difficulties involved in estimating Jewish population in the FSU, see "World Jewish Population, 1994," elsewhere in this volume.)

Emigration

For the first time, in October 1994 the U.S. National Conference on Soviet Jewry recommended that President Bill Clinton issue a determination that Russia was in compliance with the requirements of the 1974 Jackson-Vanik Amendment—linking U.S. trade benefits to free Soviet emigration—and that there was no need for a presidential review of Russia's emigration practices. In Ukraine, there were some problems with emigration. In April 1994, Ukraine's minister of justice charged that the Jewish Agency had exceeded its mandate by "stimulating mass departures to Israel." The tension was soon dissipated, and there was a substantial increase in emigration from Ukraine in 1994 compared with the previous year.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry protested Canada's practice of granting refugee status to FSU immigrants who had gone to Israel but later sought refuge in Canada on the grounds that they were being discriminated against in Israel as non-Jews.

In 1994, 98,849 Jews emigrated from the FSU. Of those, two-thirds (66,067) went to Israel and 32,664 to the United States. Only 28 percent of the immigrants to Israel were academics and scientific professionals, down from 40 percent in 1990. Ora Namir, minister of labor and welfare, created a stir when she suggested that Israel should be more "selective" in accepting immigrants from the FSU, claiming that among recent arrivals, one-third were elderly, one-third were single parents, and another third were handicapped. The minister for immigrant absorption scoffed at her description, claiming that only 15 percent of the immigrants were over 65, and that a quarter were 18 or younger. He said further that only 10 percent were single parents and that the proportion of handicapped was far lower than claimed by Namir.

Israel took in 103 Jewish refugees from Chechnya, and the Jewish Agency was processing 200 more candidates for *aliyah* in 1995.

The Israeli Ministry for Immigrant Absorption reported in April 1995 that 17 percent of those who had immigrated from the USSR since 1989 were not Jewish.

Communal Affairs

Foreign organizations and individuals continued to play major roles in the organization of Jewish communal life in the FSU. This was due to the lack of experience and resources of local Jews, attempts by world Jewry to reintegrate ex-Soviet Jews into the global Jewish community, the desire of some foreign Jewish organizations to enhance their prestige and fund-raising efforts, and the difficulties local Jews were having in organizing themselves.

In October 1994, five of twelve members of the presidium of the Russian Va'ad, the umbrella organization of Russian Jewry, resigned, questioning the disappearance of funds intended for distribution to local communities. Nevertheless, in May 1995, the second congress of the Russian Va'ad was held, with about 180 delegates coming from many cities. Dr. Mikhail Chlenov, who ran unopposed, was reelected

president for a two-year term. Delegates agreed that the Va'ad needed to be reorganized and that accountability should be strengthened.

In 1995 the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) assisted 139 welfare societies in 127 cities. Over a thousand welfare workers from 42 cities were trained in the new Institute of Communal and Welfare Workers in St. Petersburg, sponsored by the JDC. The local welfare organizations, which had been formed just in the past few years, played a growing role in Jewish communal life as emigration and the economic troubles of the republics increased the proportions of elderly and poor.

St. Petersburg was one of the better organized communities in Russia. That city had a Jewish "umbrella" organization, the Jewish Association of St. Petersburg, with which were affiliated the local Jewish university, the Institute for Research on the Jewish Diaspora, Holocaust Research Group, Association of War Veterans and Ghetto and Blockade Survivors, *Ami*—a Russian-language Jewish newspaper, two Jewish day schools, the "Hesed Avraham" welfare center, and the Harold Light Aliyah and Emigration Information Center. There was also a Federation of Jewish Organizations, staffed mostly by elderly volunteers. The Association received financial assistance from the JDC, while the Federation was funded mostly by the Jewish Agency.

The European Council of Jewish Communities admitted Ukraine to membership in November 1994. The council set up a Jewish Crisis Fund to assist communities in need—most of them in the former Soviet Union.

After fighting broke out in Chechnya in the fall of 1994, about 100 Jews fled Grozny for Nalchik, capital of the Kabardino-Balkar republic in the Russian Federation. Many others had fled the community, which numbered about a thousand, in 1992–93, in the wake of the 1991 kidnapping and murder of Viktor Kan-Kalik, a Jew who was rector of the local university. Following the Russian invasion in October 1994, the remaining 50 families departed with assistance from the Jewish Agency.

The Agency spent \$15 million in the FSU in 1994, double what it had expended in 1993. The JDC spent \$12.3 million, up from \$10.3 million in the previous year.

Jewish organizations around the world began to hold meetings in the FSU, something unthinkable until recently. Three hundred Jewish women from the West and FSU met in Kiev in May 1994 to discuss women and the Jewish tradition, women and Torah, anti-Semitism, and other topics. At the same time, the first scholarly conference on Jewish culture in Belarus was held in the capital, Minsk.

In June 1994, the board of trustees of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture met in Riga, Latvia. In August the Seventh World Conference for Yiddish met in Kiev, with 150 people in attendance. The following month, the International Federation of Secular Humanist Jews held an international meeting in Moscow. The organizers claimed that 80 participants from 26 groups in the FSU were in attendance. The following month saw a meeting of the Conference of European Rabbis in Moscow.

Religion

Ground was broken in August 1994 for a new synagogue building in the Marina Roshcha section of Moscow, to replace the previous synagogue, which burned down at the end of 1993.

Vladimir Fedorovsky, president of the Moscow Jewish Religious Community, based in the Choral Synagogue, emigrated to Germany after being removed from office by the synagogue board on charges of embezzlement.

Communal Passover seders were widely celebrated throughout the FSU in 1994 and 1995. In Moscow there were four Orthodox seders and two Reform. The JDC and Jewish Agency sponsored many others in dozens of cities.

Education and Culture

As of mid-1995, an estimated 22,000 children in all of the former Soviet Union were enrolled in 226 Jewish schools, a dramatic increase from 1990, when 109 children were enrolled, and, of course, from the years previous to that when there were no Jewish schools of any kind in the USSR. It was estimated that about 12,000 children, about 3 percent of the Jewish school-age population in Russia and Ukraine, were enrolled in 86 Jewish schools, most of them Sunday schools. Moscow had seven day schools, nine Sunday schools, and three kindergartens. The National Jewish Day School in Moscow was funded by the Ministry of Education and included ten hours a week of Judaica instruction in its curriculum. Small cities usually had only a Sunday school. In Uzbekistan and Kharkov (Ukraine), local officials prevented the opening of Jewish schools, but day schools opened in L'viv (Ukraine) and in Gomel (a state school) and Minsk, both in Belarus. The latter republic had 13 Sunday schools. School funding came from a variety of sources, including the government, JDC, Chabad, the Conservative movement, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, other foreign organizations, the Israel Ministry of Education, the Jewish Agency, local organizations, and tuition fees.

The Jewish Agency claimed an enrollment of 20,000 in its Hebrew-language *ulpanim* in 1994. It also enrolled 20,000 children in 92 summer camps, spread over 44 cities. In the summer of 1995, enrollment was estimated at 15,000. Despite the fact that the Agency had Israeli representatives in 30 cities and local *aliyah* coordinators in about 200, its officials estimated that all the activities of the various Israeli organizations in the FSU reached no more than 10–15 percent of the Jewish population.

Higher education in Judaica was expanding. A new institution, named for Maimonides, opened in Moscow in 1995, and the "International Solomon University," which has a Judaica curriculum alongside general curricula, opened in Kiev, Ukraine, in 1994. Fifty students were enrolled in the Judaica program at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow. The 19 fourth-year students in the

program spent the 1994–95 academic year either in New York, at the Jewish Theological Seminary and YIVO Institute, or in Jerusalem, where they took courses at several institutions and worked in archives and libraries. The Jewish universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg continued their operations. The first Hillel Foundation in the FSU opened in Moscow.

In Moscow, the archival branch of the JTS/YIVO Project Judaica had entered 1,400 collections into the archival survey's data base.

An exhibit, "History of the Jews in the USSR," opened in July 1994 at the Central Building of Artists in Moscow. It was organized by the Hebrew University's Center for Research and Documentation on East European Jewry and featured rare materials, few of which had ever been seen in public in the FSU, documenting all aspects of Soviet Jewish life.

The movie *Schindler's List* opened in Moscow on September 12, 1994, and was scheduled to be shown in 20 Russian cities.

ZVI GITELMAN

Australia

National Affairs

DURING 1994–95 AUSTRALIA CONTINUED to be ruled by the Australian Labor Party (ALP) government of Prime Minister Paul Keating, and the country appeared to be slowly edging out of the grip of severe economic recession. In May 1994 the Liberal Party replaced its largely ineffectual leader, Dr. John Hewson, with Alexander Downer, the youngish product of a distinguished political family; but he committed a series of gaffes and was replaced in January 1995 by John Howard, a former party leader of unequivocally right-wing outlook. Speculation that Keating might call an early election was dampened in May 1995 with the release of a public-opinion poll showing the opposition coalition of Liberal and National parties, under Howard's robust leadership, running 8 percent ahead of the ALP.

The federal Racial Hatred Bill passed the House of Representatives in November 1994 by 71 votes to 59. It contained a series of criminal and civil sanctions against racism that would complement the program of public education on racial issues administered by the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. With the opposition hostile to it—demanding “a whole lot less interference and intervention, regulation and bureaucracy”—its ultimate fate in the Senate rested mainly in the hands of two Green Party senators, whose support was by no means assured. They agreed on the need to combat racial vilification but opposed prison sentences to punish threats of racial violence, damage to property, or intentional incitement of racial hatred. In May 1995, Attorney General Michael Lavarch told a television interviewer, “Maybe a version of the bill will ultimately pass which has the civil provisions and not the criminal provisions” opposed by the West Australian Greens.

Israel and the Middle East

Australia remained committed to Israel's right to exist within secure borders and firmly supported the Middle East peace process. In April 1995, opposition leader John Howard, addressing the Australia-Israel Chamber of Commerce in Melbourne, said that any government he led would be “uncompromising” in its friend-

ship for Israel and committed to that nation's "well-being and territorial integrity."

In March 1994 the federal government upgraded Ali Kazak, the PLO's representative in Australia, to "head" of the "General Palestinian Delegation." But it did not grant him the full diplomatic privileges or immunity that he sought, causing Kazak to claim that the government had been "scared by the Israeli lobby." Government officials explained that any future diplomatic status would depend on the outcome of the peace process.

In August 1994, Israel's Justice Minister David Libai and Australian attorney-general Michael Lavarch signed a treaty on mutual legal assistance in criminal matters, which took effect in June 1995. A separate treaty signed by Australia and Israel in 1976 covers extradition and the transfer of people in custody to serve sentences.

In September 1994, Department of Foreign Affairs head Michael Costello arranged a luncheon at which Dr. Nabil Shaath, planning and economic cooperation minister of the interim Palestinian Authority, was guest of honor. Luncheon guests included PLO representative in Australia Ali Kazak and Zionist Federation of Australia officials, including president Ann Zablud and immediate past president Mark Leibler. Discussion at the two-hour event ranged from the future of Jerusalem, through the need for cooperation on water supplies, to the lack of a political and bureaucratic infrastructure of the interim Palestinian Authority. Shaath was in Australia to canvass economic and political support for the authority. He revealed that he had asked Foreign Minister Sen. Gareth Evans if Australia could send between 25 and 100 police and army experts to advise and train the Palestinian security force in the Gaza-Jericho area. He hoped that Australia would contribute aid totaling A\$10 million a year. A spokesman for Senator Evans said later that the government would consider Shaath's "informal" requests after it received them formally.

On April 24 to 28, 1995, Australia played host for the first time to a meeting connected with the multilateral Middle East peace talks, a workshop arranged by Australian Foreign Affairs officials on rain-making techniques, held at the New South Wales coastal resort of Terrigal. The workshop involved 29 scientists and other experts from Australia, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Oman, the Palestinian Authority, Hungary, and the United States. The same month, Defense Minister Sen. Robert Ray named Israel as an important potential supplier of military technology to Australia. During a four-day visit to Israel he discussed defense issues and the peace process with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Defense Ministry director-general David Ivry. Asked by a reporter whether openly dealing with the Israeli defense industry might be controversial in terms of Australian trade with surrounding Arab states, Senator Ray replied, "It might be just as controversial to be trading and buying into those particular countries."

A survey of knowledge of Israel and the Middle East among non-Jewish students on university campuses around Australia, carried out by the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs and the Australasian Union of Jewish Students, found high levels of

neutrality and indifference: 61 percent of the 700 respondents supported neither Israel nor the Arabs in the Middle East conflict, 27 percent said their sympathies lay with Israel, 12 percent with the Arabs; 37 percent of respondents believed that the Israel-PLO accord would lead to lasting peace in the region, while a comparable percentage expressed grave doubts. A clear majority of respondents supported the proposition that the Palestinians should have an independent state, although 42 percent had no opinion on the matter. Despite recent widespread media coverage of Middle Eastern affairs, only 30 percent of respondents accurately identified Yitzhak Rabin as Israel's prime minister. An analysis of results showed a generally positive correlation between conservative voting tendencies and support for Israel and a parallel correlation between left-of-center voting tendencies and support for the Palestinian cause and Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism

Although anti-Semitism, often disguised as anti-Zionism, continued to be peddled by the Australian League of Rights and its various outlets, its impact on mainstream politics and on the Australian population remained minimal. The Australian section of *Antisemitism World Report 1994*, issued by the Institute of Jewish Affairs in London, reported that the number of anti-Semitic incidents in Australia had risen by some 50 percent during 1993. But two of Australian Jewry's leading antidefamation experts, Prof. W.D. Rubinstein, research consultant to the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs, and Prof. Bernard Rechter, chairman of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation Commission, urged caution in evaluating that figure. Rubinstein said that "a few anti-Semitic remarks by extremists" did not indicate an upsurge in anti-Semitism among Australian opinion-makers or the general community. Rechter observed that "it is important to stress that the majority of the incidents are relatively minor on the scale of anti-Semitic incidents in other parts of the world. Many of the incidents were abuse and a bit of vandalism and not mob violence as in Europe." Petty vandalism in fact typified anti-Semitism in Australia during 1994-95.

Separate Molotov cocktail attacks late in 1994 on Melbourne's Yeshivah Center in East St. Kilda and on the nearby Reb Zalman-Brocha Jewish Lending Library were, police believed, probably the work of a Jewish person with a grudge. In January 1995, a fire, apparently deliberately lit, damaged the Adass Israel Synagogue in the Melbourne suburb of Ripponlea. In February an attempt to light a fire inside Temple Beth Israel, St. Kilda, was foiled by a cantor, and the Elwood Synagogue in Melbourne suffered minor vandalism. It was unclear whether these incidents were the result of deliberate anti-Semitic targeting or of random hooliganism.

In May 1994, ALP federal parliamentarian and veteran Jew-baiter Graeme Campbell, defending the policies of the anti-Asian Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI), wrote in the *Canberra Times* that "it is indeed a pity that the

narrow ideologues of Judaism seem to have such an influence in Australian public life . . . the immigration policy of AAFI is very tolerant in comparison to what is practiced in Israel." In November 1994, during a debate on the Racial Hatred Bill in the federal House of Representatives, Campbell (one of a handful of government members who opposed the bill) attacked Jewish "influence," based on "a combination of money, position, relentless lobbying and the manipulation of their victim status. . . ."

As in past years, relations between the Jewish community and National Party leader Tim Fischer, deputy leader of the opposition coalition, were often strained over his views on Israel. On March 22, 1994, Fischer observed, "There's a certain bitter irony that on the day *Schindler's List* dominates the Oscars coverage with its portrayal of the horrific Holocaust, that the Israeli Army has killed and wounded Lebanese schoolchildren in southern Lebanon, well beyond the boundary of Israel." He was referring to an attack the previous day by Israeli forces on Hezbollah positions in southern Lebanon, which left a schoolgirl dead and 22 children injured. Israeli ambassador to Australia Yehuda Avner commented, "It takes a particular kind of prejudice to draw a comparison by association between the premeditated doctrine of Nazi extermination . . . and Israel's actions of self-defense . . . in the course of which a number of persons tragically fell victim." Zionist Federation of Australia president Mark Leibler and Dr. Colin Rubenstein, editorial chairman of Australia/Israel Publications, denounced Fischer's remarks as "outrageous." In letters to the National Party's federal president and to the New South Wales National Party chairman, Executive Council of Australian Jewry president Isi Leibler urged that the dispute with Fischer not be permitted to drive a wedge between the party and the Jewish community. In September, as a result of the controversy, Fischer resigned from the advisory board of the Middle East Center at Macquarie University, Sydney.

Controversy followed the awarding in June 1995 of Australia's most prestigious literary prize, the Miles Franklin Award, to Helen Demidenko's novel *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, which many Jews and non-Jews claimed offered an apologia for Ukrainian atrocities against Jews under Nazi occupation. In the novel, the "half-Ukrainian, half-Irish" author uses alleged oral testimony from her Ukrainian relatives, who justify their complicity in the Holocaust as reprisal for Jewish atrocities against Ukrainians in the Bolshevik era, including the great famine. When Demidenko was revealed to be plain Helen Darvill, daughter of English immigrants to Queensland, the affair blew up into a cause célèbre in Australian literary circles and in the Jewish community. Claims and counterclaims were hurled back and forth by those who accused Demidenko of gross anti-Semitism and demanded that the award be rescinded and by her defenders, who likened her case to that of Salman Rushdie. The controversy continued well into 1995.

Holocaust-Related Matters

Results of a survey entitled *What Do Australians Know About the Holocaust?* conducted in June 1994 among a random sample of 1,010 Australians by Irving Saulwick Associates on behalf of the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs and the American Jewish Committee, revealed fairly high levels of awareness. For example, asked "What were Auschwitz, Dachau, and Treblinka?" 85 percent correctly replied "concentration camps," 72 percent knew that Jews were forced by the Nazis to wear "a yellow star," and 96 percent could identify Hitler as the leader of Nazi Germany. At the same time, "Holocaust denial" was rejected by the overwhelming majority of respondents. Asked "Does it seem possible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened?" over 93 percent replied that they "feel certain that it happened," while only 3.7 percent responded that it "seems possible that it never happened." However, only 12 percent believed that Holocaust deniers should be penalized, while 81 percent favored freedom of expression. A majority of the Australians surveyed found that "the Holocaust makes clear the need for the state of Israel as a place of refuge for Jews in times of persecution."

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

In May 1994, Minister for Immigration Sen. Nick Bolkus announced that a visa application by British Holocaust revisionist historian David Irving, who sought entry to Australia to promote his latest book, had been rejected "on the basis that he does not meet the public criterion of good character in the migration regulations. . . . For example, a deportation order or exclusion from another country for national security reasons." Bolkus pointed out that Irving was deported from Canada in 1992 and banned from Germany in 1993.

In January 1994, the Australian Press Council dismissed a complaint against the Melbourne *Age* brought by Melbourne Holocaust revisionist John Bennett, who claimed that the paper had failed to allow space to David Irving's views on the Holocaust. In its finding the Press Council reaffirmed a newspaper's right to choose what to publish so long as fairness and community interest were not ignored. That same month Irving had a letter in *The Weekend Australian* (January 22–23, 1994), in response to an article by regular columnist Beatrice Faust who, he wrote, "has fallen for much of the mythology of the Holocaust" concerning the use of Zyklon B at Auschwitz.

Nazi War Criminals

In February 1994, Graham Blewitt, the last director of the Special Investigations Unit (SIU)—which from 1987 until its disbandment in 1992 probed 841 alleged war criminals (mainly Balts and Ukrainians) living in Australia—accused the Australian federal government of trying to suppress two major reports on the investiga-

tions. Both documents reportedly contain either evidence against suspects who were never charged or evidence that was suppressed in court hearings (there were three prosecutions in Australia, all unsuccessful). One report apparently describes how former federal attorney-general Michael Duffy refused to allow the SIU to pursue the investigation of a Melbourne man whose alleged crimes were said to exceed those of people who were charged. A spokesman for federal attorney-general Lavarch claimed that publication of the documents could lead to defamation suits and revive accusations against people the courts deemed innocent.

In November 1994, the book *Occupation Nazi Hunter: The Continuing Search for the Perpetrators of the Holocaust*, authored by Simon Wiesenthal Center director Ephraim Zuroff, was released in Australia coincidental with a visit by Zuroff. In his book Zuroff alleged that Australian Jewish leaders, especially Isi Leibler and *Australian Jewish News* editor Sam Lipski, had "gone soft" on war-crimes trials. This charge was supported by Zuroff's host in Australia, Rabbi Laibl Wolf, director of the Melbourne-based Institute for Jewish Development, which, with the Council of Orthodox Synagogues of Victoria, sponsored a public lecture by Zuroff. Lipski said Zuroff's accusation was a "complete distortion." Speaking from Jerusalem, Leibler said it was "outrageous for someone like Zuroff to come from overseas and accuse Australia of being soft on Nazis. No Jewish community has been more resolute than ours in a campaign to bring about legislation to try war criminals." Leibler said the work of the SIU had been handicapped by the "endless and unnecessary lists" with which Zuroff furnished it. Acknowledging that there were some Nazi war criminals still living in Australia, Leibler said he was prepared to do everything possible to bring them to trial, but little could be done where there was insufficient evidence to insure a conviction. The *Melbourne Age* (November 9, 1994) quoted former SIU director Robert Greenwood as saying, "I never received from the Wiesenthal Center one worthwhile witness. . . ."

In March 1995, right-wing Liberal senator Nick Minchin, during the discussion of the Attorney-General's 1993-94 report on the operation of the War Crimes Act, told the Senate that war-crimes investigations had been "an extravagant waste of taxpayers' money and an irresponsible exercise on the government's part. . . . All we had were prosecutions launched . . . against three old men living in Adelaide" (his constituents).

A conference entitled "Without Prejudice: Racism and Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Australia," sponsored by the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs and B'nai B'rith, was held in Melbourne in June 1994. International speakers included Prof. Kathleen Mahoney, Canadian law academic and human-rights activist, and Antony Lerman, director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, London. The conference was well attended by representatives of various religious and ethnic groups and its proceedings were published.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The estimated Jewish population of Australia was 105,000.

A study entitled *People and Place*, edited by Bob Birrell, published in 1994 by the Center for Population and Urban Research at Monash University, Melbourne, reported the following data on intermarriage: "In 1981, 14 percent of Jewish males and 11.2 percent of Jewish females had married out. Between 1981 and 1991 the intermix rate for males and females increased only slightly to 14.5 percent and 11.6 percent respectively. The overall rate of outmarriage for Jews now stands at 13.1 percent." The study concluded that this was a "strikingly low" level. Intermarriage percentages for people of other faiths in Australia were as follows: Muslims, 6 percent; Greek Orthodox, 12.1 percent; Hindus, 13.5 percent; Buddhists, 15.6 percent; Catholics, 29.9 percent; Anglicans, 34.7 percent.

Jewish lay and religious leaders expressed surprise and some skepticism about the intermarriage figure, but Jewish demographers felt that the study vindicated their own analyses, which showed consistently lower intermarriage rates than communal leaders claimed. A recent study by John Goldlust entitled *The Jews of Melbourne: A Community Profile*, produced under the auspices of the Jewish Welfare Society, showed a Jewish intermarriage rate in Melbourne of 8.5 percent.

According to a report entitled *Community Profile 1991 Census: South African Born*, released by the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research in 1994, Jews comprised between 12 and 15 percent of the total 49,000 South African-born people living in Australia in 1991. More than half of the South African-born Jews lived in New South Wales; as a group, they represented about 20 percent of all South African-born people in that state. An estimated 10 percent of Sydney Jewry was from South Africa, as was about 4 percent of Melbourne Jewry, and 30 to 40 percent of Perth's 6,000-strong Jewish community.

Communal Affairs

British writer Chaim Bermant, one of many distinguished overseas Jews who paid communally sponsored visits to Australia during 1994, concluded, "If there is one corner of the Diaspora which does have a future, and a promising one at that, it is Australia. It is also the one Diaspora community still growing and I have no doubt that it will become the *goldeneh medineh* of the 21st century."

In August 1994, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the community's paramount umbrella organization, celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding. At the ECAJ annual conference in December, Ann Zablud, who had succeeded Mark Leibler as president of the Zionist Federation of Australia (ZFA) in July, reportedly officially ended a period of intense rivalry with the ECAJ for the right to lobby the federal government on general Jewish concerns by conceding the

supremacy of the ECAJ. That rivalry had erupted during Mark Leibler's presidency, but appeared to have subsided during the last months of his tenure. Subsequently claiming that she had been misreported, Zablud nevertheless appeared to acknowledge the ECAJ's exclusive right to represent the community on issues not involving Israel with her statement that "the ZFA is a roof body representing Australian Jewry in all matters concerning Zionism. . . ."

It was reported in March 1995 that Israeli expatriates living in Melbourne were considering forming a social and cultural center offering Hebrew-language material. Yakov Ekstein, head of the Victorian Aliyah Center, estimated the number of Hebrew speakers in Melbourne (native Israelis and their children) as between 8,000 and 10,000. Many did not identify with the local Jewish community, and attempts were being made to involve them.

The Israel-Diaspora Identity Crisis: A Looming Disaster, by ECAJ president Isi Leibler, was published in 1994 by the World Jewish Congress and Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs in both English and Hebrew versions. It was selected by the Israeli-based Joint Authority for Jewish Zionist Education as a mandatory text for intending *shlichim* (emissaries) to Diaspora communities.

Circumcision Controversies

In January 1994 Jewish communal leaders around Australia expressed concern at the Queensland Law Reform Commission's surprise request to the local Jewish community to explain the rite of *brit milah*. The commission asked for the number of Jewish ritual circumcisions performed in Queensland each year, the procedures and precautions adopted by *mohelim* (ritual circumcisors) in Queensland, details of any complications arising, and details of any differences of opinion within the Jewish community regarding circumcision. This was believed to be the first time any governmental authority in Australia had questioned *brit milah*. Queensland Jewish Board of Deputies president Laurie Rosenblum deplored the "offensive inquiry" but noted that the law obliged him to cooperate. He subsequently placed before the commission 16 papers from medical and rabbinical authorities, including Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks of the British Commonwealth, explaining and justifying the practice. Rosenblum said he hoped that the weight of the evidence he had amassed would insure that *brit milah* was never again questioned in Queensland or anywhere else in Australia.

To general dismay and disgust on the part of Jews, the commission's request prompted a bitter attack on *brit milah* in the *Australian Jewish News* (January 28, 1994) by features editor Dr. David Bernstein, a South African-born expatriate Israeli whose idiosyncratic opinions on a number of Jewish and Israeli topics had often inflamed mainstream communal opinion. Bernstein characterized male circumcision as a "barbarity," "mutilation," and "primitive" and linked it to the practices of female labial excision or infibulation performed by some ethnic groups, which had been the focus of widespread concern. Bernstein's remarks were publi-

cized in March by Melbourne *Age* columnist Pamela Bone, who attacked male circumcision along with female genital mutilation.

In March 1995, the *Adelaide Advertiser* reported that a Liberal member of the South Australian Parliament, Peter Lewis, had labeled draft legislation that would ban female genital mutilation "blatantly sexist" and said that he would offer an amendment banning male circumcision. During the debate on the bill in April, Lewis moved that all forms of genital mutilation regardless of sex should be banned, but that male circumcision would be exempt. That exemption clause had been included by Lewis in his amendment after consultation with Rabbi Ian Morris of the Beit Shalom (Progressive) Synagogue.

Religion

In August 1994 the controversial and outspoken Rabbi Boruch Zaichyk resigned as chief minister of the Mizrahi Congregation in Melbourne, after eight years of service and following a rift with the majority of the lay leadership. In September 1988, despite formidable opposition from other Orthodox rabbis in Melbourne, Zaichyk had established an *eruv* (an area defined by a physical boundary, usually constructed of wires or cables, within which Orthodox Jews may carry on the Sabbath and push baby carriages) centering on the Caulfield-East St. Kilda heartland of Jewish residence. From January 1, 1995, amid protests from its mainly Mizrahi users, the *eruv* was suspended by the congregation's executive on the advice of Rabbi Feitel Levin of the Brighton Hebrew Congregation in Melbourne, who was associated with the Chabad movement. He claimed that the *eruv* contravened *halakhah* and was accordingly invalid. It was estimated that some 300 to 400 households were affected by the suspension. Plans to reestablish an *eruv* with the help of overseas experts were quickly announced by the Mizrahi Congregation. Rabbi Shimon Eider of Lakewood, New Jersey, was due in Melbourne in February to help Rabbi Levin reinstate that city's *eruv*.

At the same time (January 1995), the New South Wales Rabbinical Council was exploring the possibility of introducing an *eruv* in Sydney. A Rabbinical Council executive member said that plans to establish an *eruv* in Sydney could be hastened if an overseas expert, such as Rabbi Eider, were consulted and a feasibility study undertaken. Unlike Melbourne, where some rabbis would remain adamantly opposed to an *eruv* regardless of its overseas rabbinical imprimatur, all of Sydney's rabbis were expected to accept the ruling of an authority of Rabbi Eider's standing. Meanwhile, measures were in hand to insure the long-term viability of the *eruv* in Perth, Western Australia, which relied heavily on power lines: by the year 2010 all power lines in Perth were scheduled to be underground.

The death of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, in June 1994 in New York, received much publicity in the Australian general media. Tributes were paid by lay and rabbinic spokespersons, and by special arrangement members of the Melbourne Lubavitcher community crowded into the studios of

television station Channel Seven to view a satellite relay broadcast of the rabbi's funeral. Rabbi Yitzhok Groner of the Melbourne Yeshivah Center, an American whose brother Leibl was a close aide to Schneerson in New York, was widely regarded as a possible successor to the Rebbe.

In July 1994, a long-simmering dispute between Rabbi Groner and another Chabad leader, Joseph (Yossl) Gutnick, scion of a prominent Australian rabbinic family and an extremely wealthy businessman, boiled over on ABC television. Gutnick, who had reportedly agreed to help the yeshivah out of its financial deficit of about A\$12 million by a donation of A\$500,000, said on the "7:30 Report" that no such aid would be forthcoming if Groner brought "Melbourne into the [Lubavitch] politics of the United States" or promoted the idea that the Rebbe might return from the dead to be the Messiah. Groner had told the program, "The sages say [the Messiah] could be a living person or could be a person who passed away." Gutnick amplified his views in an interview with the *Australian Jewish News* (July 22, 1994). In January 1995 it was reported that he and his father-in-law, textile merchant and fellow Yeshivah Center executive member Max New, would underwrite the A\$2.5 million which the yeshivah still owed, despite extensive cuts to its debts by the bank.

In September 1994, fire gutted Australia's largest synagogue, the Central Synagogue, in the Sydney suburb of Bondi, destroying 17 Torah scrolls. Initial assumptions of anti-Semitic arson proved unfounded: the fire was traced to malfunctioning equipment. Nevertheless, in October controversial American activist Rabbi Avi Weiss, national president of the Coalition for Jewish Concerns—Amcha, urged Australian foreign minister Sen. Gareth Evans during a news conference in New York to raise the issue of the Central Synagogue fire at the United Nations. Weiss had led a "solidarity prayer vigil" outside the Australian Consulate in Manhattan. That same month, Rabbi Selwyn Franklin of the Central Synagogue wrote to World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman, urging that he make "immediate representations" to Senator Evans while the latter was in New York. "I am deeply concerned about the situation as the date upon which the synagogue was burned down was the day targeted by the Abu Nidal group for terrorist attacks on Jewish centers in Germany and the rest of the world," wrote Franklin. Executive Council of Australian Jewry president Isi Leibler, cochairman of the Governing Council of the World Jewish Congress, denounced Rabbi Weiss's action as "ill-informed, ill-advised and demeaning," and expressed concern that Rabbi Franklin had acted unilaterally.

In November 1994, the Sassoon Yehuda Synagogue in Hotham Street, East St. Kilda, was dedicated; it became the first permanent house of prayer for the Sephardi Association of Victoria, whose members had worshiped for 16 years in premises in the suburb of Malvern. It was hoped that the move to the core Jewish neighborhood of Melbourne would attract Orthodox Sephardim and younger people. The Sephardi Association had about 500 members, but there were about 6,000 Sephardim in the city, originating in various lands.

Rabbi Schulim Gutnick retired in 1994 after 32 years as chief minister of the

Caulfield Hebrew Congregation, Melbourne. Rabbi Eliezer Moskowitz was inducted as chief minister of (Orthodox) Melbourne Hebrew Congregation. Rabbi Linda Joseph, a Melbourne native, who was ordained in 1994 by Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, was named minister of Bentleigh Progressive Synagogue, Melbourne, to take up duties in July 1995. She was thus due to become the first Australian female rabbi to serve a congregation in the land of her birth. (Another Australian, Rabbi Aviva Kipen, a graduate of Leo Baeck College, London, served a Progressive congregation in New Zealand.)

Jewish-Christian Relations

In January 1994, Australian Jewish and Catholic leaders joined to welcome the historic Israel-Vatican agreement paving the way for full diplomatic relations between Israel and the Holy See. Rabbi Raymond Apple, chairman of the Australian Council of Christians and Jews, whose headquarters had transferred to Sydney from Melbourne at the end of 1993, characterized the agreement as an "exciting act of justice and responsibility which recognizes Israel as a crucial element in Jewish self-identity." In March Executive Council of Australian Jewry president Isi Leibler joined prominent Christian clergy and the president of the Federation of Islamic Councils in signing an open letter to Prime Minister Paul Keating, urging adoption of a five-year plan to reduce unemployment. In February 1995 a Council of Christians and Jews was formed in Adelaide, convened by Jewish academic Dr. Evan Zuesse, senior lecturer in religion at the University of South Australia.

Education

A report entitled *The Crossroads of Crisis*, prepared in 1994 by the Coordinating Committee on Jewish Day Schools, disclosed that more than one in three students at Australia's Jewish day schools received fee relief, at a cost to the schools of over A\$13 million a year. Newly arrived students from the former Soviet Union alone required A\$3.3 million. The funding crisis in Jewish education was exacerbated by several factors: half of the money raised by the Australian Jewish community for the day schools was needed for capital expenses; government funding, which had declined in real terms in recent years, did not cover the cost of Jewish studies, a substantial component of the overall operating cost of the schools; and the schools' combined debt was about A\$80 million. The report noted that this debt could be contained in the long term only by reducing the number of students requiring aid. Meanwhile, other educational sources confirmed that middle-class parents were taking children out of the Jewish day-school system in increasing numbers because they could not afford the fees and were too proud to request subsidies. Such sources warned that this might lead to a situation where only the very wealthy and the impoverished would be able to comfortably choose Jewish day-school education for their children.

Strong differences emerged when world Keren Hayesod chairman Shlomo Hillel,

based in Jerusalem, called on Australian United Israel Appeal (UIA) activists, early in 1994, to support local Jewish education. He said it was a "Zionist duty" to strengthen Jewish education in the Diaspora. In August deputy UIA federal president Sam Moshinsky said that the UIA would not follow the example of its British counterpart, the Joint Israel Appeal, and pledge money to local Jewish education. In December 1994 at the Executive Council of Australian Jewry annual conference, Isi Leibler warned that unless all local communal organizations, including the UIA, cooperated in solving the crisis in Jewish educational funding, they faced the "danger of disintegration of the Australian Jewish community."

Culture

Acclaimed young dramatist and director Barrie Kosky announced plans for a trilogy of plays concerning the Jewish experience in Australia: Jewish convicts in the 18th century; Jewish immigrants in the Gold Rush; and the Freeland League's proposal in the 1930s and 1940s for a substantial Jewish refugee settlement in the Kimberley region of north-western Australia. In November 1994 the first of Kosky's trilogy, *The Wilderness Room*, premiered in Melbourne.

Mazl-Tov Cobbers, a Yiddish-language musical about early Jewish settlement in Australia, featuring traditional Yiddish songs and scripted by Alex Dafner and Leon Gettler, opened in Melbourne in May 1995. (The Australian word *cobber*, meaning "comrade," is believed to derive from the Yiddish *chaver*.) In June 1995 a single-performance opera entitled *Teddy the Jewboy*, based on the exploits of 19th-century New South Wales bushranger (outlaw bandit) Edward Davis, written by composer and poet Chris Mann, was performed in Brisbane. *Fires in the Mirror*, the one-woman play about the Crown Heights riots and the slaying of Melbourne scholar Yankel Rosenbaum, written and performed by the Afro-American actress Anna Deavere Smith, was staged in October 1994 as part of the 1994 Melbourne Festival.

Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List*, based on a book by Australian author Thomas Keneally, opened in February 1994 to enormous publicity. It also generated a fierce debate in the Australian Jewish press after Dr. Mark Baker, high-profile lecturer in modern Jewish history at the University of Melbourne, accused the film of cheapening and sanitizing the true horror of the Holocaust. Most participants in the debate, including Holocaust survivors and *Schindlerjuden*, praised the film because of the sympathy for Jews which it generated.

In December 1994, the Australian Archive of Jewish Music, a joint venture of the Martha Jacobson Australian Center for Jewish Civilization and the Department of Music at Monash University, was officially opened. The second issue appeared of *Antipodi*, a Melbourne-based Russian-language periodical for Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union. In June 1995 an Australian radio broadcast of the hugely successful *Trial of God*, a mock trial with two opposing teams of speakers, staged in 1994 by the Melbourne-based Jewish periodical *Generation*, won the prestigious Gold World Medal at the international media New York Festival.

Publications

Among many noteworthy books published during the period were *The Secret War Against the Jews: How Western Espionage Betrayed the Jewish People* by Mark Aarons and John Loftus; *Australia and the Holocaust 1933–45* by Paul R. Bartrop; *A Case to Answer: The Story of Australia's First European War Crimes Prosecution*, dealing with the case of Ivan Timofeyevich Polyukovich, by David Bevan; *Australian Writing: Ethnic Writers 1945–1991*, which includes a discussion of Jewish writers, edited by Annette Robyn Corkhill; *Turn the Page*, an anthology containing stories by Jewish women in English, Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, and Russian, edited by Tova Grosman; *No Time to Grow: The Story of the Gross-Breeseners in Australia*, an account of the young people who between 1936 and 1938 trained at the Jewish Emigration Training Farm at Gross-Breesen, Silesia, by Wolf S. Matsdorf; *A Glance Over an Old Left Shoulder*, the memoir of an Australian Jewish leftist, by Harry Stein; *Crossing the Party Line*, the memoir of another veteran leftist and well-known Communist Party of Australia official, by Bernie Taft; *Child Survivors: Adults Living with Childhood Trauma*, the case histories of ten Australian survivors of the Holocaust, edited by Paul Valent, and a number of personal memoirs. A nonprofit Yiddish-language publisher, Koala Farlag, which aims to rectify the paucity of reading material in Yiddish for young children, issued *Dancing Dinosaurs* by Rebecca White.

Personalia

Two expatriate Australian Jews, both American citizens, received senior appointments in the Clinton administration: Martin Indyk as U.S. ambassador to Israel and James Wolfensohn as head of the World Bank. A former federal senator, Peter Baume, was named chancellor of the Australian National University, Canberra. Attorney Rachelle Lewitan became a Queen's Counsel, one of only six women QCs in Victoria (three of them Jewish). Victor, Samuel, and Eric Smorgon, with their partner Charles Holckner, heads of Australia's leading industrial dynasty, the mega-rich Smorgon Consolidated Industries (with net assets approaching A\$1 billion and annual turnover of about A\$1.5 billion), stepped aside in a sweeping management change that brought a new generation of the Smorgon family to leadership.

Among notable Jews who died in 1994 were internationally renowned scholar Eugene Kamenka, founding head of the History of Ideas Unit in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University, in January, aged 65; Zionist Federation of Australia honorary treasurer Peter Fisher, in February, aged 43; Jonas Pushett, a pioneer of the Mizrahi movement in Australia and a founder of the Jewish Welfare Society in Victoria, in March, aged 96; veteran Perth communal leader Cecil Breckler, in August, aged 92; Michael Faktor, active in the United Israel Appeal and a former president of Masada College, a Sydney Jewish day school, in August, aged 54; Lou Jedwab, a longtime activist in left-wing Jewish

circles and founder of the Australian Jewish Democratic Society, in August, aged about 70; Lance Phillips, prominent Queensland communal figure, in August, aged 59; Queensland WIZO stalwart Jess Hoffman, in September, aged 90; Dr. Peter Wilenski, former Australian ambassador to the UN, in November, aged 55. Among prominent Jews who died in the first half of 1995 were Yiddish actor and broadcaster Yasha Sher, editor of *Di Yiddishe Naies* (an optional supplement to the Melbourne *Australian Jewish News*), in April, aged 80; Melbourne communal figure Zelman Bornstein, in May, aged 85; Frank Knopfelmacher, retired Reader in Psychology at the University of Melbourne, a controversial right-wing theorist and anticommunist activist credited with influencing many of Australia's leading contemporary conservative thinkers, in May, aged 72; Stanley Robe, Melbourne communal personality and Polish-language translator, in May, aged 86; Harry Rosenberg, one of Australia's foremost biochemists, a founder and Orthodox prayer leader of the Canberra Jewish community, in May, aged 71; Sydney Einfeld, former federal and New South Wales state parliamentarian and leader of the Sydney Jewish community, in June, aged 85.

HILARY RUBINSTEIN

South Africa

National Affairs

THE PERIOD 1994 AND FIRST HALF of 1995 saw the continuing transformation of South Africa: the old regime was dismantled, apartheid ended, and a new, multiracial government came to power.

The months preceding South Africa's first democratic elections of April 27–28, 1994, were tense as the two main political forces, the National Party (NP) and the African National Congress (ANC), negotiated with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the “homelands” of Ciskei and Bophutatswana, and the white far-right Conservative Party (CP), in an attempt to draw these groupings into the electoral process. Following political turmoil in the Ciskei and Bophutatswana, the two “homelands” agreed to participate; the CP, however, remained outside the process. In its place, the Freedom Front (FF), led by retired army general Constand Viljoen, agreed to participate. The IFP, led by Mangosutho Buthelezi, attempted to postpone the elections but at the eleventh hour grudgingly agreed to enter. A number of bombings during the period leading up to the elections were initiated by the radical right Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB), and some of its key members were arrested.

The elections demonstrated overwhelming support for the country's premier liberation movement, the ANC, in alliance with its junior partner, the South African Communist Party (SACP). In addition to winning 63 percent of the national vote, the ANC gained control of seven of the nine provincial legislatures. The NP attained 20.4 percent of the national vote and won control of the Western Cape provincial legislature, while the IFP gained 10.54 percent of the national vote and won control of the KwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature. Voters turned their backs on radical parties such as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) on the left (1 percent of the national vote) and the FF on the right (2 percent of the national vote). The liberal voice of historically white opposition politics, represented by the Democratic Party (DP) and associated for many years with Helen Suzman, obtained less than 2 percent of the national vote. However, its performance in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (renamed in 1995 “Gauteng”) and Western Cape provinces was marginally better.

For five years at least, the country would be ruled by a Government of National

Unity (GNU), headed by President Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, and Deputy Vice-President F. W. de Klerk, leader of the NP. By mid-1996 the National Assembly would have to approve a new and final constitution, guided by broad principles agreed to in earlier negotiations. This was not expected to differ substantially from the "interim" constitutional arrangements, although vigorous debate on the question of devolving power from the center to the provinces was evident.

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBOD) involved itself in the transition process and in the formulation of South Africa's new constitution. A Constitution Committee incorporating Jewish communal leadership and legal experts was convened to study the content of the proposed constitution. The committee made a submission on behalf of the community to the group working on a bill of rights. In its submission, the SAJBOD noted that the interim constitution failed to protect groups and communities against racist attacks and hate speech and asked that the constitution limit freedom of expression by outlawing the instigation of racial hatred, violence, and discrimination. The SAJBOD also made submissions to the Constitutional Assembly on freedom of religion, belief, and opinion; separation of church and state; and religious observance in schools.

The ANC-led national unity government began to implement its Reconstruction and Development Program in an attempt to undo the legacy of apartheid. Affirmative action gained impetus as the nation tackled past injustices. These changes were taking place within the context of a mixed economy, underpinned by a healthy respect for entrepreneurial initiatives and market forces.

Notwithstanding a substantial reduction in political violence across the country, criminal violence increased against a backdrop of ongoing unemployment, estimated at 40 percent in the black population. Foreign investment was gradual, and the economy was recovering slowly from a long recession. Economists anticipated a 2 to 3 percent growth rate in 1995. An indication of renewed economic confidence was the government's abolition of the Financial Rand, a dual investment system that favored foreign over local investors.

Israel and the Middle East

South Africa's relationship with Israel under the ANC-led government came under close scrutiny. Already prior to President Mandela's inauguration in May 1994, Esop Pahad, then a member of the ANC national executive, told a joint meeting of the South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS) and the ANC Youth League that South Africa would no longer tolerate human-rights abuses in Israel and discrimination against Israeli Arabs. Pahad was also highly critical of past relations between South Africa and Israel, noting that the ANC had always supported the right of the Palestinians to an independent state. South African foreign policy, he claimed, would ultimately be self-serving and determined by what was best for "the masses of our people."

PLO leader Yasir Arafat, in Johannesburg to attend Nelson Mandela's inaugura-

tion in May 1994, called on South African Muslims to join the Palestinian struggle to liberate Jerusalem. "Jihad will continue. . . . you have to fight and start the jihad to liberate Jerusalem, your sacred shrine." The speech, delivered in a mosque, caused shock and dismay in South African Jewish circles, especially since it was delivered after Arafat had a "friendly, constructive" meeting with Mandela and Israeli president Ezer Weizman, who had also come for the inauguration. The Israeli ambassador to South Africa, Dr. Alon Liel, said Arafat's comments "shocked" Israeli politicians.

Following the election, the government sought to allay Jewish fears. Initially, the South African ambassador to Israel, Malcolm Ferguson, indicated that he saw no reason why South African Jewry's relationship with Israel would change and said that it was the policy of the government "to recognize and respect Zionism as the embodiment of Jewish nationalism." His sentiments were confirmed by Mandela, who, shortly after his inauguration in May, told an Israeli journalist that he saw "no reason for impairing the relationship between South Africa and Israel." He looked forward to good relations.

Notwithstanding such comments, South African Jews were disturbed when Defense Minister Joe Modise compared Israeli policies with apartheid and called for an end to the "special relationship" between South Africa and Israel. In an effort to stave off criticism, Deputy Defense Minister Ronnie Kasrils said, "The Minister does not have any antagonistic feeling towards the Jewish community."

Ambassador Ferguson, addressing the 43rd conference of the South African Zionist Federation (SAZF) in July 1994, on behalf of Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, said: ". . . we accept and recognize the State of Israel and assert and insist upon its right to live within secure borders. . . . Our recognition of Israel is paralleled with equal vigor in our past support for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination."

It appeared that the government did not wish to turn the Middle East into an arena of conflict and contention. Certainly it was aware of the centrality of Israel for South African Jewry and the positive feelings of many others toward Israel. These feelings were captured by Deputy Vice-President De Klerk when he addressed a luncheon in August hosted by the South Africa-Israel Chamber of Commerce: "It is difficult to exaggerate the importance Israel has for many South Africans."

At the same time, in the new South Africa, Middle Eastern foreign policy was clearly going to be evenhanded, based on the substantial sympathy that existed for the Palestinians among the black majority. This was evident when, in February 1995, the PLO was granted ambassadorial status in South Africa. The *SA Jewish Times* expressed consternation, especially in the wake of South Africa's support for a PLO-sponsored resolution on the future of Jerusalem at the Organization of African Unity meeting held the same month. "By recognizing a 'state' that does not yet exist it has flown in the face of the Oslo and Cairo agreements and indirectly interfered in the peace process," the editors maintained. "By its inopportune action

the South African government has created the impression that it does not understand that the peace deal is a two-way process." It was reported that the Israeli ambassador, Elazar Granot, was recalled to Israel to discuss the matter.

In May 1995, one year after the inauguration of President Mandela, *The SA Jewish Times* assessed the performance of the GNU:

And while the honeymoon period of the Government of National Unity cannot be described as intensely idyllic, overall the fears of many pessimists were laid to rest. . . .

Only in its foreign policy in the Middle East it is consistently African in its lack of understanding of the Israeli position and dilemma in an arena that is and has been openly hostile to the Jewish State's existence for the past 47 years.

It has done this wittingly or unwittingly through the recognition of a PLO state, flying in the face of international agreements; by using State-controlled media to advance the Muslim viewpoints; and by overreacting to sensationalized reporting on Israel. All the while it has assured the South African Jewish community that this is no more than an adjustment to a more balanced viewpoint.

It is a biased development that needs to be openly addressed by the community and the Israeli Government.

Ambassador Alon Liel returned to Israel in September 1994 and was appointed to the position of director general of the Ministry of Economics and Planning. He was replaced by Elazar Granot.

Anti-Semitism

Although anti-Semitism was of marginal significance in South African public life, a number of troubling incidents occurred. These included the sending of anti-Semitic Hanukkah cards to prominent Jewish individuals, occasional bomb scares at Jewish day schools, and sporadic episodes of Holocaust denial (see, for example, *Die Afrikaner*, February, 3-9, 1995).

One disturbing trend was an increase in anti-Semitic manifestations connected with industrial actions, such as attacks on Jewish "capitalists" and "exploiters of the workers." Anti-Semitic placards were displayed at six strike sites around the country between mid-May and early August 1994, and at some of them slogans were chanted. A pamphlet accusing Jews of controlling the country and calling for the killing of the "capitalist Jew pigs" was distributed at a Volkswagen strike in Port Elizabeth, although Volkswagen management had no Jewish members. Some of the placards read "Away with the Jewish settlers!" "Jews dismiss innocent workers!" and "Jews are union bashers!"

A statement from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest trade-union federation in South Africa, declared that anti-Jewish slogans used during labor strikes were racist and contrary to their policy of non-racism and did not carry COSATU approval. Similarly, anti-Semitic remarks against "Jewish landlords" were condemned by an alliance of the ANC Youth League, the Communist Party, and other organizations.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

The Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies jointly hosted a conference at the University of Cape Town, October 1–3, 1994, entitled “Jewish Demography: International and South African Trends.” Based on sociodemographic research conducted by Prof. Allie A. Dubb over the previous 14 years, it emerged that, despite the emigration of an estimated 40,000 Jews since 1970, the size of the community had remained fairly constant. There had been some immigration, including an estimated 6,000 Israelis, as well as the return of émigrés, but an estimated 4,000 to 6,000 Jews left the country between 1991 and 1994. An acceptable estimate of the Jewish population, based on a range of variables, would be between 92,000 and 106,000—less than 2 percent of the total white population and .5 percent of the total population.¹

The composition and structure of the community changed significantly because emigration occurred largely among middle-aged couples and their children, with immigrants and returning émigrés having a different profile. Examination of the age distribution suggests that, compared with 1980, the proportion of school-age children and their parents had decreased; the proportion of those aged 60–70 decreased; and that of those over 70 increased. Migration within South Africa continued. It was estimated that Johannesburg now had 60,000 Jews (almost 60 percent of all Jews as compared to 56 percent a decade ago) and Cape Town 21,000 (or 22 percent of all Jews). Port Elizabeth’s Jewish population had declined appreciably.

The majority of heads of households were aged 50 or over, with no children “on hand.” Only 18 percent of the community did not live in Johannesburg or Cape Town, and at least 10 percent of the community were Israelis. It was also noted that a substantial number of the elderly could not support themselves and had no children in South Africa. Inter-marriage was rising, with conversions taking place under the auspices of both the South African Union of Progressive Judaism (SAUPJ) and the United Orthodox Synagogues (UOS).

In his keynote address to the conference, Prof. Sergio DellaPergola, head of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, noted that the South African Jewish population constituted a smaller share of the white population than previously but was more concentrated than in the 1980s. “This was a typical response of a community that is healthy but reacting to circumstances in the country. It was going the way of other major communities in the world. It was not moving at random but according to a pattern.” DellaPergola expressed shock at the exceptionally high divorce rate (4.2 per 1,000 of the Jewish population, compared with 1.7 per 1,000 in 1970).

¹Allie A. Dubb, *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey* (Jewish Publications South Africa. Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1994).

Figures from the Central Statistical Service did indeed confirm a higher rate of divorce among Jews than other white groups in South Africa. In the ultra-Orthodox community, where arranged marriages are common, the divorce rate was also rising, although it was still lower than in the general community. The situation was so serious that the Jewish Family and Community Council in Gauteng province established a special divorce commission to look into it.

Communal Affairs

Shortly before his inauguration as president of South Africa in May 1994, Nelson Mandela attended and addressed a Sabbath morning service at the Green and Sea Point Hebrew Congregation in Cape Town. He paid tribute to the "tremendous contribution made by the Jewish people to the economy of South Africa" and appealed to Jewish expatriates to return to the country and help with the building of a new South Africa. Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris praised the total lack of bitterness shown by Mandela after 27 years in prison. Mervyn Smith, national chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, conveyed the Jewish community's congratulations to Mandela on his imminent inauguration as the president of South Africa. "The Jewish community of this country is fully committed to playing a full role in supporting you and the elected government in establishing a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa," said Smith. "Your life has been dedicated to these principles and we have every faith in your ability to lead our country along the path in the years ahead."

These positive sentiments generally informed Jewish leadership in the new South Africa. A number of communal leaders expressed confidence in the future and a belief that Jews could contribute to the country positively and would not be singled out for negative attention.

Chief Rabbi Harris was one of four spiritual leaders to deliver a prayer at the inauguration of President Mandela on May 10, 1994. Recognition of non-Christian faiths at the ceremony, which was watched by a worldwide TV audience, was a first in South Africa and was applauded by most residents of the republic.

The SAJBOD called on the community to register for local government elections. "This is an ideal opportunity for the Jewish community to participate and have a say in local government activities and issues. It is also a means of ensuring that the concerns of the community can be voiced," said national chairman Smith.

The SAJBOD was invited to participate in the formation of the Gauteng Refugee Forum, based on its previous involvement with refugees from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia.

The Jewish community was enormously concerned about rising crime levels. Two Jews were killed in separate incidents of violent crime in Johannesburg in February 1995—one a robbery, the other a car hijacking. In Glenhazel, a densely populated suburb in Johannesburg, Sabbath strollers were warned to exercise caution. (An *eruv*—a Sabbath boundary marker—had been erected in this suburb, which encom-

passed five synagogues and 25,000 Jews.) Following a series of vicious attacks on women at the Jewish section of the West Park Cemetery, the Chevra Kadisha (Johannesburg Helping Hand and Burial Society) instituted strict security measures. The Gauteng Council of the SAJBOD set up a Safety and Security Task Force to address the issues of violence, criminality, and security.

Caring for the elderly was also becoming a major problem for the Jewish community, especially as emigration broke up extended families and many of the elderly were left to survive on their own resources. In Johannesburg, pensioners, widows, and widowers were finding it increasingly difficult to obtain suitable accommodation in inner city flatlands, as residential hotels were closing down and crime on the streets was rampant.

Mervyn Smith was elected chairman of the African Jewish Congress (AJC) at its inaugural meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, in May 1994. The AJC, affiliated with the World Jewish Congress, was formed to represent Jews in sub-Saharan Africa and to promote cultural, religious, and social activities between small and dispersed communities. The congress was attended by 150 delegates and observers from Botswana, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

The 85-year-old *Zionist Record* was incorporated into a new community newspaper, *The SA Jewish Times*. The incorporation upset certain individuals, most notably Solly Yellin, a member of the editorial board of the *Zionist Record*, who accused the central Jewish fund-raising body, the Israel United Appeal-United Communal Fund, of working to destroy the Zionist Federation. *The SA Jewish Times* also incorporated the *Jewish Herald Times* and the *Jewish Voice*. In his first editorial, Maurice Dorfan explained that the new *SA Jewish Times* would "give voice to all shades of opinion and viewpoints within the community," although there would be moments "when the community will need to face issues 'una voce.'" However, Dorfan went on, unity did not imply "softening up criticism over what needs to be aired within the community. While the newspaper's board comprises representatives of the community's major institutions, the approach must be one of laissez-faire as far as raising controversial issues is concerned."

Harry Schwarz returned to South Africa in November 1994, following his three-and-a-half-year tenure as South African ambassador to the United States. At an event sponsored by the South African Zionist Federation in his honor, Schwarz urged the Jewish community to make the best of the changes taking place in South Africa and to contribute actively to the success of the country.

Prominent Jewish figures from abroad who visited the South African community in 1994 included Natan Sharansky, in April, and Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, in August. A ten-member delegation of the American Jewish Committee (AJC) visited South Africa in November and met with government officials, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, representatives of the Jewish community, and the SAJBOD. Speaking of the visit, Robert S. Rifkind, chairman of the board of governors of the AJC, said he was heartened by the spirit of reconciliation he had witnessed in South Africa.

Irene Zukerman was elected president of the South African Union of Jewish Women (SAUJW) at that group's triennial congress in Durban in September 1994. The SAUJW had a membership of over 7,000. Committed to participating in the experience of nation building, the organization's branches throughout the country continued internal and outreach projects, including programs with preschools and black nursery schools and friendship clubs.

The Israel United Appeal-United Communal Fund (IUA-UCF) launched its 1995 campaign in Johannesburg in February with a cabaret entitled "Shaping the Future Together." The guest speaker was Julia Koschinsky, chairwoman of the world Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency.

Israel-Related Activity

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies expressed shock and dismay at the killing of innocent civilians at prayer by a Jewish settler in the Hebron massacre of February 25, 1994. The board was joined in its expression of regret by Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris. The South African Union of Jewish Students also condemned the massacre and called for the continuation of peace talks in Israel. However, the largely unknown Kach South Africa organization rejected the public statements by the Board of Deputies and chief rabbi. "We are angered by the absence of any criticism by the so-called spokesmen when acts of violence are perpetrated against our brethren—the double standard sticks in our throat."

The 43rd South African Zionist Federation conference held in Johannesburg in July 1994 came at the end of a troublesome year of staff rationalization, the drawing up of a new constitution, and a move to new Johannesburg premises. Budget cuts had led to a drastic countrywide decrease in *shlichim* (Israeli counselors), and one youth movement had no *shlichim* at all. The conference saw the reshuffling of the federation's top officers. The Hon. Abe Abrahamson, chairman and vice-chairman of the SAZF for the past six years, replaced Julius Weinstein as president of the SAZF; Joe Simon was elected national chairman. The SAZF changed its constitution so as to enable all interested bodies that accept the concept of Israel's centrality for the Jewish people—regardless of whether they regard themselves as Zionist—to affiliate with the organization.

Israeli broadcaster Freda Keet visited South Africa on a lecture tour in February 1994. She stressed the need to strengthen bonds between the worldwide Jewish community and Israel. She also launched the Bnoth Zion Women's Biennial Zionist Campaign.

Religion

The struggle over the Imanu-Shalom Temple in 1993 substantially weakened the Reform movement in the Johannesburg area and reduced the number of members from 1,600 families affiliated with four Reform temples to 1,200 families affiliated with three temples.

The father of the Reform movement in South Africa, Rabbi Dr. Moses Weiler, was guest of honor at the 1995 biennial conference of the South African Union of Progressive Judaism, held in Pretoria in June. Weiler founded the SAUPJ in 1933, when he came to South Africa as a young graduate of the Hebrew Union College in the United States to help establish Progressive Judaism. The conference agreed that gays and lesbians would not be ostracized from Progressive congregations and communities or from their rabbinic leadership.

Rabbi Weiler opened the new building of the Rabbi M. C. Weiler School in Alexandria, Johannesburg, which was founded in 1945 after Weiler, at that time rabbi of Temple Israel in Johannesburg, saw black children playing unsupervised in the streets of Alexandria "township" while their parents were at work and initiated the school's establishment. While in South Africa, Weiler addressed meetings of the SAJBOD and SAZF.

Thousands of South African Jews were plunged into mourning with the passing of the seventh Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson. In Johannesburg hundreds of mourners gathered at the Oxford Street Synagogue to remember the Rebbe and honor his memory. Chief Rabbi Harris described the Rebbe as "a colossus who bestrode the Jewish world. No Jewish personality in this century has had a more profound impact or beneficial influence on the Jewish people." Eulogies were delivered by Rabbis Yossy Goldman and Norman Bernhard, both of the Lubavitch movement. "For us in South Africa," explained Rabbi Goldman in an interview before the memorial service, "his constant reassurance that there was no need for panic emigration, and that South Africa would ultimately be peaceful and prosperous, is a most vivid example of what can only be described as a divinely inspired vision."

Chief Rabbi Harris hit out at religious critics of the late Joe Slovo, a leader of the ANC and an atheist Jew, at a nondenominational memorial meeting in Soweto on January 15, 1995, a day of national mourning in South Africa. Amid the cheers of a crowd of some 60,000, Rabbi Harris said: "Let not those religious people who acquiesced passively or wrongly with the inequalities of yesteryear, let them not dare to condemn Joe Slovo—a humanist socialist who fought all his life for basic decency, to reinstate the dignity to which all human beings are entitled." Tributes were also paid by a Christian minister, representatives of the Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), a choir, and a praise singer in traditional African dress.

A religious welfare coalition was set up with Brenda Solarsh, director of the Jewish Family and Community Council, acting as both its representative and that of the national Jewish welfare sector. The group planned to respond to the Welfare White Paper and the restructuring of departments of welfare and their partnerships with civil society.

Canadian Rabbi Dr. Reuven P. Bulka spent a week in South Africa as acting president of the Rabbinic Forum of the UIA International.

Education

Mount Scopus, a newly formed Jewish campus in Johannesburg that offered University of South Africa correspondence courses combined with residential instruction, attracted a large number of students who attended Jewish studies programs held after hours and for nondegree purposes.

Ohr Sameyach Yeshiva opened Keren Ohr in Johannesburg, an all-round enrichment center intended to help people deal with political uncertainty and stress. Areas to be focused on included parenting skills, marriage enrichment, enhancing self-esteem, and single parenting.

Yeshivas Toras Emes Boys' High School merged into Sha'arei Torah Boys' High School in Johannesburg. Carmel Pretoria, a Jewish day school, a victim of Pretoria's declining Jewish community, merged with Crawford College, a nondenominational private school. The new school catered to all religious groups but maintained traditional Jewish observance, including a fully kosher kitchen and compulsory prayer for Jewish students.

Jewish day schools in Gauteng were packed to capacity at the start of the 1995 academic year, despite the fact that only 60 percent of the community chose this type of schooling. From the start of 1995, the Yiddish Folkschool in Johannesburg was incorporated into the Early Childhood Department of the Board of Jewish Education. The syllabi of both programs were integrated, and the children learned both Yiddish and Hebrew songs and vocabulary.

At the 24th conference of the Board of Jewish Education in Johannesburg in April 1995, Jeff Bortz was reelected chairman. Mendel Kaplan was appointed honorary life president in recognition of his "singular contribution to the advancement of Jewish education in South Africa and worldwide." Delivering the keynote address at the conference, Kaplan claimed that rabbis made it very difficult, if not impossible, for highly educated secular Jews to learn about their traditions and heritage, because they imposed stringent conditions, in essence asking them to cut themselves off from "the outside world." He said day schools provided the ideal opportunity for learning and were the "only way forward" for Diaspora Jews.

Delivering his chairman's report to the conference, Bortz called for the expansion of "upliftment" programs with black schools. Of vital concern to the board were the role and future of independent and private schools in South Africa, as well as state and provincial funding and the criteria on which this funding would be based. "It has been necessary for me to present to the new education authorities the meaning and purpose of a Jewish day school and to articulate most clearly what is meant by a communal school as opposed to a private school," Bortz said. Similar issues were faced by other ethnic and religious communities, with whom alliances were being formed.

Yeshivah College, Johannesburg, was awarded the prestigious Jerusalem Prize for Jewish Education in the Diaspora for 1995 in the category of "outstanding school."

In April 1995, Cape Town established its first yeshivah, largely due to the efforts

of Rabbi Jonathan Glass. About 150 students were currently studying, the vast majority in a part-time capacity.

Culture

The "Anne Frank in the World" exhibition opened in Cape Town in March 1994 before touring major centers in South Africa. The exhibition was officially opened by Pieter Dankert, the Netherlands state secretary for foreign affairs. Hannah Pick-Goslar, Anne's closest childhood friend, was also present at the opening. The exhibition was linked to an exhibition on the history of apartheid, organized by the Mayibuye Center at the University of the Western Cape.

Addressing a gathering of 1,500 members of the Jewish community at the opening of the Anne Frank exhibition in Johannesburg in August, President Mandela noted that the exhibition was particularly relevant for South Africans today "as we emerge from the treacherous era of apartheid and injustice, exploring as it does, the past in order to heal, to reconcile and to build the future." Mandela told the gathering that he had read the *Diary of Anne Frank* while in prison on Robben Island and had derived much encouragement from it. Apartheid and Nazism, he noted, "shared the inherently evil belief in the superiority of some races over others, which drove adherents of these ideologies to perpetrate unspeakable crimes and to derive pleasure from the sufferings of their fellow human beings. To know the past in its full measure is to take the first step towards learning from it. By honoring the memory of Anne Frank we are saying with one voice, 'never again.'"

In a review of the exhibition in the KwaZulu/Natal Jewish communal newspaper, *Hashalom*, Prof. Marcus Arkin stated that he and many others felt uneasy that the Mayibuye exhibition was "riding on the coat-tails of 'Anne Frank in the World'—in fact, physically surrounding it." In response, Myra Osrin, chairwoman of the National Exhibition Committee, a coordinating body set up to display the exhibition in South Africa, said that the exhibition could not have been held in South Africa in 1994 without looking at the country's own history of discrimination. "The Mayibuye exhibition is an ancillary exhibition. The introductory panel of the exhibition states that it is not correct to equate the Holocaust with apartheid." Osrin pointed out that the exhibition had two primary intentions. First, to educate people about the history of the Holocaust and its unique position in history; second, to use the Holocaust story to teach people about the evils of discrimination and the importance of human rights.

Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List* received extensive press coverage in South Africa. It was clear that the film raised awareness of the Holocaust for many thousands of people who were previously ignorant of or indifferent to the destruction of European Jewry.

The South African Jewish Arts and Culture Trust (SAJACT) was launched in Johannesburg in April 1995.

Publications

Some noteworthy recent publications of Jewish interest were *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey* by Allie A. Dubb (Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, University of Cape Town); *Reminiscences of a Lady Doctor* by Pauline Klenerman (Adler Museum of the History of Medicine, University of the Witwatersrand/South African Institute for Medical Research); *The Light of Israel. The Story of the Paarl Jewish Community* by Charles Press; *In Sacred Memory*, edited by Gwynne Schrire (Holocaust Memorial Council); and *The Roots of Antisemitism in South Africa* by Milton Shain (University Press of Virginia and Witwatersrand University Press).

Personalia

Arthur Chaskalson, senior counsel, a distinguished advocate and leader in the field of public-interest law, was appointed president of South Africa's first Constitutional Court. Chaskalson had held the title of Honorary Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand since 1981 and was founder and longtime director of the Legal Resources Center, South Africa's first public-interest law firm. He was also a long-standing member of the National Council of Lawyers for Human Rights and a consultant to the African National Congress on constitutional issues.

Justice Richard Goldstone, internationally recognized for his commission's exposure of corruption and lawlessness in South Africa, was appointed chief prosecutor for the United Nations tribunal on war crimes in former Yugoslavia. The tribunal was charged with trying those accused of "ethnic cleansing" and other war crimes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mendel Kaplan, lawyer, industrialist, philanthropist, and chairman of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency, was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Cape Town in December 1994.

Tony Leon was elected leader of the Democratic Party.

Helen Lieberman was named "Citizen of the Year" for 1994 by the Lions Multiple District 410, comprising South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Namibia. The award is given in recognition of outstanding service to the community.

Prof. Michael Katz, former national president and national chairman of the SAJBOD, was appointed to head the South African Tax Commission.

Joe Slovo, national minister of housing, died on January 5, 1995, at the age of 68. Born in Lithuania and trained as a lawyer, he became a leading intellectual in the South African Communist Party and a fighter for African liberation. He went into exile in 1963 and returned to South Africa in 1990, where he played a leading role in the reconciliation of whites and blacks.

Other prominent South African Jews who died in 1994 and the first half of 1995

were Israel Aaron Maisels, leading judge and Jewish communal leader, one of South Africa's most outstanding lawyers, who led the defense team in the "Treason Trial" of the 1950s, in December 1994; and Joel Mervis, editor of the *Sunday Times* newspaper from 1959 to 1975, in March 1995.

MILTON SHAIN

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF THE peace process with the Palestine Liberation Organization, initiated by the signing of an accord in a September 13, 1993, White House ceremony, dominated Israeli affairs throughout 1994 and early 1995. The first phase of the agreement with the PLO was completed by the summer of 1994: an Israeli military withdrawal from most of the Gaza Strip and from the West Bank town of Jericho, the establishment of Palestinian "autonomous areas" in those localities, and PLO chairman Yasir Arafat headquartered in Gaza and in control of the two nascent entities.

But progress toward the scheduled second phase of the autonomy process—the Israeli withdrawal from other Palestinian population centers in the West Bank—was stymied by a rise in Islamic extremist violence, and especially by the phenomenon of Hamas and Islamic suicide bombers who attacked Israeli targets, killing as many Israelis as they could while achieving their own martyrdom. The upsurge in violence led to increasing Israeli public disillusionment with the peace process, a sense only partially offset by the year's other central development: the October signing of a full peace treaty between Israel and its eastern neighbor, Jordan. Negotiated in a mere three months after Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and King Hussein shook hands in public for the first time, again at a White House ceremony, the treaty brought a rapid warming of relations between the two states.

THE PEACE PROCESS

Relations with the Palestinians

The Declaration of Principles on autonomy for the Palestinians, signed at the White House in September 1993, had envisaged an Israeli military pullout from most of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho getting under way in mid-December 1993. But differences between Israel and the PLO over key elements of the autonomy program played havoc with the original timetable. The start of 1994 found the two sides still at odds over crucial issues, such as the precise boundaries of the Jericho area to be handed over for Palestinian control and the arrangements for control of border crossings from Jordan into Jericho and from Egypt into Gaza.

The prolonged wrangling and repeated missed deadlines were accompanied by a

continuation, and even an escalation, of violence: Palestinian attacks on Israeli military and civilian targets; clashes between Palestinians and Israeli troops; and several incidents of Jewish settler attacks on Palestinian targets. In the course of 1994, according to figures compiled by the Israeli Government Press Office and B'Tselem, the Israeli human-rights group, 51 Israeli civilians and 18 soldiers were killed by Palestinians; 77 Palestinians were killed by soldiers and 38 by civilians.

The delays, continuing violence, and absence of economic improvement in Gaza also led to a fall in support for the autonomy process on both sides. At the time of the September 1993 signing, several surveys had shown up to two-thirds of both Israelis and Palestinians backing the Declaration of Principles. By late January, Israeli newspapers were reporting that a secret poll conducted by the Prime Minister's Office put Israeli support for the peace accord at just 34 percent. Another survey, by pollster Hanoach Smith, showed that if there were a significant decline in terror, 69 percent of Israelis would see the agreement as a success and 22 percent as a failure, but if terror attacks continued, only 17 percent would regard the accord as a success and 70 percent would consider it a failure. On the Palestinian side, 45 percent supported the agreement, and 40 percent opposed it, according to an early January survey by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center.

The first week of January 1994 alone saw three Palestinians killed by Israeli troops in Gaza during disturbances on January 3, and another killed in a clash with soldiers on January 5. A week later, near the Erez crossing point between Israel and the Gaza Strip, a Hamas militant stabbed to death a Russian immigrant before he was himself shot dead by two Israeli officials.

In Hebron, four Hamas members were killed in a clash with soldiers and agents of the Shin Bet (General Security Services) on January 14. And on January 31, Beersheba taxi driver Elias Cohen was murdered in his cab. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine took responsibility.

The spate of attacks gathered pace in February. On February 2, Hamas gunmen in the West Bank opened fire on a car being driven by settlers close to Hebron, badly hurting two of them. On February 3, two Fatah Hawk militants were killed by troops in a Gaza shootout. On February 5, a 13-year-old Palestinian boy died during a clash in Gaza's Jebalya refugee camp. And in two attacks inside Israel on February 10, Naftali Sahar, a 75-year-old farmer, was beaten to death in his orange grove at Kibbutz Na'an near Rehovot by an Arab worker, and taxi driver Ilan Sudri was murdered in his car in the Lakhish region.

Hamas stepped up its operations on February 13, when its gunmen shot dead a Shin Bet agent, Noam Cohen, in an ambush near the West Bank town of Ramallah. Hamas had apparently been tipped off about Cohen's movements by a Palestinian Shin Bet informer. On February 18, Zippora Sasson, a pregnant settler from Ariel, was killed by Hamas gunmen who opened fire on the car she was traveling in. On February 24, two Hamas members believed responsible for Cohen's death—as well as for the December 1993 murders of Mordechai and Shalom Lapid, a father and son from Kiryat Arba, and several other killings—were tracked to a hideout in the

village of Abu Dis near Jerusalem. After a 10-hour firefight with Israeli soldiers, one Hamas gunman was killed and the second captured.

MASSACRE IN HEBRON

If the frequent acts of violence and clashes gradually wore down public support for the autonomy accords, the entire peace process was brought to the brink of collapse on February 25, 1994, by an unprecedented act of Jewish settler violence.

In the early hours of the morning, Baruch Goldstein, an American-born immigrant doctor who lived at the settlement of Kiryat Arba overlooking Hebron, donned his military reservist's uniform and slipped unobserved into Hebron's Cave of the Patriarchs (also known as Machpelah), a site holy to both Jews and Muslims, used as both a mosque and a synagogue. It was the final Friday of the holy month of Ramadan, and the area was packed with Palestinians kneeling in prayer. Unprovoked, Goldstein began spraying automatic gunfire indiscriminately into the kneeling ranks of the worshipers. Twenty-nine Palestinians were killed, and dozens more were injured. More than 100 bullets were fired before worshipers overpowered Goldstein and beat him to death.

Goldstein, a New York-born Yeshiva University graduate and Orthodox Jew, was a leading supporter of Kach, the virulently anti-Arab party formed by the assassinated American-born rabbi Meir Kahane. He had given radio interviews intimating that "a time to kill" Arabs was imminent. When President Ezer Weizman visited Kiryat Arba in November 1993, Goldstein had pinned a yellow Jewish star to his chest to signify his belief that a second Holocaust was approaching, with the Palestinians in the Nazi role and the Jewish settlers their victims.

Friends said he had been profoundly moved by the deaths of the Lapid two months earlier, having been called to the scene of their shooting and having tried in vain to save their lives. He had also attended Purim prayers at the Machpelah cave on the night of February 24, when Arabs disrupted the service with cries of "Death to the Jews."

As word of the mass killings spread across the West Bank and into Gaza, violent clashes erupted at numerous sites between Palestinians and Israeli troops, on a scale and of an intensity that recalled the early months of the Palestinian *intifada* in 1987 and 1988. In the week following the Hebron killings, at least 20 more Palestinians were killed in these clashes.

The disquiet also spread to the Israeli Arab community, which held a one-day general strike on February 26 as a sign of mourning. Rioting even spread to the Beduin community, and one Beduin was killed in a clash in the Negev town of Rahat on February 27. In an apparent act of revenge for the killings, 79-year-old Moshe Eisenstadt was axed to death in Kfar Saba just hours after news of the attack was made public. His two assailants escaped.

Ignoring a personal plea from President Bill Clinton to use the massacre as a "catalyst" to accelerate toward a final agreement on the "Gaza-and-Jericho-first" autonomy accord, PLO chairman Yasir Arafat immediately suspended peace

negotiations with Israel (as did Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan), demanded the deployment of an international force in the territories to protect the Palestinians, and called for the disarmament of settlers. He also demanded that the whole issue of Jewish settlement, which was not scheduled for discussion as part of the interim accords, be placed on the negotiating agenda. Exaggerating the toll of the dead and injured in Hebron, Arafat alleged that the Goldstein massacre was the product of an Israeli army conspiracy. "I know, I am an expert," he said. "No one can kill 65 and injure 256 alone. There is no Rambo."

Israeli leaders, from President Weizman and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on down, condemned Goldstein's actions. Weizman called the massacre "the worst thing that has happened to us in the history of Zionism." Rabin added, "This despicable act is so foreign to us, so un-Jewish and so terrible. . . . To [this murderer] and to those like him we say, 'You are not part of the community of Israel. You are not partners in the Zionist enterprise. You are an errant weed.'"

Support for Goldstein's actions was expressed publicly only by a small minority of extreme Jewish right-wingers, many of whom also came from his home settlement of Kiryat Arba. About 1,000 people, many of them local residents, attended a rain-drenched funeral service for him, during which Rabbi Dov Lior of Kiryat Arba praised Goldstein as a holy man who embodied the highest Jewish values and who had been driven to desperation by the government's failure to confront ongoing Arab violence. Goldstein was buried at the settlement, and a shrine—including a marble tombstone, white stone prayer area, cupboards for prayer books, and an alcove for memorial candles—was subsequently erected at the site.

Israel sought to woo the Palestinians back to the peace talks by releasing about 1,000 Palestinian prisoners from its jails. Rabin also commissioned a five-member judicial commission of inquiry, headed by Supreme Court president Meir Shamgar, to investigate the episode and its wider context. Unprecedentedly, the panel included a Muslim Arab, Nazareth district court judge Abd al-Rahman Zu'abi, whose fierce questioning immediately exposed considerable confusion in army ranks as to whether standing orders prohibited soldiers from opening fire on settlers, even if those settlers were shooting to kill Arabs.

The Shamgar Commission began work on March 8 and issued its findings on June 26. It determined that, contrary to some Palestinian claims, Goldstein had acted alone, and concluded that the army could not have predicted the massacre. The commission recommended that Jews henceforth be banned from bringing weapons into the Machpelah.

The cave remained closed to worshipers for more than eight months, reopening on November 7 with the introduction of far more stringent security precautions, including a complete separation between Jewish and Muslim prayer areas. Muslim and Jewish worshipers used separate entrances, which featured metal detectors and, on the Jewish side, a storage facility for weapons, which were no longer allowed inside. A sophisticated closed-circuit television system was also installed, replacing the previous system, which had proved to be faulty.

In the days after the massacre, administrative detention orders were issued against

five leaders of the Kach movement, and several dozen Kach and Kahane Chai (a splinter group) activists had their movements restricted and/or their gun licenses revoked. The Israeli attorney-general began drawing up the legal mechanisms for outlawing Kach and Kahane Chai, which were subsequently classified as terrorist organizations, with membership in them punishable by jail terms.

Coincidentally, within three weeks of the massacre, Benjamin Kahane, son of the late rabbi and the leader of the Kahane Chai group, was jailed for nine months for assaulting police officers, and Rabbi Moshe Levinger, leader of the Hebron settlers, was questioned by police for allegedly threatening Muslim officials at the Cave of the Patriarchs.

Prime Minister Rabin resisted demands from the Palestinians and from seven members of his own cabinet—including the leaders of the left-wing Meretz Party, Labor's junior coalition partner—to forcibly evacuate the 400-plus Jews who lived in the heart of Hebron itself, reiterating that the autonomy program provided that no settlements would be dismantled during the five-year interim autonomy period.

Hamas explicitly threatened further revenge attacks, unless certain settlements in Gaza and the West Bank were immediately dismantled. A Hamas pamphlet distributed in early March warned, "We have chosen our targets, and our living martyrs have been instructed to carry out suicide operations."

By the end of March, the Palestinians had agreed to at least hold "talks on talks"—discussions with Israeli negotiators in Cairo—about the modalities of a resumption of the Gaza-and-Jericho-first negotiations.

By April 4, the army was beginning the early stages of a Gaza and Jericho withdrawal, moving out of Gaza's Deir al-Balah refugee camp and taking equipment out of the Jericho police station. The next day, in a goodwill gesture, 50 deported Palestinians were allowed back into the West Bank and Gaza, and the army began moving troops and equipment out of its Gaza City headquarters.

But the violence simmered on, inside the territories and inside Israel. Two Palestinians had been killed by troops in Hebron on March 7, when the prolonged curfew was briefly lifted. A wanted Hamas member was killed at the Erez crossing point into Gaza the next day. On March 17, two more Hamas activists were killed in a clash in Khan Younis, in Gaza. On March 22, Israeli troops killed four Hamas terrorists—also alleged to have been involved in the Lapid killings—after an 18-hour siege in Hebron. A pregnant Palestinian woman was shot dead during the exchanges of fire.

On March 23, a Soviet immigrant was shot dead while walking to work at the Israeli income tax office in East Jerusalem. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine took responsibility. On March 25, an Israeli, Daniel Morali, was arrested for allegedly shooting dead a Hebron truck driver, apparently in revenge for the death of his brother in a West Bank car crash a year earlier.

Many Palestinians held a three-day mourning period following the March 28 killings by Israeli undercover troops of six activists from Arafat's mainstream Fatah faction of the PLO in Gaza's Jebalya refugee camp. Arafat called the shootings

"another massacre." PLO officials said the attack had been unprovoked and noted that several of those killed were enthusiastic advocates of the peace process. Israeli officials responded that the men had been masked, uniformed, and armed and had ignored calls to halt.

On March 29, two Fatah Hawks attacked 70-year-old Isaac Rotenberg, a Holocaust survivor, in Bat Yam. He died two days later. On March 30, a Palestinian stoning an Israeli car near Nablus was shot dead, apparently by the driver. On March 31, Yossi Zandani was strangled to death, apparently by Palestinians, in his Bnei Ayish apartment. On April 7, Yishai Gadasi was killed and three other Israelis were injured when a gunman opened fire on them at a bus stop in Ashdod, in southern Israel. The 19-year-old gunman was shot dead at the scene. Hamas claimed responsibility. And on April 12, a pregnant Palestinian woman was shot dead in her home in the West Bank village of al-Jib. A resident of the Shiloh settlement was arrested in connection with the shooting.

FIRST SUICIDE BOMBINGS

All too aware of the extremist Islamic groups' warnings of violent revenge for the Hebron killings, Israelis had been braced for weeks for a large-scale terrorist attack; in the first half of April the radicals made good on the promise of "suicide operations." Taking as a model the action of the pro-Iranian Hezbollah group in Lebanon a decade earlier, when more than 300 Americans were killed in two Hezbollah suicide bombings in 1983 alone, the bombers staged two major suicide attacks inside Israel, to devastating effect.

The first came on April 6, when Riad Zakharna, a Hamas activist from the West Bank village of Qabatiya, drove up alongside a bus at a stop in the northern town of Afula and detonated the explosives that were packed into his car. Seven Israelis were killed, and more than 40 were injured. A week later, on April 13, Hamas bombers struck again, blowing up a bus in Hadera, killing five Israelis and injuring 32.

The attacks brought impassioned calls from the Israeli opposition for the suspension of peace negotiations with the Palestinians and triggered demonstrations across the country by Israelis opposed to the peace process. Banners were waved branding Rabin a traitor, a coward, and a dupe of Arafat; another popular poster showed Rabin's features, his head covered in an Arafat-styled keffiyah head-dress, with a gun-target printed over his face.

The national sense of grief and anger was not helped by Arafat's failure to condemn the bombings. Asked by Israeli journalists who cornered him in Cairo shortly after the Afula bombing, "What is your response to the murderous attack that took place today in Israel?" the PLO chairman simply turned his back and walked away without comment. It was left to Nabil Shaath, the PLO official heading the negotiations on autonomy, to issue a condemnation and expression of regret.

Ironically, the two suicide bombings coincided with real signs of progress in the

Israel-PLO negotiations. The two sides agreed on the terms for the deployment of a 9,000-strong Palestinian police force to take over responsibility from the Israeli army for internal security in Gaza and Jericho. Forty-nine deported PLO activists were allowed back, including Hanan al-Wazir, daughter of the assassinated PLO military commander Abu Jihad. An understanding was reached that Israel would release 2,500 Palestinian prisoners as soon as the Gaza-and-Jericho-first deal was signed, and another 2,500 when the Arafat-headed Palestinian Authority took control of Gaza and Jericho. With a final agreement apparently at hand, Israeli troops began evacuating bases and installations in Arab population centers, including the main Gaza City military headquarters, relocating to new bases alongside Israeli settlements inside the strip.

Palestinian demands for protection in Hebron in the wake of the massacre, backed up by a UN Security Council resolution of March 18 condemning the massacre and calling for settlers to be disarmed, were eventually resolved with the arrival on April 11 of an advance team of international observers from what was called the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH). The main 160-strong force, drawn from Norway, Denmark, and Italy, which was charged with monitoring, reporting, and "assisting in promoting stability" in the town, arrived a week later.

Even as the effect of the suicide bombings was to force many Israelis to question the entire basis of the peace process and its desirability, for the government the urgent priority was to find a means of countering the bombers. With security chiefs warning that there was no foolproof defense against attackers willing to sacrifice their own lives in order to kill Israelis, the government resorted to the tactic of an open-ended closure order, applying to both Gaza and the West Bank. The number of Palestinians employed in Israel had been falling steadily from a figure of 120,000 a year earlier, but the blanket closure meant that no Palestinians could reach jobs in Israel. With the construction and agriculture sectors, in particular, still heavily reliant on Palestinian labor, the government issued permits for an initial 18,000 foreign workers—from countries including Romania, Poland, Turkey, and Thailand—to be brought in to replace the Palestinians.

The Israeli army arrested dozens of Hamas activists suspected of involvement in the latest violence or of planning further attacks. In a few days in late April alone, about 300 Hamas members were placed in detention as the army sought to paralyze the Hamas infrastructure. Nevertheless, Hamas continued to stage successful attacks on Israeli targets, furthering a declared campaign aimed at burying the autonomy accords and Arafat along with them. On April 18, a Hamas supporter from the West Bank's Kalandiya refugee camp wounded two Israelis in an ax attack on a Jerusalem bus. Two days later, a 20-year-old soldier, Shahar Simani, was kidnapped and then murdered after leaving his base near Beersheba to hitchhike home. His body was found the next day near the north Jerusalem Arab neighborhood of Beit Hanina. Again, Hamas took responsibility. On April 23, two Hamas members stabbed and wounded a Gaza woman settler as she was feeding her baby in front of her Neve Dekalim home. A bystander killed one of the attackers; the other was

wounded. A Palestinian was shot dead in Hebron on April 26, as he tried to stab a soldier at a roadblock.

Insisting that to suspend peace talks would be to hand victory to the Muslim extremists, Rabin ordered his negotiators in Cairo to press on toward a final agreement; by the beginning of May, the completed documentation was prepared and ready for signing.

GAZA-JERICO AGREEMENT SIGNED

For the May 4 Cairo signing, which coincided with the birthday of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, an elaborate ceremony was arranged. Among the dignitaries in attendance, besides Mubarak and his foreign minister, Amre Moussa, were U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher and his Russian counterpart, Andrei Kozyrev, representing the two cosponsors of the peace process, as well as Arafat, Mahmoud Abbas (the PLO "number two," who had signed the Declaration of Principles at the White House), Rabin, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.

Although the ceremony started smoothly enough, something extraordinary occurred when it came time to actually sign the documentation. Arafat was the first to affix his signature to the stack of documents. When Rabin followed suit, he discovered that the PLO chairman had omitted to sign a sheaf of maps delineating the size of the Jericho area that was to be handed over to Palestinian control.

To the astonished bemusement of the assembled audience and millions more watching on live TV, a full-scale argument broke out on stage, with Mubarak, Moussa, Rabin, Kozyrev, and Peres confronting Arafat and demanding to know what was going on. Eventually, the protagonists left the stage. Press reports intimated that offstage, Mubarak cursed the PLO chairman in Arabic and insisted that he sign; when they reappeared after a few minutes, Arafat did indeed finally put pen to paper, albeit with an additional note emphasizing that he did not regard the maps as final. Rabin then added his signature, and the ceremony proceeded to its conclusion.

Palestinian leaders in Gaza pronounced themselves delighted by Arafat's last-minute muscle-flexing. By contrast, most Israeli press comment and the reaction of opposition politicians was extremely critical, asserting that Arafat's behavior underlined that he was fundamentally untrustworthy and questioning his credibility as a peace partner. A group of 300 settlers, horrified at the imminent prospect of Jericho being handed over to Arafat's control, staged a protest at Jericho's reconstructed ancient synagogue, timed to coincide with the signing ceremony, and were eventually evacuated by Israeli soldiers. Arafat's credibility was further undermined soon after when a tape recording was released of him speaking in a Johannesburg mosque on May 10, calling for a "jihad to liberate Jerusalem."

Nevertheless, with the Gaza-and-Jericho-first agreement signed, implementation began almost immediately. Almost 1,000 prisoners were immediately freed from Israeli jails in Gaza. A first group of 120 Palestinian policemen arrived in Gaza from

Egypt on May 10, followed by 140 more the next day. On May 13, the army completed its withdrawal from Jericho. And by May 18, Israeli troops had pulled out of the main Palestinian population centers in Gaza, leaving Israel in control of roughly a third of the area around the 17 Israeli settlements in Gaza, home to 4,000-plus Jews, and access roads running from the settlements to sovereign Israel. Members of the newly arrived Palestinian police force joined in the rowdy, gunfire-punctuated celebrations of the Israeli departure. "We brought 25,000 bullets with us," said Ziad al-Atrash, a newly installed police commander. "Most of them have been fired."

By late May, about 3,000 of the 9,000 policemen had arrived, most of them veterans of PLO brigades formerly stationed in countries like Iraq and Egypt. And joint patrols were under way, Israeli soldiers and Palestinian policemen traveling together along the perimeter roads of both the Gaza and Jericho autonomous enclaves, sharing the responsibility for external security.

Still, the violence continued. On May 17, two West Bank settlers, Rafael Klumfenbert and Margalit Shohat, were killed near Hebron in an attack for which Hamas claimed responsibility. Two days after the Gaza pullout, on May 20, two Israeli army reservists were shot dead close to the Erez crossing point into Gaza; the gunmen escaped into the Palestinian-controlled area of the strip. On May 22, in a joint operation of the army and the Shin Bet security service, a leading Hamas militant was killed and two others were captured.

With the first stage of the autonomy process in place, and fears of considerable chaos and PLO-Hamas bloodshed inside Gaza proving largely unfounded, attention turned to the imminent arrival of Arafat in Gaza and to problems regarding Jerusalem. The specific issues regarding the latter were Palestinian activities in the eastern half of the city and Arafat's much-publicized intention to go to the Temple Mount to pray.

In early June, Rabin ordered the drafting of proposed legislation to bar Palestinian autonomy institutions from operating in Jerusalem and, specifically, to prevent the main PLO offices in the city, at the Orient House, from becoming the de facto seat of self-rule in the territories. This move followed an opposition outcry over the publication of a letter, written by Peres the previous October, which implied that Palestinian institutions would be free to operate inside East Jerusalem without Israeli interference.

With Arafat expected to arrive in Gaza from Tunis at the end of June, Jerusalem's mayor, Ehud Olmert, began gearing up to prevent an anticipated visit by the PLO chairman to the capital, to thwart any attempt by Arafat to declare Jerusalem his capital. The government itself gave mixed signals as to whether Arafat would be allowed to visit the city. Police Minister Moshe Shahal indicated at one point that security considerations necessitated that he be barred; other officials asserted that, since Israel guaranteed freedom of access to Jerusalem's holy sites to members of all religions, it would be a mistake to block Arafat from the mosques.

Arafat finally arrived in Gaza on July 1, for a triumphal homecoming visit that

lasted just six days. Arrangements for the trip were shrouded in characteristic confusion until the very last moment. Most of the world's TV networks had set up their camera crews in Jericho, expecting Arafat to arrive there first, not Gaza. One U.S. network spent some \$250,000 securing permission to film from a well-positioned Jericho rooftop, flying in technical personnel, renting office space, and arranging accommodations. Learning at the eleventh hour that Arafat would be making his return via the Rafah crossing from Egypt, the TV crews hastened across to Rafah only to be foiled again. Arafat made only the briefest pause at the border crossing, then sped off in his motorcade to Gaza City.

In speeches throughout his brief stay, Arafat highlighted his determination to see the release of every Palestinian prisoner from Israeli custody and returned again and again to the subject of Jerusalem, stressing Palestinian aspirations to establish the capital of their proposed Palestinian state in the city. "I say to the Israeli public that we recognize their holy sites in Jerusalem," he declared in his first speech, to tens of thousands of Palestinians in Gaza City's central square, "and they must also recognize our Christian and Muslim holy sites." The following day, in the Jebalya refugee camp, he promised "to achieve the Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital."

On July 1, in what it described as a response to Arafat's visit, a Jewish extremist group called the Sword of David claimed responsibility for the killing of a Palestinian from the Jerusalem village of Silwan. At the Western Wall the following day, up to 20,000 people held a protest, and that night in central Jerusalem, an estimated 100,000 Israelis demonstrated against the peace process in general and an Arafat visit to Jerusalem in particular, in a rally organized and sponsored by all the Israeli right-wing opposition parties. "For 3,000 years, Jerusalem was not the capital, even for one second, of another nation or another state," Mayor Olmert told the crowds. "And it never will be." Rabin retorted soon afterward, "I don't need a kashrut certificate about Jerusalem from anyone in the Likud. Not one of them contributed in Israel's wars to the unification of Jerusalem."

Arafat finally made a brief visit to Jericho on July 5, where he swore in the first 12 members of the Palestinian Authority charged with administering Gaza and Jericho and also, incidentally, appointed the virulently anti-Zionist Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, of the ultra-Orthodox Neturei Karta group, as the authority's adviser on Jewish affairs. As for Jerusalem, while some of his senior officials did come to worship in Jerusalem in the second half of the year—Nabil Shaath, for example, prayed on the Temple Mount on August 12—Arafat made no effort to visit the city.

Arafat traveled on to Paris on July 6, where he held talks with Rabin and Peres on the next stages of the autonomy process. That same day, Hamas claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and killing of soldier Arye Frankenthal. On July 7, 17-year-old Sarit Prigal, from Kiryat Arba, was shot dead in a car near the settlement. Both incidents triggered further demonstrations in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

On July 12, together with his wife, Suha, Arafat again crossed into Gaza from Egypt, this time to take up permanent residence. Other key members of the interim

Palestinian Authority (PA) were also arriving, among them Ahmed Qurei (Abu Ala), one of the key negotiators of the Oslo accords, who arrived from Tunis in mid-July to serve as the PA's economy and trade minister; Nabil Shaath, head of the PLO delegation to the autonomy talks, who arrived in mid-June and was appointed minister of planning and international cooperation; and Yasir Abed Rabbo, the former head of the PLO's information department in Tunis, who arrived in mid-July and was appointed minister of culture. Other members of the PA included Gaza lawyer Freih Abu Medein as justice minister, West Bank political scientist Saeb Arekat as minister of local government, with responsibility for organizing the elections, and Fatah's West Bank head, Faisal Hussein, as an unofficial PA member with responsibility for Jerusalem. Conspicuously failing to make the trip from Tunis to Gaza was Farouk Kaddoumi, the PLO's "foreign minister," who steadfastly maintained his opposition to the autonomy process and continued to issue periodic anti-Israel statements. One typical Kaddoumi summer utterance: "There is a state that was born out of historical coercion, and it must come to an end."

Under the terms of the Declaration of Principles, by July 13, the day after Arafat's permanent homecoming, Israel was supposed to have withdrawn its troops from Palestinian population centers throughout the West Bank, and the Palestinians were supposed to have held elections. But the July 13 deadline came and went, as did a subsequent October 15 deadline, and another on November 1. Israeli and Palestinian negotiators continued their talks and continued setting new deadlines for the West Bank redeployment and Palestinian elections all through the first half of 1995. New ideas—including a plan for Israel to pull troops first out of the West Bank town of Jenin, as a kind of test case for redeployment—came and went. But despite increased personal involvement by Rabin, Arafat, and especially Peres, the failure to resolve central issues and the ongoing climate of Islamic extremist violence meant that a final accord remained elusive.

OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

There were major differences over such fundamental questions as what exactly the elections would be for, with the Palestinians initially demanding a "parliament" of up to 100 members, and Israel calling for an "executive council" similar in size to the 24-member interim Palestinian Authority. Israel agreed that East Jerusalem Arabs should be able to vote in the elections, but the Palestinians demanded that East Jerusalemites be allowed to stand for election as well. The Palestinians also accused Israel of dragging its feet about providing promised Civil Administration population registers of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The central problem for Israel, though, was the sheer logistical difficulty involved in pulling troops out of main Palestinian population centers, while at the same time continuing to provide security for the 130 settlements and more than 130,000 settlers dotted throughout the West Bank, especially those in the heart of Palestinian

towns like Hebron or on the outskirts of towns like Ramallah.

The fragility of the process of reconciliation and coexistence that had begun with the Israeli troop pullout from Gaza was made starkly evident on July 17 by the first major clash between Israeli troops and Palestinian policemen. Each side blamed the other for daylong riots at the Erez crossing point, in which two Palestinians were killed and an Israeli border policeman was badly wounded, later dying of his wounds. The trouble started when thousands of Palestinians, many of them day laborers who had not received permits enabling them to return to their jobs inside sovereign Israel, overran checkpoints guarded by the Palestinian police force and confronted Israeli troops at the Erez crossing. Exchanges of fire and rioting continued for several hours. At times Palestinian policemen opened fire on the Israeli troops, who themselves resorted to rubber and live bullets and tear gas. A furious Palestinian mob also set fire to dozens of Israeli buses parked near the checkpoint, looted a concrete factory, and rampaged through a gas station.

Two days later, an Israeli soldier was killed in an ambush near the Rafah checkpoint from Gaza into Egypt. Hamas took responsibility, saying the killing was to avenge the Erez deaths. (On August 2, West Bank settler Yoram Sakuri died of stab wounds sustained in an attack on July 1.)

On August 8, the Temporary International Presence in Hebron ended its mandate in the town, its 160 members returning to their countries of origin. The Palestinians had called for a renewal of the mandate, but Israel was adamant that the observers should go home. Since unanimous support from Israel, the PLO, and the participating countries was required for an extension, home they went.

The TIPH spokesman, Bjarna Sorenson, asserted that the force had played an important role, noting that no Palestinians had been killed in the city since its arrival in the tense aftermath of the Hebron massacre. Nevertheless, Israel had been extremely reluctant to accept the precedent of deploying an international force to help keep the peace in Israeli-held territory, only accepting the TIPH as a means of persuading the Palestinians to resume peace talks.

Although statistics for the first three months of autonomy showed a marked fall in acts of terrorism against Israeli targets, serious potential for trouble lay in the deteriorating living standards of the close to one million Gazans, which had been sharply reduced under autonomy. One survey, published by the daily *Yediot Aharonot*, estimated that the standard of living in Gaza had dropped by a quarter, with the main factor inevitably being the falling levels of employment, down to 50 percent. The failure of anticipated international aid and investment capital to arrive meant that there was no compensation for the reduction of jobs for Gazans inside Israel.

Concern over the economy grew over the summer, with the PA's own cash shortage exacerbated by a World Bank decision to hold up large sums of aid because Palestinian accounting procedures were deemed inadequate. Individual donor nations also failed to come through with pledged aid, leaving Arafat so short of funds that the salaries of his police force were cut back.

The worsening economic conditions proved a fertile breeding ground for the Islamic extremists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which surveys indicated were now winning support from between 20 and 30 percent of all Gazans. In leaflets distributed in Gaza, Hamas took to branding Arafat and his PA "Israeli lackeys," a charge repeated with particular vehemence in mid-August, when Arafat, under constant pressure from Israel to take a tougher line against the Islamic militants, ordered a roundup of suspected Hamas activists. This followed the August 14 killing of one Israeli and wounding of two others in two Hamas ambushes near Gaza's Kisufim junction.

In further violence on August 26, two Israelis were killed at a Ramleh building site, apparently by Gazan Palestinians who had been working at the site without proper permits and were believed to have fled back into Gaza.

Derided by Hamas and worried by his mounting financial difficulties, Arafat's mood was not helped by the release of a statement, signed by 73 members of the 480-strong Palestine National Council, which denounced his commitment to scrapping clauses in the PLO's Charter calling for Israel's destruction and also demanded his removal as PLO chairman. He was also infuriated by the rapid progress being made toward a full peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, under which Israel had committed itself to give priority to the Hashemite kingdom's role as guardian of the Muslim holy places in Jerusalem. Arafat saw the future status of Jerusalem as an issue to be negotiated solely between Israel and the Palestinians, completely rejecting any Jordanian claim. He was only mildly mollified by assurances he received from Rabin and Peres, in a meeting near the Erez checkpoint on August 10, that the accord with Jordan was not intended to come at the expense of the Palestinians.

At that same meeting, the two sides agreed to try to speed up talks on extending elements of Palestinian self-rule to other parts of the West Bank—a process described in the September 1993 accords as "early empowerment"—whereby Israel was to hand over to the Palestinians responsibility for the management of various day-to-day affairs. On August 29, at a ceremony at Erez, Israeli and PLO officials signed an early empowerment accord, providing for the Palestinians to take responsibility for education, tourism, tax collection, welfare, and health throughout the West Bank. In practice, the transfer of authority was achieved in phases, being completed by December 1.

The progress, albeit slow, of the autonomy program led to the protagonists of the peace process being considered as possible recipients of the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize. Aides to both Rabin and Peres were said to be lobbying vigorously for their men, each at the expense of the other. Peres's champions reportedly asserted that it was the foreign minister who fathered the secret Oslo dialogue with the PLO that led to the autonomy accords, while Rabin's loyalists countered that without Rabin's support and backing, the process could never have proceeded. Some observers speculated that the Nobel committee was considering splitting the award, perhaps between Rabin and Arafat, or between Peres and Mahmoud Abbas. However, Abbas was not widely considered a suitable candidate, since he had steadfastly

refused to relocate from Tunis to Gaza and to take up a role in the administration of the autonomous areas. (The Safed-born Abbas did come back, but only for a brief visit, in mid-September.)

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING

For all the talk of awards, the first anniversary of the September 13 White House ceremony passed with both sides in a far from celebratory mood. Israeli opposition leaders continued to call for the suspension of the process, mainly because of the ongoing attacks. Rabin expressed exasperation at Arafat's failure to crack down on the Islamic extremists behind the violence. And Chief of Staff Ehud Barak stressed the immense difficulties ahead if the army were to redeploy outside the West Bank's main cities while simultaneously protecting the settlers.

On the Palestinian side, Arafat sounded the most optimistic, speaking of the "natural" difficulties that had been experienced, but balancing that with talk of "unimagined progress." His loyalists from the PLO Fatah faction, by contrast, issued a first anniversary statement castigating Israel for allegedly obstructing and delaying implementation of the accords.

More objective analysts highlighted the generally impressive cooperation between the Israeli army and the Palestinian police, but contrasted this with the absence of cooperation between the intelligence services, the basis of the struggle against terrorism. Indeed, despite what had become an almost automatic roundup of extremist activists in Gaza after each new incident of violence, attacks on Israeli targets continued unabated. Nearly 50 Islamic Jihad members, for example, were arrested by the Palestinian police force in early September, after an Israeli soldier was shot dead at a junction in the south of the Gaza Strip on September 4. But they were released gradually and quietly over the next few days.

Israel, in late August and September, began arresting suspected Jewish settler extremists. Media reports based on leaks from the Shin Bet security service alleged that a new "Jewish terror underground" had been exposed, based at the settlement of Kiryat Arba, where Baruch Goldstein lived, and dedicated to fomenting anti-Arab violence. Among the more than a dozen suspects initially detained in connection with the "underground"—most of whom were quickly released—were an army officer, Lt. Oren Edri, and a Jerusalemite named Ya'akov Ben-David, a former Muslim from a prominent Hebron family who had converted to Judaism and become closely identified with pro-Kahanist groups.

On October 6, the alleged spiritual leader of the suspected underground, Kiryat Arba rabbi Ido Albal, was indicted in Jerusalem district court on seven counts, including incitement to racism and illegal weapons possession. The previous day, two other alleged underground members, brothers Eitan and Yehoyada Kahalani, also of Kiryat Arba, had been charged with attempted murder.

THREE GRISLY ATTACKS

The Islamic extremists struck their harshest blows of 1994 in October, taking their violence into the heart of Israel with three attacks that devastated the nation. Late in the evening of October 9, two Hamas gunmen ran down the Nahlat Shivah pedestrian mall in the center of Jerusalem, spraying shots into the crowded bars and restaurants that lined the street. Miraculously, although dozens of bullets were fired, the two killed only two Israelis, injuring 13, before they themselves were shot dead. One of the gunmen had been released from an Israeli jail just three months earlier as part of the autonomy accords.

That same day, a Hamas cell kidnapped an Israeli soldier, Nahshon Waxman, close to Ben-Gurion International Airport, outside Tel Aviv. In a video shown that evening on television, a Hamas spokesman said Waxman would be killed unless Israel immediately released dozens of Palestinian prisoners, including the Hamas founder, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who had been imprisoned in 1991.

Rabin immediately suspended the autonomy negotiations with the PLO. Further, in the belief that Waxman's kidnappers had come from Gaza and that the soldier was probably being held hostage inside territory controlled by Arafat, he declared that he held Arafat responsible for Waxman's fate. Intelligence information obtained over the next few days, however, indicated that Waxman was not being held in Gaza after all, but in a house in a village called Bir Naballah in the West Bank, north of Jerusalem and just a few minutes' drive from the Waxman family home in the Jerusalem suburb of Ramot.

On the evening of Friday, October 14, with a Hamas deadline for Waxman's execution only minutes away, an elite Israeli army unit attempted to storm the hideout and rescue the kidnapped soldier. The rescue attempt, made extraordinarily complex by the precautions the kidnappers had taken well in advance of the operation to protect the building, went awry. The assault force was unable to break into the building as quickly as had been anticipated, and the necessary element of surprise was lost. Captain Nir Poraz, who was leading the assault force, was killed in the attack. So were three of the kidnappers. And so was Waxman himself.

In the bitterest of ironies, the unsuccessful Waxman rescue took place on the day that the Nobel committee in Oslo announced it had selected Rabin, Peres, and Arafat as the joint winners of the 1994 peace prize.

At a hurriedly convened media conference that evening, Rabin took personal responsibility for the decision to authorize the rescue mission, insisting that so long as there was an opportunity to hit back at terrorists rather than surrender to their demands, he felt honor-bound to take it. He vowed to wage "a war to the bitter end" against the Islamic militants; at the same time, he reiterated his belief that to halt the autonomy process altogether would be to capitulate to extremism.

For the first time, the prime minister outlined a vision of Israeli-Palestinian relations that he would come to repeat and elaborate over the coming months. He spoke of the need for "separation" between the two peoples, a retreat from the

notion of close cooperation that Peres had outlined at the September 1993 White House ceremony. Rabin did acknowledge that Arafat had made some effort to counter Hamas, and that the Palestinian Authority chairman had to be wary of plunging Gaza into civil war. He noted that three of Waxman's four kidnappers had, it turned out, come not from Arafat's Gaza but from the Israeli-controlled West Bank and East Jerusalem. Still, he again urged Arafat to track down the armed Hamas militants in Gaza, jail them, and smash their underground infrastructure. Israel, for its part, launched an international campaign to cut off funding channels to Hamas in the United States, Britain, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere, and also allocated extra budgetary funds to the security services in their battle against Hamas.

The problem for the Israeli security services in confronting the military wing of Hamas, known as Ez a-Din el-Kassam, the Kassam Brigades (after a Syrian-born fighter who preached armed struggle against the British in Palestine in the 1920s and 30s), was that its activists were highly motivated, daring, and increasingly well-organized. Israeli intelligence sources estimated that at any given moment the group comprised no more than half a dozen operational squads, numbering no more than 50 individuals. Since the military wing functioned independently of Hamas's open political leadership in the Gaza Strip, its ranks were particularly hard to penetrate. In addition, because its members were motivated by Islamic extremism, not financial gain or personal glory, they were immune to many of the methods used by Israeli intelligence over the years to penetrate secular Palestinian terrorist organizations.

Contemplating the growth in support for Hamas inside Gaza, and now faced with evidence of Hamas daring and sophistication in the West Bank too, Rabin felt reinforced in his reluctance to order a swift Israeli pullout from the West Bank. Recognizing as well that Israel was largely impotent in the struggle against the bombers, he continued to articulate a policy of separation. The hatreds were so great, he declared, and the security dangers so acute, that Israel and the Palestinians had to be cut off from each other to the maximum degree possible. The Palestinians would have to rehabilitate the West Bank and Gaza with international aid and without relying on Israel, while Israel deployed along a new, defensible border, enjoying improved security.

Rabin also introduced another theme, one that would be repeated frequently in the following months. West Bank Jewish settlers, he implied, were undermining the national interest by making their homes close to Palestinian population centers. Their presence posed nightmarish security problems for the army, which only exacerbated the friction between the two peoples.

The third attack occurred in the center of Tel Aviv, which had hitherto largely been spared the effects of Islamic extremist violence and was thus all the more shaken this time. On October 19, a Hamas suicide bomber, Salah Assawi, boarded a Number 5 city bus and, as it passed along Tel Aviv's main commercial artery, Dizengoff Street, blew up the bus and himself. Twenty-two Israelis were killed.

In the immediate wake of the bombing, Israel arrested more than 100 suspected Hamas activists, including the bomber's brother and cousin, who were suspected of assisting him and training him for the attack. The government also reimposed a blanket closure on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and Chief of Staff Barak talked openly about the need to cut off the flow of Palestinian workers into Israel for good. At a press conference on the day of the bombing, Prime Minister Rabin asserted: "We need a separation between us and the Palestinians, not just for days, but as a way of life."

The sense that Israel was taking firmer action against the Islamic extremists was heightened on November 2, when a leading activist in the Islamic Jihad movement, Hani Abed, was blown up as he unlocked his car in the Gaza town of Khan Younis. Islamic Jihad charged that Israeli security forces had organized the assassination, an assertion that was to be echoed some months later by Freih Abu Medein, the Palestinian Authority's minister of justice. Islamic Jihad's most prominent spiritual leader in Gaza, Abdallah al-Shami, declared at Abed's funeral, "I suggest that Rabin prepare coffins for the victims of Hamas and Islamic Jihad revenge." Israel officially neither confirmed nor denied involvement in the incident. But, in a speech delivered within hours of Abed's death, Rabin stated, "With one hand we shake the hand of peace with Jordan, and with the other we pull the trigger, to strike the murderers . . . of Islamic Jihad."

The death of Hani Abed led to a marked worsening of relations between Arafat and the Islamic extremists, who accused him of involvement in the assassination and heaped further scorn on the PLO autonomy process with Israel. When Arafat came to a funeral service being held for Abed on November 3 and tried to deliver a speech, he was shouted down. As his bodyguards tried to escort him away to safety, his keffiyah was knocked off his head.

Two weeks later, the hostility exploded into unprecedented violence. Hamas leaders had announced that on November 18, after Friday prayers at the Palestine Mosque in Gaza City, they would hold a protest rally and march on Gaza prison to demonstrate against the Palestinian Authority's arrests and detention of dozens of Hamas activists. Commanders of the Palestinian police force had indicated that no such demonstration would be allowed, and a large deployment of policemen was on hand as the mosque emptied out. There were, inevitably, conflicting reports of what exactly happened first, but by most accounts, some of those exiting the mosque threw stones and other objects at the policemen, some of whom then opened fire. In the violent clashes that ensued, 16 Palestinians—most of them Hamas supporters—were killed, and more than 200 were injured.

The violence was seen as a turning point, the first time that the Palestinian police force had opened fire on its own people. It highlighted the issue of divided loyalties within the force itself (some of whose members lost relatives in the shooting) and seriously undermined Arafat's claim to represent the entire Palestinian people. Hamas's response was to deride Arafat in ever stronger language as an Israeli puppet and his police force as an Israeli military proxy, and to continue with its series of attacks on Israeli targets.

On November 11, at a junction outside the isolated Gaza settlement of Netzarim, an Islamic Jihad suicide bomber rode his bicycle right up to the army's roadblock and detonated his explosives, killing three soldiers. On November 19, the same junction was targeted again, and an Israeli soldier was killed in a drive-by shooting.

For months, Peres and several other ministers had been calling for the dismantling of Netzarim. Now these demands were raised again. Home to barely 30 families, Netzarim was the most awkward to secure of all the Gaza settlements, lying just four kilometers south of Gaza City in the heart of the autonomous territory. A full company of more than 100 regulars and reservists was typically deployed to provide round-the-clock security, with the annual security cost estimated at some \$2 million. Rabin had once remarked that, "If Netzarim's a settlement, I'm a ball-bearing," and in early December he reiterated his view that Netzarim and some other settlements were "a catastrophe" from a security perspective. But as with the demands for the removal of the Hebron settlers after the February massacre, he now repeated his refusal to evacuate any settlements in the interim period of the autonomy accords. New security precautions were introduced at the junction, but the Netzarim settlers stayed put.

Hamas, meanwhile, continued its attacks, and continued to draw strength from them. It claimed responsibility for the killing of a West Bank rabbi, Amiram Olami, in a drive-by shooting near Hebron on November 27. And its candidates took 91.5 percent of the votes in early December elections for the student union at Gaza's Islamic University. The campaign featured a ghoulish reenactment of the Waxman abduction.

There was more violence before the year's end: a 19-year-old woman soldier, Liat Gabbai, was axed to death in Afula on November 30 by a West Banker who, when apprehended, said he had carried out the murder to dispel suspicions that he was an Israeli collaborator; a Palestinian was killed by Israeli troops when trying to infiltrate from Gaza into Israel at the Nahal Oz checkpoint on December 12.

Accepting the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo on December 10, an unusually rueful Peres remarked, "We proved that aggressors do not necessarily emerge as the victors, but we learned that the victors do not necessarily win peace." Back home, Esther Waxman, mother of the soldier, Nahshon, who had been kidnapped and killed in October, commented bitterly: "No one has yet received a Nobel Prize for literature for half a book."

VIOLENCE CONTINUES IN 1995

The new year began in the same atmosphere of intermittent violence and painfully slow diplomatic progress. In the very first week of 1995, Israeli-Palestinian relations were set back after Israeli troops shot dead three Palestinian policemen in controversial circumstances—the Israelis claimed they had come under fire; the Palestinians alleged their men had been shot in cold blood—and were damaged still more when a row blew up over the proposed expansion of the West Bank settlement of Efrat. Before the end of the month, the suicide bombers struck again, killing 21 Israelis,

20 of them soldiers, in a twin bombing at the Beit Lid junction on January 22, prompting President Ezer Weizman to add his voice unexpectedly to the chorus demanding the suspension of the peace process.

Despairing of ever seeing the implementation of the next phase of the autonomy agreement—the Israeli West Bank pullout and Palestinian elections—several ministers in Rabin's government took to suggesting that the interim accords be scrapped and negotiations begun instead on a final settlement with the Palestinians.

Rabin, however, remained insistent on following through with the autonomy process, while simultaneously intensifying the confrontation with the Islamic radicals. In the aftermath of the Beit Lid blast, he halted the planned release of a group of Palestinian prisoners, instituted a temporary closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and began talking of erecting a fence between the West Bank and sovereign Israel—to make it more difficult for would-be suicide bombers to come into Israel to carry out attacks. Two ministers were given a month to prepare reports on the costs and efficacy of a vast security fence. In mid-April, Police Minister Moshe Shahal returned with a \$270-million proposal for a “separation line,” involving 18 crossing points along the 270-kilometer boundary dividing Israel from the West Bank, mobile patrols with trained dogs, helicopters and unmanned radar drones, and an electronic fence in the central sector around Qalqilyah and Tulkarm. Detailed though Shahal's plan was, its implementation seemed impractical, with leading military advisers dismissing it as unworkable, and opposition politicians claiming that the planned boundary line could come to mark the border of a Palestinian state. Rabin came back to the idea of a physical security barrier several more times over the following months, but took no firm decision on the issue.

In the wake of Beit Lid, Rabin also called for increased cooperation from Arafat's Palestinian Authority, instituted a crackdown on Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists in West Bank areas still under Israeli control, and allocated increased funding for intelligence gathering in Gaza and the West Bank, in an effort to pierce the Hamas and Islamic Jihad military cells and thwart future suicide bombings.

In a closed-door Knesset briefing at the end of January, the outgoing head of the Shin Bet domestic intelligence service revealed that intelligence-gathering had enabled Israel to prevent at least five other recent major attacks, including a suicide bombing, a bus bombing, and a soldier's kidnapping. He reported that 1,500 Islamic extremist activists had been arrested and Hamas-linked offices in the West Bank closed down. On the other side, in a clear effort to demonstrate a new willingness to confront the bombers, Arafat's Palestinian Authority held several press conferences in February and March to present would-be suicide bombers, teenagers, who had been intercepted by Palestinian security forces.

Despite the intelligence successes, violence continued with barely a respite. On February 6, security guard Yevgeny Gromov was killed in a drive-by shooting while escorting a fuel tanker to a gas station in the Gaza Strip. A week later, on February 13, Jerusalem taxi driver Rafi Cohen was stabbed to death by two passengers on the road to the West Bank's largest settlement, Ma'aleh Adumim, in an attack linked

by some to the following day's first anniversary of the Baruch Goldstein killings in Hebron, according to the Muslim calendar. On March 19, two settlers—Nahim Hoss from Hebron, and Yehuda Partosh of Kiryat Arba—were killed when Hamas gunmen opened fire on an Egged bus traveling near Hebron. On March 29, a policeman and a Border Policeman were killed near Gaza's Netzarim settlement when a Palestinian steered his truck into their jeep.

Hamas suffered a setback on April 2, when an explosion at one of its bomb factories, in Gaza City's Sheikh Radwan residential neighborhood, killed four people, including two men wanted by Israel. Some reports claimed that Yehya Ayash, the Hamas bomb-maker nicknamed "the engineer," alleged by Israel to have orchestrated several suicide bombings, had left the apartment/bomb factory only minutes before the explosion. The blast was described as a "work accident" by Palestinian police, who found large quantities of explosive material at the site. Hamas countered that Israel and the Palestinian Authority were behind the explosion.

A week later, on April 9, Hamas and Islamic Jihad staged simultaneous suicide bombings inside the Gaza Strip. The Hamas bombing, near Netzarim, left nine people injured. The blast claimed by Islamic Jihad, close to the Kfar Darom settlement, killed eight people—seven Israelis and 20-year-old American student Alisa Flatow. The bomber drove a van packed with explosives into the Egged bus on which Flatow and the soldiers were traveling. (Flatow's New Jersey family donated eight of her organs, including her heart, to six Israeli patients.)

Under Israeli pressure, Arafat's Authority rounded up over 250 Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists and established military tribunals at which one Islamic Jihad leader was sentenced to life imprisonment and another to 15 years in jail, for planning suicide attacks. The Authority also announced plans to disarm the militants, but there was little subsequent evidence of any such action.

Israel's attempts to counter Hamas included the shooting dead of three gunmen in their car north of Hebron on April 16, and the capture of 14 Hebron-based alleged activists a week later. On April 25, one Hamas detainee, Muhammad Kharizat, died in Shin Bet custody after interrogation on suspicion of involvement in several fatal attacks on Israeli targets. Kharizat's death brought a stream of Hamas revenge threats and also opened a debate in Israel over Shin Bet interrogation methods; his death, apparently of a brain hemorrhage, had followed interrogation involving a controversial practice of forceful head "shaking."

Despite right-wing opposition, including a petition to the Supreme Court, Israel freed about 250 Palestinian prisoners on May 8 as a gesture to coincide with the Muslim Feast of the Sacrifice, and in recognition of what was seen as increased effort by Arafat to clamp down on the extremists.

The slight improvement in atmosphere, however, was immediately undermined by a new controversy over planned Israeli land expropriation in East Jerusalem. Sparking furious Palestinian opposition, the government announced in early May its intention to expropriate 140 acres for Jewish building immediately. Housing Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer also revealed plans for 300 acres of further expropri-

ation between the northern Jewish Jerusalem suburbs of French Hill and Pisgat Ze'ev. An emergency Arab League summit was scheduled on the issue; Jordan registered an official protest; and King Hassan of Morocco sent Rabin a personal telegram urging him to reconsider the move. In the Knesset, two minor, predominantly Arab factions presented no-confidence motions in the government over the issue.

Rabin was intent on resisting the pressure, but not at the price of his government's defeat. When it became clear to him that the Likud and other right-wing opposition parties planned to vote with the Arab factions on the no-confidence motion, in an effort to bring down the coalition, Rabin announced on May 22 the suspension of the planned expropriation. He placed the blame for the turnaround squarely on the Likud, asserting, "The Likud preferred the lust for power over building in Jerusalem." Benjamin Netanyahu, the Likud leader, countered: "When the prime minister had to choose between Jerusalem and Arafat, he chose Arafat." If neither major party emerged from the episode looking particularly impressive, it was certainly a victory for the Arab Knesset legislators. Crowded MK Hashem Mahameed of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality: "The U.N., the Security Council, all the Arab countries, the Arab League, Jordan, Egypt, the PLO—not one of them succeeded in changing the expropriation decision. Only we did."

The resolution of the land expropriation issue ushered in a rare period of relative calm, during which Israeli-PLO negotiations on the next phase of the autonomy process were intensified. Following marathon talks in June and early July, Peres and Arafat announced on July 4 that the major elements of the accord had now been agreed upon and a target date for signature set for July 25.

Relations with Jordan

The very day after Israel and the PLO signed their autonomy accords at the White House on September 13, 1993, Jordanian and Israeli peace negotiators finalized and signed a joint agenda for peace. That timing underlined the extent to which Jordan had been forced to condition its formal reconciliation with Israel on prior progress in Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. With some two million Palestinians—half of the Palestinian diaspora—living within his borders, just across the river from Israel, King Hussein could not afford to act too hastily, making peace with Israel before the Palestinian problem was at least on the road to resolution. Once the Declaration of Principles had been signed, however, Jordan felt able to press ahead toward peace with Israel. In the course of 1994, a comprehensive peace agreement would be negotiated, signed, and implemented, with none of the bitterness and violence—and few of the delays—that characterized Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.

In a sign of the new openness, early in 1994 King Hussein began speaking publicly about his years of secret contacts with Israeli leaders, telling a group of American Jews, "I've met all the Israeli prime ministers except for Menachem Begin, including the present prime minister and his predecessor Yitzhak Shamir." In fact, Hussein

is not believed to have met with Israel's first premier, David Ben-Gurion, but to have begun his secret contacts with Israel in the summer of 1963 when, aged just 27, he met in London with Levi Eshkol. Among the most significant of his secret meetings was a clandestine visit he paid to Israel shortly before the Yom Kippur War. In September 1973, he warned Prime Minister Golda Meir that Egypt and Syria were planning a surprise attack. Israeli officials, still buoyant after the successes of the 1967 Six Day War, chose not to take the warning seriously, with devastating consequences.

In mid-January, in another sign of warming ties, the Jordanian authorities allowed an unprecedentedly large Jewish group—80 American Reform rabbis—to cross over from Israel for a tour that included a visit to the ancient red-rose Nabatean city of Petra as well as Moses's reputed burial site on Mount Nebo and Aaron's on Mount Hor. The visit was not all smooth sailing: security was tight, the rabbis were told it was unsafe for them to wear their yarmulkes, and they were only allowed to cross into Jordan with "clean passports," passports with no Israeli stamps in them. Also, a scheduled meeting with Crown Prince Hassan was canceled after American television networks got wind of the trip, the prince pleading prior commitments.

There was more evidence of the size of the gulf yet to be bridged in March, when Jordan's information minister, Jawad al-Anani, announced the banning of Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List*. Al-Anani explained the ban against the background of the Hebron massacre, saying: "People are going to ask me, 'Is this the time to sympathize with what happened almost 50 years ago, when the massacre in Hebron took place four weeks ago?'"

By May, King Hussein had evidently decided that he was ready to go it alone, to work toward a peace treaty with Israel no matter how slowly the Palestinian process was proceeding, and despite the fact that Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Lebanese negotiating efforts were at a virtual standstill. In mid-May, in London, he held the latest in what had been a series of secret meetings with Rabin, who urged the king to bring their private links out into the open and warned him that if he did not, he risked being left behind. It was vital, Rabin said, that the king take a central role in the peacemaking, to make sure his interests were considered as the Israeli-PLO negotiations moved forward.

Hussein took the decision in principle to meet publicly with Rabin after those London talks. By June 7, Israel and Jordan had signed a more detailed peace agenda, and at a press conference in Washington on June 21, Hussein said he saw no reason to hold back until Israel reached peace agreements with other Arab states. He also added, in what turned out to be a remarkably accurate prediction, that an Israel-Jordan accord could be wrapped up by October. From this point on, the path to peace accelerated dramatically.

On July 12, the king surprised President Bill Clinton by contacting him and informing him that he was ready for an immediate meeting with Rabin in Washington. While that was being arranged on July 18, Israeli and Jordanian negotiators

held a first-ever session of talks in the region, in a tent camp at Ein Evronah in the Negev desert, at a point straddling the border between the two countries. Two days later, Peres flew across to the Jordanian side of the Dead Sea, where he met with Jordan's prime minister, Abd al-Salam al-Majali, to discuss ambitious plans for economic cooperation and to work out the details of the final public act of reconciliation, the Rabin-Hussein White House summit. "It took us 15 minutes to fly over," mused Peres on arrival in Jordan. "It took us 46 years to arrive at this time and this place."

The White House meeting took place on July 25, in an atmosphere markedly different from that of the Israel-PLO accord signing 10 months earlier. Unlike the grudging reluctance with which Rabin shook Arafat's hand—a sign of the less-than-complete trust with which Rabin was embarking on the autonomy process with the Palestinians—Rabin and Hussein shook hands and embraced warmly, smiled at one another, and applauded each other, and each delivered a glowing tribute to the other's strength, courage, and determination. The two men also jointly addressed a special session of the U.S. Congress, at which Hussein delivered an unambiguous message: "Mr. Speaker, the state of war between Israel and Jordan is over." In a formal declaration, the two countries agreed to end the state of belligerency, and Israel recognized Jordan's "special" status with respect to Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem.

For all the mutual warmth and respect displayed by the two leaders, there were still several difficulties to be resolved before a full peace treaty could be signed. The border with Jordan, Israel's longest, had never been officially demarcated, and Jordan was demanding 380 square kilometers of land in the Arava desert, around Eilat and at the confluence of the Yarmuk and Jordan Rivers. Jordan was also seeking about 100 million cubic meters of water per year from the Kinneret, Israel's main source of natural water, which Israel was extremely reluctant to grant. Security arrangements had to be drawn up; economic agreements covering tourism, aviation, trade, energy, and a host of other topics had to be drafted. The thorny issue of a right of return to the West Bank for refugees from the 1967 war also had to be resolved.

There was, however, no doubt that both sides had the will to sort out all these issues, and speedily. Rabin and Crown Prince Hassan opened a border crossing between Eilat and Aqaba on August 8, enabling third-country tourists to reap the immediate benefits of peace. Rabin visited the Royal Palace at Aqaba, and Israel welcomed Hussein to its air space, sending up an escort force of F-15s when he flew over in his personal jet on August 3. Hussein radioed Rabin from the cockpit: "Prime Minister, it is wonderful to hear you. . . . Thank you for the wonderful opportunity to fly over your country." A draft nonaggression accord was agreed to on August 15, and an interim economic pact signed the next day.

By October, as Hussein had predicted, the negotiators had wrapped up their work. On October 25, the Knesset approved the full peace treaty with Jordan by a vote of 105 to 3, with Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu pledging his party's full support for the agreement.

PEACE ACCORD SIGNED

The following day, in a ceremony held in searing heat in the Arava desert, again on the border between the two countries, Rabin and al-Majali signed the accord, with President Clinton as witness, before an audience of 5,000. Conspicuous by his absence was Arafat, who had not been invited and who ordered a general strike in the West Bank and East Jerusalem to protest a clause in the agreement that recognized Jordan's special role in administering Christian and Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem.

Arafat was not the only Arab leader incensed by the accord. President Hafez al-Assad of Syria publicly declared his disgust for what he considered unacceptable Jordanian compromises. Syria had traditionally opposed the very notion of individual Arab states signing separate peace agreements with Israel, but Assad took particular exception to the clause in the accord allowing Israeli farmers to continue cultivating lands now returned to Jordanian sovereignty. The farmers were given the "right of use" of the land in the Arava and near the confluence of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers for 25 years, with an option for a 25-year extension, and issued with special passes to enable them to cross into Jordan daily with a minimum of red tape.

At a specially-convened media conference, Assad maintained that it was "shamefully wrong" for a nation to lease its land to a neighbor. The Syrian president clearly feared that this kind of pragmatic arrangement undermined his uncompromising demands for the return of the entire Golan Heights, the strategic mountain ridge that Israel captured from Syria in 1967. Syria, he stressed, would not be signing any treaties with Israel "unless the land is restored in full." Assad was similarly indignant over the clause in the accord dealing with water-sharing arrangements. Jordan had withdrawn its demand for direct access to the Kinneret, instead accepting an Israeli offer of 50 million cubic meters extra per year from the lower Jordan and the same additional quantity from a joint Israeli-Jordanian dam to be built at Adasiyah, on the Yarmuk, partly inside Israeli territory.

The treaty also made provision for Israel's Arava farmers to have continued access to wells on land newly restored to Jordanian sovereignty. Here, too, Syria feared a future Israeli demand for access to water from the Banyas spring on the Golan as a condition for any withdrawal. Syrian displeasure extended beyond land and water to the accelerated normalization timetable agreed upon by Israel and Jordan: the scheduled exchange of ambassadors within one month; provisions for uncomplicated two-way tourist traffic; Jordan's abandonment of the Arab trade boycott of Israel; and the mutual commitment to fostering two-way trade.

For Jordan, the main gains, and a large factor behind the speed with which a final treaty was reached, were economic. Most important was a U.S. commitment to waive some \$700 million in foreign debt. Hussein also calculated that, for all Assad's criticism of the accord, he could rely on the support of the United States and the new legitimacy of peacemaking with Israel, in the wake of the Oslo accords, to more than offset Damascus's displeasure.

For Israel, as Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin put it, the peace treaty constituted "another layer in the protective wall. . . . Our southern front is secured by the peace with Egypt. If we can make peace soon with Syria and Lebanon, we will have removed the strategic threat to Israel's existence."

For Rabin, the agreement represented the high point of his term as prime minister—a treaty that garnered almost complete public support and that was implemented with remarkable goodwill on both sides in the months that followed. Evidence of that goodwill was barely two weeks in coming. On November 10, King Hussein made his first public visit to Israel, crossing the newly agreed-upon border for the opening of the rebuilt Jordan River or Sheikh Hussein Bridge, to the south of the Kinneret. The king found time to share a meal with Rabin and other guests, including the former Likud foreign minister David Levy, at a site overlooking the Kinneret. The fact that the king's brief trip came immediately after the signing of a peace treaty highlighted the differences in the relationship with Egypt: President Hosni Mubarak—the Egyptian leader who succeeded the first Arab head of state to make peace with Israel, Anwar Sadat—had by year's end still not set foot in Israel, despite repeated Israeli invitations.

On December 6, further demonstrating that the reconciliation was accepted across the Israeli political spectrum, the king played host in Amman to Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu, who also used his Jordan visit to place a wreath at the memorial to 84 Jordanian soldiers killed in the 1968 Jordan Valley battle of Karameh. Netanyahu had been a member of the Israeli force that attacked terrorist bases there, losing 30 soldiers.

Only a handful of relatively minor irritants clouded the generally sunny picture of rapidly developing relations between the two countries—including tourism. The first Jordanian tour groups arrived in Israel in late November, among them a group of 14 children to participate in Haifa's annual Hanukkah-time song festival.

The Jordanian authorities were slow to publicize that a small number of Israelis were marring the rosy picture, but the Israeli media showed no such hesitation. Reports circulated of Israelis insistently joining in a wedding celebration in their Amman hotel, uninvited; of Israelis allegedly stripping their hotel rooms of virtually anything removable, even bathroom fittings; of Israelis exchanging old shekel bankbills, no longer legal tender in Israel, for Jordanian dinars. And early in 1995, there was considerable publicity concerning alleged Israeli vandalizing of Aaron's tomb site. Rabin, commenting on this flurry of embarrassing reports, asserted that a minority of Israelis had "plenty to be ashamed about."

An Israeli concern was Jordan's delay in moderating anti-Israel positions and legislation to catch up with the new realities. One example concerned the mundane matter of the mail. While tourists were flowing freely, and direct telephone lines were humming, the Jordanian Postal Authority at year's end was still automatically rejecting any piece of mail bearing the word Israel. Letters were sent back marked "Return to sender," in accordance with standing orders in force since 1948.

Several Jordanian professional associations and unions also failed conspicuously

to enter into the new spirit of peace. A Jordanian pop group that played in Israel, for example, was expelled from its performers' union on returning to Jordan. The Jordanian Dentists' Union issued a statement in April 1995 threatening to expel any Jordanian dentists who treated Israeli patients. And newspaper columnist Hamadeh Faraneh was expelled from the Jordanian Writers Association for agreeing to be interviewed by Israel Television.

Well into 1995, the Jordanian Parliament failed to honor an obligation to scrap three central pieces of anti-Israel legislation: a 1953 law banning trade with Israel; a 1958 statute bringing Jordanian legislation in line with the terms of the Arab boycott; and a 1973 law banning the sale of land to Israelis. Thus, for example, although the Israeli flag was raised on December 11, 1994, at the Forte Grande Hotel in Amman, as Israel officially opened its embassy (Jordan simultaneously opened temporary embassy offices at Tel Aviv's Dan Hotel), it would have been technically illegal for Israel to purchase a permanent embassy building or site. The government tried to erase the laws in February 1995, in the final session of Parliament before a prolonged break, but was foiled when Islamic and leftist opponents of the peace process boycotted the session, leaving the government unable to muster a required two-thirds quorum in the lower house to change the legislation.

A final, minor embarrassment concerned Israel's procrastination over the appointment of its ambassador to Amman. Jordan named its ambassador-designate, Marwan Muashar, in December, but he had to wait until well into 1995 before his opposite number was selected and protocol finally enabled him to move to Tel Aviv. The delay stemmed directly from Rabin, who wanted to appoint Ephraim Halevy, a former Mossad deputy chief who had played a crucial behind-the-scenes role in negotiations that led to the peace treaty. Jordan indicated, however, that while Halevy was highly respected, it would rather not have a former secret agent as the first envoy. Peres suggested Foreign Ministry deputy director-general Eitan Bentsur, or another senior ministry official, Yossi Gal, for the post, but Rabin rejected both these names. Finally, in late spring, Rabin settled on Shimon Shamir, who had previously served as an Israeli ambassador to Egypt. Muashar and Shamir presented their respective credentials in April 1995.

The procrastination over the choice of ambassador, however, clearly caused no harm to the warm Rabin-Hussein relationship. Indeed, to mark Israel's Independence Day in May, King Hussein invited the prime minister for a relaxed visit, escorted him around Petra, and filmed a joint interview with him for broadcast on Israel Television.

Relations with Syria

The start of 1994 found Israeli officials optimistic about the prospects of a breakthrough in negotiations toward a peace treaty with Syria. But by the end of the year the high hopes had dissipated, with President Hafez al-Assad apparently unresponsive to peace feelers put out by the Rabin government, and little firm progress

emerging from contacts in Washington between the Israeli and Syrian ambassadors there. There were minor signs of a softening of Syrian attitudes to Israel, and the two countries' chiefs-of-staff held an unpublicized meeting in Washington in December, but a final peace treaty still seemed a long way away.

Israeli-Syrian negotiations had gotten under way as part of the bilateral talks set in motion by the 1991 Madrid peace conference but had been deadlocked for well over a year. An attempt by the two negotiating delegations to agree on a joint declaration of principles had been stalemated since September 1992, and Assad had repeatedly rebuffed Rabin's calls for an Oslo-style secret channel of talks or for public meetings between Assad and Rabin, or even between foreign ministers Peres and Farouk al-Sharaa.

Assad was widely believed to be waiting to hear a public commitment from Rabin to a withdrawal from the entire Golan Heights strategic ridge, captured from Syria in the 1967 Six Day War. Rabin, for his part, was apparently unwilling to commit himself publicly on the extent of a possible Golan withdrawal until he had heard Assad publicly declare a commitment to fully normalized relations with Israel, complete with an exchange of ambassadors and agreements on trade relations, tourism, and other areas.

Israeli optimism early in 1994 focused on a January 16 meeting, in Geneva, between Assad and President Bill Clinton. Officials in Jerusalem predicted that Assad would take the opportunity to declare incontrovertibly that he was ready for full normalization of relations, in return for an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. In the event, Assad left the Israelis somewhat disappointed. When the two presidents emerged from close to six hours of discussion to hold a joint press conference (from which, incidentally, Israeli journalists were barred), Assad spoke only generally about "normal, peaceful relations with Israel," declining to specify whether this extended to an exchange of ambassadors, open borders, tourism, and trade.

The Syrian state-controlled press duly trumpeted a quotation from Assad, "In honor we fought, in honor we negotiate, and in honor we shall make peace," across the front pages the following morning. American peace-talks coordinator Dennis Ross praised Assad publicly for "breaking new ground," and U.S. officials traveling with the president gave an almost euphoric briefing to their Israeli counterparts in Jerusalem. But while Clinton may have been won over, the Israelis were not. Neither Rabin nor Peres, their aides revealed, had been reassured by Assad's deliberately vague remarks on peace and security.

Nevertheless, one concrete outcome of the summit was the opening of one-on-one negotiations in Washington between Israel's ambassador there, Itamar Rabinovich, and his Syrian counterpart, Walid Muallam. This format represented a compromise between Rabin's preference for Oslo-style secret diplomacy and the previous formal—and unproductive—full-delegation talks. Clinton, it emerged, had pressed Assad to sanction a back channel of talks and had also raised the idea of a summit with Rabin, but to no avail.

Another concrete outcome was Rabin's pledge to bring any peace deal that involved large-scale territorial compromise on the Golan to the Israeli electorate for approval. On January 17, the day after the Geneva meeting, Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur surprised the Knesset by announcing what would be the first national referendum in Israeli history. "If the territorial price demanded of us on the Golan is significant," Gur told the House on Rabin's behalf, "the government will put the issue to a referendum." Rabin himself confirmed a day later that, since a peace treaty "might also include the dismantling of settlements," he wanted the final decision "to be made by the entire people."

The referendum offer was designed to relieve an Israeli public anxious about possible land-for-peace compromises on the Golan, and especially to mollify the 13,000 Jewish residents of the Golan. It also took much of the wind out of opposition sails and, in the short term at least, calmed the four or five members of Rabin's own Labor Party who had indicated they would oppose a major Golan withdrawal.

Equally important, the move placed extra pressure on Assad. Rabin and the Israeli negotiators would henceforth be able to remind the Syrians that they now had to win over the majority of the Israeli public to any peace agreement, and thus that Syria would have to begin acting in a more demonstrably friendly manner.

Opinion polls left no doubt that considerable wooing of the Israeli electorate would be required. A mock referendum, organized by the *Ma'ariv* daily in the wake of the referendum pledge, found that 70 percent of the 52,000 Israelis who participated opposed a total withdrawal from the Golan in exchange for peace. Among the residents of the Golan's 30-plus communities, a Haifa University survey showed, just 12 percent would be willing to leave their homes in return for financial compensation and a peace treaty.

Golan activists had for some time been mounting a publicity campaign highlighting the perceived dangers of a withdrawal—the geostrategic importance of the heights, the fact that a large proportion of Israel's water supply came via the Golan, and so on. Tens of thousands of Israeli cars and apartments already displayed stickers and banners proclaiming "The people with the Golan" and "Peace and the Golan."

Now the publicity campaign intensified, with considerable stress laid on the fact that Rabin, in seeking election in 1992, had indicated that he would not sanction a full Golan pullout. An advertisement was filmed, for screening in local movie houses, featuring a Rabin election speech in which he declared that it was inconceivable to contemplate relinquishing the Golan Heights, and that anyone who spoke of such a move would be endangering Israeli national security.

Labor officials countered that, while Rabin had indeed indicated opposition to a complete Golan pullout, he had not ruled out the possibility of a partial withdrawal. Rabin himself refused to discuss how substantial a withdrawal he would be willing to sanction in exchange for peace. Aides stated that the cabinet had never held a full discussion of the issue.

Military experts were divided about the danger to Israeli security posed by a

withdrawal from the 12-mile-wide strategic buffer. Some, like former military intelligence chief Shlomo Gazit, now a member of Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, declared that there was "no reason why a full withdrawal should endanger Israel," providing that the appropriate security arrangements were in place. Others, like Aryeh Shalev, another Jaffee Center researcher, who had served as deputy head of military intelligence during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, were adamant that a pullback was out of the question, arguing that Israel "must be in control of the eastern ridges of the Golan—those facing Syria, where the Israel Defense Forces' early warning systems and other military installations are located." Even Labor's own Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee head, Ori Orr, a former head of the army's Northern Command, was adamant that a complete withdrawal was unthinkable, but argued that a division of the Golan was entirely feasible.

In the wake of the Clinton-Assad summit, U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher paid several visits to the region, shuttling between Jerusalem and Damascus in an effort to mediate some progress. Israel passed on various offers of staged withdrawal from the Golan, but Assad continued to insist that a normalization of relations could come only with a full Israeli pullout. "What do the Israelis think?" the president was reported as demanding of Christopher at a meeting in May, "that I'm like Arafat, who is satisfied with Gaza and Jericho?"

Still, there were occasional slight hints of easing in Syria's hitherto uncompromisingly hostile attitude to Israel. In early March, Damascus allowed a 57-member delegation of Israeli Arabs, led by Knesset member Abdul Wahab Daroushe, to enter the country to express the condolences of the Israeli Arab community on the death of Assad's son Basil in a car accident. The delegation members, who traveled on documents obtained in Egypt rather than their Israeli passports, were received by Assad in Damascus.

Through the summer, Syrian Television broadcast several of the Israeli-Jordanian reconciliation ceremonies live. Though still boycotting the multilateral talks, Damascus was said to be requesting briefings from other Arab participants on developments. At a press conference in London in early September, al-Sharaa, for the first time, answered questions posed by Israeli journalists. Later that month, street posters began appearing in Damascus extolling the idea of peace, although not specifically mentioning Israel. And in the clearest sign yet of changing attitudes, al-Sharaa on October 7 gave a first-ever interview to Israel Television, filmed in a Washington hotel, in which he called on Israel to put the past behind it and to look to a future of peace and stability in the region. Rabin described the interview as "a step forward." Al-Sharaa's attempts to win over the Israeli electorate, however, were somewhat undermined by his remarks describing the establishment of Israel as "a hostile act," asserting falsely that Syria had never shelled Israeli civilian targets, and alleging that the world media were overwhelmingly Jewish-controlled, and that they unjustly and consistently portrayed the Arab world as aggressors.

Al-Sharaa's television interview came in the wake of Rabin's most specific an-

nouncement yet—at a cabinet meeting on September 8, then repeated publicly on various occasions—concerning the extent to which he was prepared to withdraw from the Golan. Rabin proposed a two-stage pullback, an initial “slight withdrawal,” at which point Syria would normalize relations with Israel, and then a more substantial pullback at the end of a three-year trial period, during which the Syrians would have to prove their good faith.

The prime minister’s public readiness to sanction an eventual significant pullback brought a furious response not only from the Likud and other opposition parties but also from within Labor’s own ranks. Leading the opposition inside Labor was Knesset member Avigdor Kahalani, a reserve general who, as a battalion commander in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, had personally played a key role in turning back the Syrians. Defying Rabin and the Labor leadership, Kahalani made preparations to propose Knesset legislation that would condition any withdrawal from the Golan on the support of 70 of the 120 Knesset members and 65 percent of the Israeli public in a national referendum. Since Rabin’s coalition numbered just 61 votes, such legislation would effectively tie the government’s hands.

Kahalani was by no means the only Labor Knesset member disturbed by Rabin’s thinking on the Golan. One minister (Shimon Shetreet, minister for economic planning), two deputy ministers, and at least six other Labor Knesset members also signaled tentative backing for Kahalani’s stand. But the ex-general was by far the most vociferous, declaring that he was even willing to bring down the Rabin government; “If I have to choose between the Golan and the government,” he said, “I’ll choose the Golan.” Kahalani’s main objection to a territorial compromise was his sense that Syria simply could not be trusted to honor a peace agreement, and that Damascus could use territory recovered on the Golan to launch renewed hostilities against Israel. Only if Assad were willing to take the Sadat route, meeting Israeli leaders, visiting Jerusalem, and so on, said Kahalani, would he begin to think differently. “Then Assad might be able to persuade us that he is not simply trying to get back by peace what he could not get by war.”

Kahalani’s stand was echoed at the grassroots level among many Labor Party voters who lived on the Golan itself. In mid-September, 13 Golan residents—Labor and Likud activists and others—began a two-week hunger strike at Gamla, an important historical site on the Golan, and invited sympathetic Israeli citizens to take advantage of the Sukkot holiday to visit them as a demonstration of support. More than 100,000 Israelis took up the offer in the first few days alone. At the site of the hunger strike, a TV and video setup repeatedly broadcast Rabin’s 1992 speech about the dangers of a Golan withdrawal. Rabin acknowledged that he felt “burdened and distressed” at the thought of having to move Jewish residents off the Golan, but added, “sometimes one must make difficult decisions.”

With party leader Benjamin Netanyahu claiming publicly that Rabin had already passed a secret commitment to the Syrians for an eventual complete Golan withdrawal, the Likud devoted considerable backing to public campaigns such as the hunger strike. At the same time, Likud politicians also embarked on a more subtle

lobbying effort in the United States, highlighting Syria's continued sponsorship of state terrorism and warning that a territorial compromise might necessitate the unpopular deployment of American troops as part of a Golan buffer force. Leading this effort were Yossi Ben-Aharon, who had headed the Prime Minister's Office during Yitzhak Shamir's premiership, and Yoram Ettinger, who had served as head of congressional relations at the Israeli embassy in Washington during Shamir's term. The effort paid clear dividends, particularly with several Republican legislators. Senators Alfonse D'Amato of New York, Larry Craig of Idaho, Don Nickles of Oklahoma, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, and Rep. Jim Saxton of New Jersey all wrote to President Clinton, expressing strong opposition to the involvement of U.S. peacekeepers on the Golan.

SYRIAN JEWS

Israeli expectations of a new era in relations with Syria were bolstered on October 18 with the arrival at Ben-Gurion Airport of Rabbi Avraham Hamra, the former Syrian chief rabbi, along with his wife, six children, brother, and mother. With his arrival, Israeli military censors lifted the blanket censorship that had been imposed on the departure of 3,600 members of the Syrian Jewish community over the previous two years, some 1,260 of whom had made their homes in Israel.

Although the exodus had been sanctioned under the terms of a 1992 decision by Assad to liberalize emigration requirements, the liberalization did not extend to sanctioning Israel as a destination. Thus, the community's departure and the choice of many of its members to make their homes in Israel were initially unpublicized.

Hamra, chief rabbi for 15 years, left Damascus in early 1994, ostensibly for the marriage of his daughter in New York. The decision to publicize his arrival in Israel and to lift the censorship on the Syrian exodus was taken because all but a group of some 400 Jews—whose age and/or business interests made them unwilling to leave—had now emigrated. It was also judged, accurately as it turned out, that the Assad administration would not seek to punish the last Jews for the decision of many of the emigrants to make their homes in Israel.

If the rabbi's arrival and his diplomatic kind words about the just treatment afforded Jews by President Assad prompted some Israelis to begin considering Assad in a new light, those upbeat perceptions were swiftly reversed in the light of Damascus's angry reaction to the October 26 Israel-Jordan peace treaty. No sooner had the deal been finalized than Assad flew to Cairo for consultations with President Mubarak. At a press conference, he attacked the pragmatic water reallocations, land swaps, and leasing arrangements that had been agreed upon by the Israeli and Jordanian negotiators and restated his position that, unlike King Hussein, he would not be satisfied until every last inch of his captured land was restored to Syrian sovereignty and would never sanction Israeli access to the Banyas and Hatzbani tributaries.

This new evidence of Damascus's uncompromising stance wiped out Israeli gov-

ernment hopes that, in the wake of the al-Sharaa interview, the Syrians might demonstrate a new openness to Israel by sending delegates to a late October Middle East economic development conference. The conference was initiated by Shimon Peres and hosted in Casablanca by Morocco's King Hassan. Peres hoped that, even if no official Syrian government representatives attended, Damascus might at least sanction the participation of private Syrian businessmen. But the Syrians stayed away.

Assad was equally uncompromising when President Clinton—against the advice of aides that he leave Syria off his itinerary—flew to Damascus on October 27 for his second meeting of the year with the Syrian president. Clinton had come to the region to witness the Israel-Jordan treaty and clearly hoped that his personal intervention might budge the Israeli-Syrian deadlock.

In the event, however, Clinton came away from Damascus empty-handed, having failed to win over Assad to the idea of either a public summit with Rabin or a private channel of high-level negotiations. He failed even to extract a clear condemnation of terrorism from the Syrian president, let alone persuade Assad to expel from Damascus some of the terrorist groups, including Hamas, that had their headquarters there. Determined to portray the unsuccessful visit in the best possible light, however, officials traveling with Clinton gave off-the-record briefings to journalists claiming that, as a result of the Clinton trip, a joint Israeli-Syrian declaration of principles might be signed by the end of the year. Some officials were even quoted as predicting a full peace treaty within six months.

There were minor signs of progress in the Israeli-Syrian negotiations in the months that followed, most notably a secret December meeting in Washington between the Israeli and Syrian chiefs of staffs, Ehud Barak and Hikmat Shihabi, to begin discussing the security arrangements for a Golan accord. But although some in the Likud continued to claim that the terms of a land-for-peace deal on the Golan had actually been agreed upon, and that Rabin and Assad were merely waiting for the right time to make the accord public, there was no independent confirmation of this. In fact, even after a December Middle East shuttle by Secretary of State Christopher, Assad gave every indication of being a man in no hurry to make a deal. "Syria prefers to maintain the status quo," he declared at a December Damascus press conference marking a visit by Mubarak, "rather than comply with demands being presented by Israel, which are impossible to accept."

Christopher's mediation efforts continued with a March 1995 shuttle mission, which led to a resumption of talks in Washington between Israeli ambassador Rabinovich and his Syrian counterpart, Muallam. These contacts made little concrete progress, however, mainly since Muallam had next to no authority for decision making. Anxious to secure a breakthrough, Christopher tried to set up a "back channel" of secret, Oslo-style peace talks, but was rebuffed by Damascus. Likewise, an effort to arrange a Peres meeting with al-Sharaa in Washington in May was rejected by Syria.

Some Israeli and American analysts believed Syria's reluctance to move ahead

stemmed from Assad's desire to leave arrangements for a treaty until the final stages of Rabin's term of office in 1996, in order to extract greater concessions from a prime minister anxious for a peace deal in the run-up to elections. Other analysts, including Ori Orr, the Labor Knesset member and head of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, thought Assad was genuinely afraid of the consequences of peace for the future of his regime, believing that any Americanization of Syria, and any relaxation of the dictatorship, could trigger a wave of Syrian public opposition to his rule.

Still, six months after the secret Barak-Shihabi contacts, Assad did dispatch Shihabi to Washington again, for talks with Barak's successor, Amnon Shahak. Though the late June talks were cordial, they too ran into trouble, and Syria reneged on a commitment to follow the top-level negotiations with lower-level military talks.

The stumbling block was apparently an Israeli demand to retain a ground early-warning station on the Golan after withdrawal. Syria was said to be prepared to accept all manner of alternative airborne early-warning systems. But Israeli military chiefs were adamant that even a combination of such measures could not compensate for the intelligence information a ground station would afford, and noted that wintry weather or fog could render airborne observation systems useless, leaving Israel unacceptably vulnerable.

If the ground warning station was the formal issue of deadlock, Assad may well also have broken off the contacts because of growing signs that Rabin might not have the political support necessary to actually win approval for an accord, even if a satisfactory formula could be found. Rabin had already promised the public a referendum on any withdrawal, for which majority support was by no means assured. Then, in the Knesset, in June 1995, three members of Rabin's own Labor Party, led by Kahalani, proposed legislation requiring the support of 70 Knesset members—rather than the usual 61—for any Golan withdrawal. When the vote was eventually called on July 26, the result was a 59–59 tie. Under Knesset law, that meant the legislation had failed, but it could hardly have increased Assad's faith in Rabin's capacity for delivering on a deal.

Relations with Lebanon

With the Syrian, Jordanian, and Egyptian borders almost completely peaceful, Israel's sole remaining troublesome border was with Lebanon, where pro-Iranian Hezbollah gunmen continued throughout the year to stage attacks on Israeli targets.

Assisted by the South Lebanon Army (SLA), a militia trained and funded by Israel, a force of about 1,000 Israeli troops maintained their deployment in the so-called Israeli "security zone" just inside the international border in Lebanon, thwarting would-be Hezbollah and Palestinian rejectionist infiltrators, taking the brunt of Hezbollah shelling, and clashing with Hezbollah fighters almost daily. In the course of 1994, Israel lost 21 soldiers in clashes in Lebanon, and 7 more in the first half of 1995, while the cumulative death toll in the South Lebanon Army, formed in the mid-1980s, passed the 300 mark.

Israel's relatively minor troop presence compared with a Syrian military deployment variously estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000 troops—a presence on a scale that reflected Damascus's overwhelming domination of Lebanese affairs, a domination that extended to foreign policymaking in general and specifically to peacemaking with Israel. Thus, as in years past, Israel's efforts to achieve a peace treaty with Lebanon were entirely dependent on the progress of the Israeli-Syrian negotiating track. As long as Israeli-Syrian talks made little headway, diplomatic initiatives in Lebanon took a back seat to the continued daily military struggle in the border area.

Another issue that continued to make headlines throughout the year was the whereabouts of Ron Arad, an Israeli airman whose plane was shot down over south Lebanon in 1986, and who had reportedly been held first by the Syrian-backed Amal movement in Lebanon and then by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon, Syria, and possibly Iran. In early January, a U.S. congressional committee traveled to Syria and Lebanon in an effort to find evidence of Arad's whereabouts and of the fate of five other Israeli soldiers reported missing in action but widely believed to have died. The committee's efforts yielded no concrete evidence of any sort.

Nothing firm was learned about the missing Israelis in the course of the rest of the year. But in early 1995, German newspapers published several articles purporting to detail new information proving Arad was still alive. Rabin, however, said that a letter and video discussed in the German reports were not new, and that no new information had been received on Arad. Still, Rabin insisted Israel was certain that Iran was holding the navigator.

MILITARY ACTIVITY

On February 7, 1994, four Israeli soldiers were killed and five others wounded when Hezbollah gunmen ambushed their patrol in the security zone with antitank missiles. Clashes intensified during March, the casualties including SLA members, Lebanese civilians, and two more Israeli soldiers, who were shot dead in an ambush on March 21. Katyusha rockets fired at Israeli targets in the security zone continued into April, with Israeli and SLA soldiers responding by shelling Hezbollah strongholds. Some rockets again landed in northern Israel, without causing damage.

Low-level violence rumbled on through May. Then, on May 21, a team of Israeli commandos raided the Lebanese town of Qasr Naba, about 50 miles north of the border, where they seized Mustafa Dirani, a former intelligence chief of the pro-Syrian Amal movement who was believed to have overseen the imprisonment of Ron Arad between 1986 and 1988. Dirani, under interrogation, failed to produce any useful information on where Arad was now being held. However, the kidnapping produced an inevitable barrage of Hezbollah rocket fire over the next few days, culminating in a Hezbollah threat on May 30 to hit Israeli targets around the world in revenge.

On June 2, Israel mounted the year's heaviest air raid on Hezbollah targets, killing up to 50 Hezbollah fighters at a training camp in Lebanon's Beka'a Valley, the

bloodiest single blow ever suffered by the group. Thousands of Hezbollah supporters marched in funeral processions for the dead through the streets of Beirut, and Hezbollah's leader, Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, vowed to "avenge the blood of the martyrs."

Over the following 24 hours, several salvos of Katyusha rocket fire fell on northern Israel, but no damage was caused. And the firing stopped after Israel began massing troop reinforcements on the northern border.

On June 20, after several days of clashes and Israeli air raids, Hezbollah gunmen ambushed an Israeli convoy in the security zone, killing one soldier and wounding three others. Three days later, two would-be infiltrators from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) were killed by Israeli troops in the security zone. On July 4, an Israeli soldier was killed in the security zone. And two days later, another soldier was killed during heavy Hezbollah attacks on Israeli positions.

On July 10, the Israeli navy intercepted three PFLP frogmen as they prepared to swim across the border at Rosh Hanikra; two were killed, one was captured. On July 25, another Israeli soldier was killed, and 20 others were injured, in Hezbollah attacks. On August 4, during an Israeli air raid on Hezbollah targets, one bomb strayed off course and demolished a house, killing 10 civilians and injuring 15 more. The army issued an apology. The following day, Hezbollah Katyusha fire caused some damage but no injuries in Galilee towns and villages. Three Israeli soldiers were killed in clashes during the month.

The catalogue of violence extended into September, with the death of an Israeli soldier in a Hezbollah ambush on September 8. On October 19, Israeli troops mistakenly shelled a house north of the security zone, killing seven people. Hezbollah responded with Katyusha fire at the Galilee that day, and again on October 26, to mark its opposition to the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty that was being signed that day. Three days later, in one of the year's boldest Hezbollah attacks, a group of gunmen came close to overrunning an Israeli army outpost at Dabsha on the edge of the security zone. The commander of the post was relieved of his command, and a soldier who abandoned his position was jailed, after one soldier was killed and two others were injured before the attackers were repulsed.

After almost complete stagnation on the diplomatic front, there was a brief flurry of diplomatic activity in the fall of 1994, following an announcement by President Elias Hrawi of Lebanon of a proposal for peace talks within the framework of a joint Israeli-Lebanese military and political commission. Rabin asked Secretary of State Warren Christopher to try to ascertain the seriousness of Lebanon's apparent new readiness to enter talks in a new and distinct framework. He also drew up a six-point Israeli proposal for a withdrawal from the security zone that included the Lebanese army's disarming of Hezbollah; an Israeli pullout from the security zone at the end of a six-month trial period, provided the Lebanese army had kept the peace; and the retention of UN forces in south Lebanon until it was agreed that the overall situation was stable.

The diplomatic optimism proved short-lived, however. Syrian officials indicated

their disapproval of the Lebanese offer, and Hrawi subsequently indicated that he could not approve the disarming of Hezbollah until after Israel had left the security zone, thus effectively rejecting Rabin's proposal.

Intermittent flare-ups of violence continued into the winter. On November 21, two heavily armed members of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine were shot dead by SLA troops as they tried to infiltrate through the security zone. A week later, three Islamic Jihad gunmen were killed in an exchange of fire. In December six Israeli soldiers were killed, and twice that number were wounded by Hezbollah fire. On December 21, in Beirut, a car-bomb explosion in a Hezbollah-controlled suburb killed four people, including Fuad Mughniyeh, brother of one of the world's most notorious Islamic terror masterminds, the Teheran-based Imad Mughniyeh, who reportedly orchestrated the 1980s Hezbollah campaign of hijackings and kidnappings. Hezbollah accused Israel of responsibility. Israel did not issue a denial.

A January 31, 1995, clash with Hezbollah north of the security zone left one Israeli soldier, along with three Hezbollah gunmen, dead. Clashes continued in the security zone on a frequent basis in the following months, punctuated by intermittent Israeli air raids on suspected Hezbollah and Palestinian rejectionist bases. Eleven Israeli soldiers were wounded when a Hezbollah suicide bomber drove a carload of explosives into their convoy in the security zone on April 25. A May 17 mortar attack on an IDF position in the zone left another Israeli soldier dead. And three soldiers died in a Hezbollah ambush on June 18. By mid-year, with the prospects of an Israel-Syria deal receding, the likelihood of new calm on the Israel-Lebanon border was fading too.

Relations with Other Arab and Middle East Countries

Although implementation of the Israel-PLO autonomy accords did not proceed smoothly in the period under review, the very fact that Israel and the Palestinians were negotiating to resolve their conflict enabled other Arab states to begin the gradual process of reconciliation. It would be a gross exaggeration to claim that relations between Israel and the Arab world were revolutionized, or that the process by which Egypt had been isolated in the late 1970s was reversed. But, with the conspicuous exceptions of countries like Iran and Libya, there were innumerable signs that attitudes were softening and long-held stances shifting.

Much of the work of breaking new ground and reconciliation occurred within the framework of the multilateral peace negotiations. These had begun tentatively as a vague exercise in confidence-building, parallel to Israel's direct talks with the Palestinians, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, but they developed into an increasingly important element for boosting regional stability. In the course of 1994 and early 1995, sessions of the talks were hosted in Arab capitals hitherto implacably hostile to Israel and invariably in a remarkably friendly atmosphere.

GULF STATES

Leading the way to a new position on Israel was an unlikely candidate, the Gulf emirate of Qatar, whose foreign minister, Sheikh Hamed bin Jassem al-Thani, held a series of unpublicized meetings with Energy Minister Moshe Shahal and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel. In late January 1994, al-Thani publicly called for a program to lift the Arab trade boycott of Israel, committed his country to hosting multilateral peace negotiations in its capital, Doha, in late spring, and revealed that he was engaged in negotiations to sell natural gas to Israel and to pipe it, via Israel, to other countries.

In fact, Qatar was beaten out by Oman when it came to hosting the multilateral talks. In mid-April, Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin led an Israeli delegation to Oman's capital, Muscat, for multilateral talks on regional water issues. In practice, the discussions ranged wider than merely water, taking in the potential for regional cooperation in agriculture, industry, marketing, tourism, and more. Perhaps most important, though, was the simple fact of the talks taking place and of the Israeli negotiators being welcomed without excessive fuss or concern, for all the world as though Israeli delegations had been flying into Muscat for years.

Initially, the water talks had been scheduled to be held in Canada. Oman fought for the change in venue, winning not only international prestige by breaking ground in hosting the Israelis, but also more concrete gains. These included approval for the establishment of a desalination center inside Oman and an Israeli offer to help rehabilitate the country's municipal water pipeline networks, whose poor condition cost the water-starved state much of its water resources.

In early May, a similar experience was repeated in Qatar, which hosted Israeli diplomats and journalists at multilateral talks on regional disarmament. And in October, Environment Minister Yossi Sarid led an Israeli delegation to multilateral talks on regional environmental issues in Bahrain, taking the opportunity to meet with members of the Gulf state's tiny Jewish community.

By early summer, cracks were appearing in the wall of Arab trade boycotts, with Foreign Minister Sabah al-Sabah of Kuwait announcing that his country was dropping secondary sanctions and would begin dealing with companies previously black-listed for trading with Israel. Then, formally, on September 30, Saudi Arabia and the five other member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council announced that they would no longer abide by the secondary and tertiary boycotts of firms doing business with Israel. The move seemed inevitable, given that these countries sent representatives to the Casablanca conference on regional development, initiated by Israel, at the end of the month.

By mid-November, the respected Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* was predicting that Oman, Bahrain, and Qatar would all open interest sections in Tel Aviv within six months. On December 26, Rabin flew to Oman—the first public trip to a Gulf state by an Israeli premier—to meet with Sultan Qaboos Bin Said.

The first half of 1995, however, saw little significant progress toward the hoped-for warming of ties between Israel and the Gulf states. Neither Oman, nor Bahrain,

nor Qatar, in fact opened their anticipated Tel Aviv interest sections. And Saudi Arabia's continued caution where Israel was concerned was underlined in late April when the Saudis insisted that 2,600 Israeli Arabs, set to go to Mecca for the hajj, travel on Palestinian passports. Israel refused. In the end, the group crossed into Jordan on their Israeli passports, and were issued there with documents for entry to Saudi Arabia.

TUNISIA

In another sign of the new openness in the Arab world, Tunisia allowed a group of 25 Israelis, traveling on Israeli passports, to join the late April 1994 annual pilgrimage to the ancient synagogue of El-Ghriba on the Tunisian island of Djerba. On October 1, Israel and Tunisia announced that they would open interest sections in each other's countries; three days later, Foreign Minister Habib Ben-Yehiya held a first public meeting with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in Washington. On October 30, Environment Minister Sarid became the first Israeli minister to pay an official visit to Tunisia, attending a conference on regional environmental issues.

MOROCCO

Foreign Minister Peres paid a visit to Rabat in early June 1994, returning with Moroccan agreement to start direct flights and establish direct post and phone links between Israel and Morocco. Later that month, Morocco hosted multilateral talks on economic affairs.

On September 1, in a joint announcement, Israel and Morocco declared the establishment of diplomatic ties. The two countries agreed to open liaison offices in Rabat and Tel Aviv, and Morocco also said it would open such an office in Gaza. Morocco thus became the second Arab state, after Egypt, to establish formal relations with Israel.

On October 21, King Hassan had a warm and unprecedented interview on Israel Television, pledging his country's full support for the peace process and condemning the recent Tel Aviv bus bombing. He also declared that he still considered all Moroccan-born Israelis to be his "children" and still full Moroccan citizens. In yet another conciliatory move, King Hassan agreed to host a conference in Casablanca at the end of October, initiated by Peres, bringing together Israel, Jordan, the Palestinians, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, and several other Gulf states to discuss regional economic development. Hundreds of private companies from around the world sent representatives to discuss specific development projects, with proposals for a Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal, a regional bank, and other tourism and infrastructure projects all given serious discussion. Though Syria and Lebanon stayed away, the conference was judged a success, and a follow-up was scheduled for Amman the following April. The Amman conference was subsequently rescheduled for October 1995.

The Israeli delegation was headed by Prime Minister Rabin and included a large

proportion of the cabinet and a sizable business delegation. Among the more notable "firsts" was a good-natured meeting between Peres and the foreign minister of Bahrain, Sheikh Muhammad Bin-Mubarak al-Khalifa, who allowed Israel Television's cameras to screen the encounter. At the end of the conference, on November 1, Peres traveled to Rabat for the formal opening of Israel's liaison office there.

In March 1995, with a minimum of publicity, Morocco reciprocated, opening a liaison office, staffed by three diplomats, in Tel Aviv.

EGYPT

Despite repeated overtures and invitations from Israeli leaders, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt maintained his steadfast refusal to visit Israel. Nevertheless, Mubarak personally played a key role in achieving the Gaza-and-Jericho-first agreement with the PLO, in recognition of which the parties decided to hold the May 1994 signing ceremony in Cairo. Again, when Arafat's refusal to sign some of the documentation threatened to ruin the ceremony and halt the process, it was Mubarak who stepped in and pushed Arafat to sign the documents.

The warm personal relations between Rabin and Mubarak were reinforced at a summit meeting between the two men at Taba, just inside Egypt along the coast from Eilat, on July 1. The two exchanged thoughts on the peace process in an atmosphere both sides described as warm and constructive.

While Mubarak stayed away from Israel, his foreign minister, Amre Moussa, did make a first state visit, a two-day trip that began on August 30. He used the visit to launch the first salvos in what was to prove an unsuccessful Egyptian campaign to persuade Israel to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) when it came up for renewal in 1995. He also toured the Old City, met with Palestinian leaders, and visited the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial. Initially, Moussa had declined to include the museum on his itinerary; he bowed to repeated entreaties from Peres after the omission triggered something of an outcry in the Israeli media.

Toward the end of the year, Mubarak publicly took up the call for Israel to sign the NPT, warning that Egypt would not sign if Israel did not, and threatening to try to mobilize other Arab states to refrain from signing as well. The Egyptian demand—repeated despite Israeli objections that it could hardly strip itself of its deterrent power at the same time as it was withdrawing from territory in the framework of the peace process—placed a further strain on relations. The Egyptian demand for Israel to sign the NPT was repeated in the early months of 1995, with Foreign Minister Amre Moussa asking publicly in February why it was deemed acceptable for Israel to have a nuclear arsenal, but not Iran. Later that month, Peres flew to Cairo to discuss the issue with Mubarak. He said Israel would be willing to sign the treaty after it reached peace accords with all regional states including Iran, Iraq, and Libya. Mubarak was unimpressed.

When the crunch came, however, at the UN vote in New York on May 11, 1995, Egypt voted with 177 other countries to extend the treaty, and failed in its effort

to have the final decision include a specific call to Israel to open its nuclear installations to inspection. There were also reports from Cairo that Egypt was feeling left behind by the peace process, sensing that Israel preferred doing business with Jordan and the Palestinians and was neglecting Egypt's potential.

Confirming the sense of a cold peace was a late December survey published by the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahram*. Of the 1,505 adults questioned, 71 percent said they would not buy Israeli goods, 53 percent opposed Israeli tourism to Egypt, 63 percent would not visit Israel, and 75 percent opposed Israeli investment in Egypt.

In December President Weizman made a high-profile trip to Cairo, trying yet again to persuade Mubarak to visit Israel, but eliciting only the standard, noncommittal Mubarak response: "I have no problem with visiting Israel."

A few days after Weizman departed, Mubarak convened a mini-summit in Alexandria, with Syria's president Assad and Saudi ruler King Fahd. Israeli media reports suggested that the trio had agreed to slow down the process of Arab reconciliation with Israel, and that they subsequently applied direct pressure to Gulf states such as Oman and Qatar to hold off on formalizing ties. On January 3, 1995, however, Mubarak hosted Peres in Cairo and assured him that no anti-Israel or antipeace plans had been hatched at the Alexandria summit.

To underline Egypt's continuing commitment to regional reconciliation, Mubarak on February 2 hosted an unprecedented four-way summit, with Rabin, Arafat, and King Hussein. The main item on the agenda was the need for joint action against Muslim extremist terrorism.

IRAQ

Three years after Saddam Hussein peppered Israel with Scud missiles, there was a new Iraqi export to Israel—defectors. In the first month of 1994 alone, five Iraqi defectors slipped across the border from Jordan into Israel, several of them sailing across the Dead Sea in rubber inner tubes. The defectors—mostly army deserters—continued to arrive over the coming months, and by the end of the year there were more than 30 of them. Reluctant to grant them refugee status, wary that some of them might be spies, and unable to find a third country willing to take them in, Israel housed them in an empty wing of the Ayalon jail near Ramleh.

In March 1995 it was rumored that either Holland or Canada might be willing to take in the defectors, but they remained in jail through the summer. Officials in Arafat's Palestinian Authority said in late summer that they would be willing to absorb the Iraqis in Gaza, but few of the defectors were said to be attracted by the offer, noting that the Palestinians had sided with Iraq during the Gulf War and were not likely to accord them a warm welcome.

In the summer, somewhat remarkably, reports began to surface of secret contacts between Iraqi and Israeli officials, with a view to the establishment of some kind of formal ties between the two countries. In an August 12 Israel Television report, the alleged contacts were denied by both sides.

Still, the rumors rumbled on, with suggestions that one or more meetings had taken place between Israeli and Iraqi officials at the UN or in Europe. Two Iraqi-born cabinet ministers, Police Minister Moshe Shahal and Housing Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, were said to have been quietly promoting the idea of peace with Iraq and even, according to some reports, to have met in Morocco with Iraq's deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz. Aziz was said to have sent a message to Israel's UN ambassador, Gad Ya'acobi, saying that since the autonomy deal with the PLO, "Saddam Hussein no longer considers the Jewish state as an enemy."

Reports of these and other conciliatory statements were said to have infuriated a Clinton administration determined to enforce sanctions on Iraq. American officials believed that Iraq saw the establishment of ties with Israel as a means of improving its relations with the West and were reported to be putting pressure on Rabin to block any Iraqi peace initiatives. In early September, Rabin specifically ordered members of his cabinet and other officials to rebuff all approaches from Baghdad.

Nevertheless, suggestions of a change in climate were borne out by Israeli media reports in December that 70 Jews had been allowed to leave Iraq over the past three years, and that the remaining 80, mainly elderly, members of the community had also received permission to exit.

IRAN

Israeli leaders, and particularly Rabin, continued to blame Iran not only for inspiring the militants of Hamas and Islamic Jihad to carry out suicide bombings and other attacks on Israeli targets but also for providing funding, training, and other logistical support for the militants. Rabin even branded the new wave of Islamic terror "Khomeini-ism without Khomeini."

In July 1994, when Israeli and Jewish targets overseas were hit by a wave of terrorist attacks—the July 18 bombing of the Jewish community building in Buenos Aires, the July 19 explosion on a plane carrying Jews and Israelis in northern Panama, and the July 26–27 blasts at the Israeli embassy and a Jewish community building in London—Israel unhesitatingly pointed the finger of blame at Teheran. "Iran, with its lies, hostility and hatred," said Shimon Peres, "is trying to turn the Jewish people into a collective Salman Rushdie." Naturally, Iran strenuously denied any involvement in any of the attacks and claimed that Israel was deliberately seeking to blacken its name. Mutual accusations were exchanged for several weeks over the summer.

Israel continued to watch with concern Iran's strategic process of rearmament and its drive toward a nuclear capacity. In the spring of 1995, a flurry of Israeli media reports suggested that Iran was one to seven years away from nuclear self-sufficiency. Rabin continued to reiterate how gravely he perceived the threat from Iran.

Relations with the United States

The Rabin government's warm relations with the Clinton administration continued to develop throughout the year, with Israel benefiting from Washington's consistent commitment to advancing the regional peace process. That commitment was reflected in the frequent shuttle missions to the region undertaken by Secretary of State Christopher in the course of 1994 and early 1995, during which he attempted, with only limited success, to mediate some concrete progress in Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations. It was further underscored by President Bill Clinton's personal involvement on the Syrian track—his meetings with President Assad in Geneva in January 1994 and in Damascus in October.

Washington also played a significant role in the Israel-Jordan accommodation, the White House hosting the historic public reconciliation of Yitzhak Rabin and King Hussein in July. This in turn led to the October signing of the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, an event for which President Clinton flew specially to the region.

The year 1994 began with the appointment of a new American ambassador to Israel, Edward Djerejian, the first U.S. envoy in Tel Aviv to have previously served in Damascus. Ambassador in Syria from 1988 to 1991, and then a senior member of the State Department's Middle East peace team, Djerejian seemed an ideal candidate to push forward the regional peace process. Fluent in Arabic, he had served at embassies in Jordan, Lebanon, and Morocco, as well as Syria.

Djerejian's arrival came after some minor problems in American diplomatic postings to Israel. William Harrop, a Bush political appointee, was dismissed in 1993 for deviating from U.S. policy, having spoken out of turn in March 1993 when delivering a warning that "it may prove difficult" for Washington to maintain its annual \$3 billion in aid to Israel. William Brown, Harrop's predecessor, was hurriedly dispatched to Tel Aviv as a temporary replacement. Djerejian, arriving in January 1994, replaced Brown. In the event, Djerejian proved to be a short-term appointee as well. He served for only five months before announcing in May that he was stepping down to accept the directorship of a Houston think tank affiliated with his old boss, former secretary of state James Baker.

His replacement, almost a year later (a chargé d'affaires filling the post in the interim), was Martin Indyk, at 43 the youngest ever American envoy to Israel, but remarkable for more than his youth. For one thing, the London-born, Australian-raised Indyk had only become an American citizen in March 1993. For another, he was Jewish. A former Middle East official at the Australian Prime Minister's Office, Indyk had worked for the pro-Israel lobby AIPAC in Washington before forming the well-regarded Washington Institute, a think tank on the Middle East. After Clinton's election in 1992, he was offered a key post on the U.S. Middle East peace team; when Djerejian announced that he was stepping down, Indyk was thought to be the natural choice to replace him. He took up his appointment in Tel Aviv in the spring of 1995 and was immediately plunged into a controversy surrounding the rights and wrongs of a possible transfer of the embassy to Jerusalem.

In early May, bills were introduced in the Senate and in the House mandating that the construction of an American embassy complex in Jerusalem should begin by the end of 1996, and allocating \$105 million to the project over the coming three years. Explaining his bill at a gathering of AIPAC in Washington, Sen. Robert Dole declared, "Jerusalem is today, as it has been for three millennia, the heart and soul of the Jewish people. It is also, and should remain forever, the eternal and undivided capital of the state of Israel."

The White House, however, expressed opposition to the effort to relocate the embassy, with Ambassador Indyk stating that he feared such a move might harm the peace process with the Palestinians, under the terms of which the status of Jerusalem was to be negotiated in talks starting no later than May 1996.

The issue dominated Rabin's mid-May 1995 visit to the United States. On the one hand, the prime minister did not wish to come out publicly against a move that would help underline Israeli claims to the city; on the other hand, he shared Indyk's fears that the controversy might torpedo the peace negotiations. Somewhat lamely, therefore, Rabin branded the argument a "domestic" American issue, and did his best to avoid comment. As of mid-1995, neither of the two bills had come up for a vote.

(On this trip, Rabin visited the West Orange, New Jersey home of Alisa Flatow, the college student killed in the Gaza Strip in April, and thanked her family for donating her organs to Israelis.)

American defense and civilian aid continued to flow to Israel, with the United States maintaining its majority funding in the Arrow antimissile missile project. When Rabin had visited Washington in late November 1994, several senior congressmen warned him that the \$3-billion annual aid package might have to be trimmed back in the long term. But so long as the peace process continued, Rabin was told, the full package would be maintained.

If relations with the Clinton administration were smooth, relations with the American Jewish community were sometimes a little rockier. For the most part, American Jewish organizations and key figures kept any criticisms they may have had of the Rabin government's peace policies to themselves, but there were a number of angry outbursts, particularly in the first half of 1995.

The incident that raised the most publicity took place during an address by Communications Minister Shulamit Aloni, leader of the left-wing Meretz Party (a junior coalition partner), at a gathering prior to the annual New York City Salute to Israel parade on May 21. Jack Avital, one of the parade organizers, allegedly punched Aloni in the stomach during her speech, and then later described her as "loathsome" and said there was "no politician in Israel I despise more than her." Still, Avital denied punching the minister, claiming he had been trying to restore order. Aloni did not press charges.

A less sensational, but more significant, protest against the autonomy process and other Rabin peace moves was registered in June by the 3,000-strong International Rabbinical Coalition for Israel. In a ruling issued in New York, the rabbis stated

that "uprooting Jewish settlements in the Golan, Judea, Samaria and Gaza, as part of the 'false Israeli peace,' is a national crime, and it is forbidden for a Jew to lend a hand to such a deed." Rabin hit back by stating, "Only those who send their children and grandchildren to the Israeli army, not some rabbis from New York, have the right to express views on the peace process."

Other Foreign Relations

At the end of December 1993, Israel and the Vatican had signed an agreement committing themselves to establishing full diplomatic ties. In mid-March 1994, Prime Minister Rabin paid a visit to Pope John Paul II at the Vatican, taking the opportunity—in the aftermath of the Hebron massacre—to seek the pope's assistance in restarting peace talks with the Palestinians.

It was an indication of the rapidly improving relations between Israel and the Holy See that Rabin made the request in the first place, and that the pope responded by sending a special emissary to PLO headquarters in Tunis. The pope also told Rabin that he hoped comprehensive peace would be achieved in the Middle East by the year 2,000, as Christianity approached the end of its second millennium.

By May, Edward Cardinal Cassidy, president of the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism, was in Jerusalem, as agreement neared on signing full diplomatic relations. In one of the clearest public admissions of Church failures during the Holocaust, Cassidy declared during his visit, "Members of the Catholic Church committed the sin of anti-Semitism and we must ask forgiveness for not . . . preventing the Holocaust."

Finally, on June 15, 1994, full relations were formally established. On August 16, Israel's Shmuel Hadas and the Vatican's Archbishop Andre de Montezemolo presented their respective ambassadorial credentials, and the Vatican embassy was opened in Jaffa.

Israel's ties with Turkey were improved by a late-January 1994 visit by President Weizman to Ankara, which set in motion talks on a free-trade agreement and on the exchange of information for countering terrorism. Turkey had become an increasingly popular tourist spot for Israelis attracted by the relatively cheap accommodations and the casinos. In 1994, up to 250,000 Israelis were said to have vacationed there, which helped Turkey to compensate for European and American cancellations prompted by bombing campaigns by the secessionist Kurdistan Workers Party. In early November, Turkey's prime minister, Tansu Ciller, came to Israel, but she enraged the government by holding talks with Palestinian leaders at the Orient House in East Jerusalem.

In January 1994, at a ceremony in Washington, Israel and Madagascar restored ties. The island off the east coast of Africa had severed relations after the Yom Kippur War of 1973. Other countries establishing or renewing ties with Israel in the period under review included Equatorial Guinea (in January), Namibia (in February), Guinea-Bissau (in March), Andorra (in May), Cape Verde and Uganda (in

July), Ghana and Senegal (in August), Palau and Rwanda (in October), Comoros (in November), Nauru (in December), Tanzania (in February 1995), and Burundi (in March 1995).

Chief Rabbi Israel Lau paid a ground-breaking visit to Cuba in February 1994; he reported on his return that President Fidel Castro was in no hurry to establish diplomatic relations with Israel or to sanction the emigration of the 1,000 remaining Jews.

That same month, South African president Nelson Mandela canceled a planned visit, saying he would reschedule it when Israel and the PLO signed a full peace agreement. On May 10, President Ezer Weizman flew to Pretoria to attend Mandela's inauguration. On this occasion, the two presidents also met with Arafat, and Weizman held talks with Castro, inviting the Cuban leader to visit Israel.

In late April, Rabin paid a four-day visit to Russia, signing several cooperation agreements and hearing from President Boris Yeltsin of Russia's desire for closer ties with Israel. However, Russian officials denied Israeli media reports that the country had promised Rabin not to sell new weaponry to Iran or Syria.

Hopes that Malaysia, a predominantly Muslim country with 18 million citizens, might recognize Israel were lifted by a June 18, 1994 visit to Israel by Prince Abdullah Rahaman. The prince met with Rabin and Peres and reportedly discussed economic and diplomatic ties. But the Malaysian government subsequently indicated that the prince had been on a purely private visit, and that there were no plans for opening formal relations.

Israeli-Pakistani contacts, never warm at the best of times, soured further in late August as a result of a most undiplomatic incident. Without informing Israel of her plans, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto decided that she would like to be the first foreign head of state to call on Yasir Arafat in newly autonomous Gaza. When Israel refused to allow her envoy to cross into the autonomous area, stating that it had not been given sufficient advance warning, Bhutto responded that she would go to Gaza anyway on September 4, but would not see any Israelis. Bhutto subsequently canceled the visit and later declined a belated invitation from Israel. Although Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin predicted the imminent establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Pakistan, this had not occurred by mid-1995.

In mid-September 1994, Guatemala announced that it was moving its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, where only two countries, Costa Rica and El Salvador, maintained embassies. In response, the 22 Arab League countries announced that they would halt imports of cardamon, a key Guatemalan export widely used in coffee in Arab countries.

In October the most important delegation ever to visit Israel from China arrived for a four-day trip that included meetings with Weizman, Rabin, industrialists, and hi-tech specialists. The Chinese delegation was headed by Zou Jia-Hua, the deputy prime minister responsible for all economic-related ministries, agriculture, and defense industries.

In mid-December Rabin made a trip to the Far East, taking in Japan and South

Korea, with much of the focus on stimulating trade. Accompanied by an entourage of leading Israeli businessmen, Rabin sought to further boost exports to the region, including diamonds, plastics, chemicals, electronics, and machinery. Agreement was reached on adding the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange to the list of foreign exchanges in which Japanese firms could invest. Peace was also on the agenda, especially since Japan had been playing a leading role in the multilateral talks, chairing the committee on the environment and pushing several major tourism projects in the Red Sea area.

Israeli-German ties, always sensitive, were strained by Israeli accusations—made in private briefings by government officials—that Germany was using the Ron Arad affair as a pretext for deepening its contacts with Iran. Several times during the year, German media speculated that Arad's release might be imminent or that prisoner exchanges were being arranged, basing their reports on unnamed German officials. Israeli officials asserted that Germany's professed contacts with Iran over Arad were often a fig leaf for economic and trade negotiations.

Overall, in this period, Israeli-German ties were dominated by various World War II-related anniversaries. Chief of Staff Ehud Barak paid a visit to Germany in July 1994, attending a Holocaust commemoration ceremony at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In mid-December, German president Roman Herzog came to Jerusalem. Speaking of the Holocaust during a tour of the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial, he declared, "Until the end of my days, I will try to prevent this from happening again, in Germany or elsewhere."

In June 1995, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who first visited Israel in 1984, made a second visit, touring Yad Vashem, which he said awakened "horrible memories. I can only be full of shame about what has been done in the name of Germany."

In mid-March 1995, Britain's John Major paid a four-day visit to the region, taking in not only Israel, but also Jordan and the territories. He met with Yasir Arafat in Gaza but, sensitive to Israeli objections, canceled a planned visit to the PLO's controversial Jerusalem headquarters at the Orient House, sending a lower-level official instead.

Because the activities at the Orient House represented a Palestinian effort to assert a certain legitimacy to its claims in the city, Israel kept up a running battle with various visiting dignitaries in the first half of 1995, urging them not to visit the building. While Major acceded to the Israeli request, Ireland's foreign minister, Dick Spring, visiting in June, insisted on going to the Orient House, where he held talks with PLO official Faisal Husseini. In protest, President Weizman canceled his scheduled meeting with Spring.

In May 1995, President Weizman flew to London, Paris, and Moscow, to attend World War II anniversary ceremonies.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Political Developments

The growing importance of American-style "personality politics" in Israel was underlined in late spring when Haim Ramon, a rising young Labor Party politician, left the party to campaign on an independent list for control of the Histadrut labor federation, a traditional bastion of Labor Party power predating even the establishment of the state.

Ramon had been the second-youngest member of Yitzhak Rabin's cabinet after Shas leader Arye Deri, had played a leading role in the negotiations to form the governing coalition, had been crucial in recruiting Shas to the coalition ranks, and had been rewarded with the post of minister of health. In that position, Ramon tried to implement a radical reform of the country's health service, cutting off the largest health insurance fund, Kupat Holim Clalit, from the control of the Histadrut. The Histadrut establishment within the Labor Party, however, torpedoed the planned reforms; Rabin failed to intervene on his behalf, and Ramon was left defeated, frustrated, and humiliated. "You're like whales heading for the beach to kill yourselves," he stormed at one Labor Party meeting.

Ramon resigned as health minister in early February 1994; on April 11, a mere month before elections for control of the Histadrut, he announced dramatically that he would be running for the post of Histadrut secretary-general, and that he had set up a new, independent list, in alliance with the dovish Meretz and the ultra-Orthodox Shas, to try to win control of the giant federation. Along with several supporters, he was immediately expelled from the Labor Party.

Astoundingly, Ramon pulled it off, ending Labor's uninterrupted 74-year hold on the Histadrut. He swept into power on May 10 with an extraordinary 47 percent of the vote, leaving Labor and the outgoing secretary-general, Haim Haberfeld, with just 33 percent, and the Likud trailing a poor third with 17 percent.

Ramon had mounted a shrewd campaign, carried out in lightning fast time, and with a \$600,000 budget that amounted to barely 40 percent of the sum Labor spent. He relied on the appeal of his youth, considerable charisma, and the stated aim of bringing a new openness into a bureaucracy widely perceived as corrupt and dominated by elderly, colorless party veterans. At strategic junctions up and down Israel, on polling day, massive billboards showed Ramon's blown up features beaming down on the voters under the slogan "*Haim Hadashim*," a Hebrew pun meaning not only "a new Haim" (Ramon replacing Haberfeld), but also "a new life" (or rather a new lease on life, for the Histadrut).

The defeat was a bitter blow for Labor—the loss of an important power base coming hard on the heels of the previous year's loss of the Jerusalem mayoralty (when veteran mayor Teddy Kollek was roundly defeated by Likud Knesset member Ehud Olmert). But much worse was to follow. Ramon had campaigned on a promise to clean up the Histadrut. Making good on that commitment, he and his

new team began checking over the books. The picture that emerged, he said, was "blacker than black."

The new brooms at the Histadrut began handing over huge piles of documentary evidence to the police, fueling a corruption investigation that continued and deepened in the course of the first half of 1995. Among those allegedly involved were Habermeld and his predecessor, Yisrael Kessar, minister of transport in the Rabin government, both of whom were suspected of having illegally siphoned off hundreds of thousands of shekels, possibly even millions, to finance personal political campaigns. At least three other serving Labor Knesset members were also mentioned in connection with alleged misuse of funds, and numerous veteran Histadrut officials spent long hours in police questioning.

Party officials declared strenuously that it would be wrong and unfair to taint Labor with corruption charges originating in the Histadrut, but many analysts believed such a connection was inevitable and understandable, and that the scandal could snowball sufficiently to undermine support for Labor in the 1996 elections, possibly even costing the party its hold on power.

Aides to Rabin, however, took an opposite view. Asserting that Rabin had never hidden his contempt for many of the Histadrut's working methods and was in no way identified with the Histadrut machine, they claimed that the party—and the prime minister in particular—would emerge strengthened from the affair. If the Histadrut was cleaned out and reformed during his term as prime minister, these aides argued, that could only boost Rabin's standing with the public.

The traditional Labor establishment suffered another blow when the Jewish Agency selected as its new chairman, on February 14, 1995, Avraham Burg, a dovish, Orthodox Labor Knesset member, despite Rabin's conspicuous failure to support his candidacy. (See "Dinitz Affair," below.) Combined with Ramon's seizure of power at the Histadrut, this was another major gain for a younger generation of Labor-linked politicians.

Ramon and Burg, indeed, had long been members of a so-called group of eight, all Labor Knesset members bent on reforming the party and eventually taking over leadership from the septuagenarians Rabin and Peres. Other members of the group include Yael Dayan, daughter of the late, legendary general Moshe Dayan, and deputy ministers Yossi Beilin and Nawaf Masalha (a Labor Arab Knesset member).

As the scandal over alleged misuse of Histadrut funds threatened to envelop the Labor Party in early 1995, Hagai Merom, the most outspoken member of the group of eight, suggested publicly that Rabin should step aside in advance of the scheduled 1996 elections and that Ramon should lead Labor and the left as the candidate for prime minister.

Ramon professed himself horrified by Merom's remarks and immediately pledged his unstinting support for Rabin. But Ramon, by virtue of his Histadrut victory, had proved he had the drive and charisma to win elections and made no secret of his eventual ambition to seek the Israeli premiership. Burg, too, if he proved a success at the Agency, would be well placed to further his Labor leadership aspirations.

OTHER POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS

Although general elections were not scheduled until the fall of 1996, political groupings across the spectrum began mobilizing and examining their options.

Foremost among those sectors of the population that considered themselves underrepresented in the current Knesset were Israel's 800,000 Arab citizens. Although they constituted between 15 and 20 percent of the voting public, they were represented by only two predominantly Arab parties, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Arab Democratic Party, with just five seats between them.

These five Knesset members gave Rabin his crucial majority of 61 in the 120-seat parliament. (Labor and its junior coalition partner, Meretz, had just 56 seats between them. Rabin's coalition was boosted in July, however, when two of three members of a right-wing breakaway party, Yi'ud, crossed to the government benches.) But although the Arab politicians had been able to use the leverage their position gave them to extract an increase in government funding for Arab local councils and other concessions, community leaders felt that their voting strength, if used more intelligently in the future, could give them far greater influence.

Well aware that disunity among voters had dissipated the potential Israeli Arab political clout for decades, activists began mobilizing in the winter of 1994 with the aim of getting together a single, unified Israeli Arab political party that would attract wholehearted Israeli Arab support in 1996 and could potentially yield a Knesset bloc numbering a dozen seats or more. The two central figures in this effort were Ahmed Tibi and Abdallah Nimr Darwish.

Tibi, a gynecologist who had become politically active, served as a kind of liaison between Israeli officials and Arafat before the autonomy agreement and later as an adviser to Arafat on Israeli affairs. Darwish, a former Communist and the leader of the Israeli Arab Islamic Movement, an increasingly popular grouping, represented the acceptable face of nonextremist Islam, charting the difficult course between supporting the Palestinian struggle for independence and respecting Israeli Arab citizenship and responsibility. "In Israel," he was quoted as saying, "under democratic conditions, violence is unacceptable." Darwish was reluctant to consider standing for the Knesset himself, but held frequent contacts with Tibi about throwing the weight of the movement behind him.

New factions and realignments were also being contemplated by Jewish politicians, and especially by David Levy, the former Likud foreign minister who had been soundly defeated by Benjamin Netanyahu in the 1993 battle for the party leadership, following Yitzhak Shamir's election defeat and resignation. Infuriated by what he considered Netanyahu's patronizing attitude to him, and by what he perceived as a deliberate effort by Netanyahu to reduce his power base within the Likud, Levy in late 1994 began taking soundings about the chances for success of a breakaway party, dedicated primarily to social issues and drawing much of its support from the Moroccan immigrant community of which Levy himself was a member.

By April 1995, Levy's supporters were claiming that their own polls showed that a party under his leadership could win between 10 and 20 Knesset seats. Even independent pollsters gave him at least five seats. On June 18, Levy finally made the split formal: He said that technically he would remain in the Likud until the next elections, but that he would then run for prime minister and campaign at the head of an as yet unnamed political movement, dedicated to social and economic issues.

While Levy geared up for 1996, other new political groupings were also taking shape. One of these, a movement tentatively titled the Third Way, aimed to represent the Israeli consensus on territorial compromise in favor of Palestinian autonomy, opposed to a Golan withdrawal; another was a new Russian immigrant party, led by former Soviet Prisoner of Zion Natan Sharansky. On June 7, 1995, Sharansky announced the establishment of a political movement aimed at making *aliyah* (immigration) and absorption top national priorities, to be called Yisrael Ba'Aliya.

THE POPULIST PRESIDENT

His uncle Chaim reputedly had a dictum that the only place a president should poke his nose was into his handkerchief. But throughout 1994, President Ezer Weizman continued to establish himself as one of Israel's most active presidents, intervening in areas many of his predecessors would have shied away from.

He took office in 1993 to considerable criticism from the right, which was disturbed by his longtime dovish positions and particularly by his early calls for negotiations with the PLO. Once installed in the President's House, however, Weizman did his utmost to show himself as representing the entire citizenship, irrespective of political orientation. Twice a week, on average, the presidential limousine went touring, paying visits to ordinary Israelis to learn about their problems—Russian and Ethiopian immigrants, members of kibbutzim and moshavim, settlers in the occupied territories, students, prisoners, and factory workers. "I see my task," he said during one such January 1994 outing, "as sowing as much unity as possible among the four-and-a-quarter million Jews and 800,000 Arabs in Israel. On these tours I'm trying, first of all, to see and learn for myself. I see things that perhaps some of my old colleagues don't see."

Pursuing the theme of fostering unity, Weizman launched an appeal to opposition political leaders to join Yitzhak Rabin's governing coalition, to enable it to rule with more stability. The call was rudely dismissed by opposition leaders early in the year, and Weizman was criticized by several political analysts for meddling in an issue outside his area of authority.

Early in 1995, Weizman's presidential outspokenness triggered the biggest storm of all when, in the aftermath of January's suicide bombing at Beit Lid, he issued an extraordinary call for the suspension of Israeli-PLO peace negotiations. Weizman echoed Likud and other opposition demands, his words running completely counter to the oft-stated government policy of maintaining the dialogue almost at all cost, to avoid a surrender to extremist opponents of the peace process.

"We have to suspend the talks," Weizman declared in a lengthy television inter-

view. He compared the battle for peace to a war, and said that when soldiers encountered a minefield, the last thing they should do was plow on relentlessly. Weizman said that he felt an obligation to speak out, since he believed he represented the views of the Israeli public. Press reports suggested that his remarks infuriated Rabin, although the prime minister went on record to deny this. All the way through to the summer of 1995, the president continued to call periodically for a suspension of the negotiations.

THE DINITZ AFFAIR

Simcha Dinitz, chairman of the Jewish Agency and a former Labor-appointed Israeli ambassador in Washington, was charged on February 14, 1994, with aggravated fraud and breach of trust, with the indictment filed days before a meeting in Jerusalem of the Agency's Board of Governors. He had been under investigation since early 1993 on suspicion of misusing Agency credit cards. (The Agency, which is responsible for overseeing immigration to Israel and the absorption of immigrants, has an annual budget of some \$500 million, much of it raised in the Diaspora.) The central charges related to a total of some \$22,000 in Agency funds that Dinitz was alleged to have spent on personal expenses.

Dinitz, who had held the chairmanship for seven years, immediately suspended himself from his post and agreed to resign formally in December, irrespective of the progress of his trial. On February 20, Yehiel Leket, a Labor politician who had held senior positions in the Agency and in the World Zionist Organization over the previous 20 years, was appointed acting chairman in Dinitz's stead. He began campaigning immediately to win the post on a permanent basis.

His chances of holding onto the position appeared to have been boosted in the summer, when Rabin declared that, with Leket at the helm, the Agency was in "stable and competent hands." But several other candidates were put forward. Among those mentioned were Keren Hayesod head and former Labor Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel; the former Likud mayor of Tel Aviv, Shlomo Lahat; and Avraham Burg (whose father, Yosef, was for many years the leader of the National Religious Party). On February 14, 1995, an ad hoc committee of the Agency's board of governors selected Burg over Leket for the permanent chairmanship.

The Dinitz trial, meanwhile, began on September 28, 1994, in Jerusalem district court. Dinitz pleaded not guilty to the charges against him. The trial was still continuing well into 1995.

Meanwhile, Meir Shetreet, a Likud Knesset member who had served as the Agency's treasurer, was also under investigation for alleged misuse of Agency funds.

THE DERI TRIAL

Another political trial that rumbled on throughout 1994 and 1995 was that of Arye Deri, the former interior minister and political leader of the Shas ultra-Orthodox party. (See AJYB 1995, pp. 426–31.) By mid-1995, the Jerusalem district

court was sitting four days a week, but was still months if not years away from hearing all the evidence on the corruption charges leveled against Deri and three associates. In late summer, the prosecution said it still had 150 witnesses to call and was unlikely to complete its presentation before March 1996. The defense was itself planning to call up to 100 witnesses. Analysts estimated that, at the current rate of progress, the trial could go on for a decade or more. Deri himself was expected to spend weeks, if not months, on the witness stand, having composed a written answer to the complex charges that ran to about 1,000 pages.

The cost of the trial—which centered on charges of misallocation of Interior Ministry funds by Deri, often allegedly to finance preferred Shas religious institutions—was acknowledged by both defense and prosecution to be astronomical. Before the case even came to court, a special squad of up to 50 police officers had spent three years investigating Deri's financial affairs. The police documentation apparently ran to half a million pages, supplemented by 7,500 hours of taped interviews.

Other allegations of misuse of government funds, meanwhile, were being probed by police investigating the Religious Affairs Ministry. Ministry officials from both Shas and the National Religious Party were suspected of allocating millions of shekels to organizations reporting nonexistent students and classes that never happened.

The Economy

The peace process helped fuel something of an economic boom in Israel, which enjoyed a growth rate for 1994 of more than 6.5 percent, with predictions for 1995 of 4.7 percent.

Inflation continued to constitute a problem in 1994, although by mid-1995 there were significant signs of improvement. Having projected an 8-percent inflation figure at the start of 1994, the government was forced to acknowledge by spring that this was overly optimistic. Three key factors pushed the 1994 inflation figure to 14.5 percent: surging housing prices, increases in fruit and vegetable prices, and rising private consumption. Halfway through 1995, by contrast, cautious early-year talk of single-digit inflation still seemed realistic, with the monthly indices kept down by a distinct slowdown in the housing market, helped by a concerted government drive to make more housing available.

Having fallen from 11.2 percent in 1992 to 10 percent in 1993, unemployment continued to slide gradually downward, to 7.8 percent of the working population at the end of 1994, and barely 7 percent by the end of June 1995. The drop in the jobless rates was helped by the ongoing overall economic growth and by the relative decline in immigration from the former Soviet Union. Importantly, longer-term indicators were also encouraging, with a survey of situations-vacant advertisements for the 1990–1993 period showing a 30-percent increase over the previous four years.

The GDP bounced back: from 1993's 3.4 percent, to 6.8 percent in 1994, with

per capita growth up from 0.9 percent in 1993 to 4.3 percent. Total GDP stood at \$74 billion, with per capita production at \$13,740.

Private consumption went on roaring upward, rising 9.3 percent overall and 6.8 percent per capita. Among the factors: easier credit and housing loan facilities; more competitive consumer prices; growing spending power among new immigrants; the impact of substantial public-sector wage rises; and the tendency among disappointed stock-market players to move their assets into more liquid avenues.

As for Israel's position in the global economy, the picture was mixed. Exports performed better than expected—boosted by the government's expansion of its export trade-risk insurance program, with the addition of Jordan and the Palestinian autonomous areas as insured destinations—to total \$16.051 billion. But import levels soared as well—fueled most significantly by the Bank of Israel's policy of leaving the shekel-dollar exchange rate almost unchanged from mid-1994—to a whopping \$23.369 billion. Concern over the widening balance of trade deficit—\$7.318 billion for 1994—extended on into 1995, when the deficit was growing by nearly a billion dollars a month.

The Bank of Israel had described 1993's rate of privatization of government companies as "unsatisfactory," and things took a turn for the worse in 1994. The projected revenue target of 4.6 billion shekels was rendered irrelevant before the year had even begun, when the Government Companies Authority overseeing privatization was forced to announce the suspension of most nonbank privatization projects. This came in the aftermath of a 24-hour strike on December 9, 1993, by the Histadrut labor federation, called to emphasize its determination to maintain existing labor practices and status for workers even after privatization. The subsequent falls on the Tel Aviv stock exchange further undermined the process, prompting the eleventh-hour cancellation of a planned 800-million shekel offering in the Shikun Ufituah Building and Development Corporation. Over the entire year, in fact, the government brought in just 600 million shekels from the stock exchange through sales of equity in corporations and banks, less than a fifth of 1993 revenues. The much-anticipated privatization programs for companies such as El Al and Bezeq communications, therefore, made no significant progress.

Tourism to Israel continued to surge upward, rising 12 percent in 1994 to a record total of 2.17 million arrivals—this despite concern that February's Hebron massacre would badly harm the industry. There were substantial increases in arrivals from Egypt, from the Far East, and from Eastern Europe. Outgoing tourism also soared, with 1.5 million Israelis touring abroad in 1994—34 percent of them choosing to holiday in Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus, attracted by the short journeys and low prices. Some hotels in Turkey reported that 85 percent of their high-season bookings came from Israel.

On the Tel Aviv stock exchange, 1994 was an unmitigated disaster—the year that saw the collapse of the five-year-old bull market. The General Share Index fell a shattering 47.3 percent, the Variables Index 30 percent, and the Parallel (non-blue-chip) Index 59.9 percent. Average daily turnover in 1993 had been 418 million

shekels; by December 1994, the typical daily turnover was 100 million shekels, or less. In the course of 1993, there had been 285 new issues; in 1994, there were just 177. In 1993, 10.6 billion shekels worth of equity had been raised; the figure for 1994 was 5.9 billion.

The spectacular nosedive was prompted and then sustained by a combination of factors. Prominent among them: a January clampdown on commercial bank credit; January and February warnings from analysts, Bank of Israel officials, and government economic ministers that high market levels had lost touch with reality; a series of investigations of portfolio managers for market-rigging; fears for the peace process in the wake of the Hebron massacre, hitting foreign investment levels particularly hard; the halt in almost all privatization activity, reflecting and cementing the sense of collapsing confidence; and crucially, an August government announcement of a planned tax on stock-exchange profits, followed by months of cabinet zigzagging on the provisions of the tax, and then on the workability of the entire idea, leading eventually (in January 1995) to its cancellation.

The state budget for 1995, approved by the Knesset on December 29, 1994, was 147 billion shekels.

FOREIGN WORKERS

The restrictions on Palestinian laborers entering Israel, imposed in the wake of the flurry of suicide bombings, left Israeli employers—particularly in the construction, tourism, and agriculture sectors—desperately understaffed. Although there were tens of thousands of Israeli job-seekers, few were willing to take work in these generally low-paid sectors. Under pressure from the employers, the government opted to allow the importation of foreign laborers from countries including Romania, Poland, Thailand, the Philippines, and various black African countries. By late summer, some 34,000 foreign laborers were working in the country legally, along with an estimated 15,000 illegals.

The Labor Ministry licensed 26 firms to bring in foreign workers and insure that they were properly treated. However, many other firms operated illegally, and as the months went by, there was a welter of publicity concerning foreign workers being exploited, paid appalling salaries, overworked, and housed in overcrowded conditions. A mere ten harassed Labor Ministry inspectors were responsible for supervising the workers' conditions nationwide, a number that ministry officials themselves admitted was woefully inadequate. Newspaper reports highlighted innumerable breaches of minimal employment standards.

In response to the negative publicity, the Builders Association formed an inspectorate of its own, designed to insure that employers provided proper housing conditions and maintained reasonable work practices. The Association also insisted that it was trying to attract Jewish workers, but that local job-seekers simply refused to work in the construction sector. Labor-rights activists derided that claim, arguing that Jews would enter the building industry if salaries were raised from an average

of less than \$1,000 a month. By the end of 1994, Labor Minister Ora Namir was warning of the adverse social implications of employing foreign laborers, noting that although they were officially employed on short contracts, in many cases these would be renewed, workers would seek to bring their families over, and Israel would eventually be faced with an unwanted dependent community of immigrant workers.

HOUSING SHORTAGE

The frequent closure of the territories exacerbated another problem facing the Israeli economy, the lack of affordable housing. The absence from their jobs of tens of thousands of Palestinian building workers, only partly compensated for by the importing of foreign workers, meant new homes took longer than usual to complete. As a result, fewer construction projects were undertaken.

The building slowdown, combined with the lengthy bureaucratic procedures for allocating new land for construction, came at a time when more and more new immigrants were seeking to buy their first homes. This produced a housing shortage in central Israel, which sent house prices spiraling upward throughout the year.

Under the previous Likud government, immigration "czar" Ariel Sharon had tried to alleviate the problem by bulldozing through the red tape, paying incentives to contractors to speed up projects, and building thousands of new homes in the south of the country. But the lack of employment opportunities in this area meant that many of these new homes were still standing empty. Again, under the Likud government, many families found cheaper housing in West Bank settlements. Under Labor, which virtually froze building in West Bank settlements, that option was largely closed off, and only the most ideologically committed families chose to make new homes there.

With prices escalating at a rate of almost 3 percent every month, and surveys showing that young Israeli couples blamed the government for their inability to purchase even a small apartment in the center of the country, the cabinet held a series of three crisis meetings on the subject in the space of eight days in May 1994. They emerged having agreed on measures to free up land for 50,000 new housing units by the end of the year, to set aside cheaper housing for those most in need, and to introduce incentives for contractors to complete jobs at top speed.

The government also pressed ahead with a program allowing kibbutzim and moshavim in central Israel to sell off land for residential building, with the government receiving most of the private developers' payments for what was, after all, state land, and the kibbutzim and moshavim getting compensation—up to 30 percent of the sale price—for the years they had tended the land. By the end of 1994, it was estimated that the kibbutzim and moshavim had sold off or had agreements to sell off 25,000 acres of agricultural land—one-twelfth of all land in Israel zoned for agriculture.

The sell-offs were opposed by some elements who feared the deterioration of Israeli agriculture and by others who believed the population density in central

Israel was becoming excessive. But the program went on because of the sheer weight of demand for housing.

Thirty-two contractors were also building what was planned as Israel's fourth largest town, at historic Modi'in, just inside the 1967 border, between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. When the first completed homes went on sale in early October 1994, 1,500 were snapped up within two weeks. In all, the town was set to house 250,000 residents in 65,000 housing units.

Even the new package of housing measures and programs did little to slow the relentless rise in prices which became the dominant factor in the month-by-month calculations of the rising cost-of-living index and a major economic headache for the Rabin government.

In 1995, however, the government's housing measures did at last show signs of making an impact. Price rises slowed appreciably in the country overall, although steady increases were maintained in the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv areas.

BANKERS SENTENCED

On February 16, 1994, 11 years after their manipulations of the Israeli banking system caused a stock-market crash that cost the Israeli government \$7 billion, and after a four-year trial, 14 of the former top executives of the country's four largest banks were convicted of breaching a 1977 law against selling shares on false pretenses.

Two months later, three of the bankers were sentenced to six-to-eight-month jail terms by the Jerusalem district court for their roles in the scandal: Raphael Recanati of the Israel Discount Bank, Eliahu Cohen of the same bank, and Mordechai Einhorn of Bank Leumi. The major banks involved were accused of working in concert to encourage their clients to buy shares in their own banks, pushing the share prices up way beyond their real value. When, on October 6, 1983, the public began selling bank shares en masse, the banks did not have the funds to redeem them, the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange plummeted by 70 percent, and the government had little choice but to mount a salvage operation, guaranteeing to redeem all shares at pre-collapse prices, in the process acquiring a major share in the ownership of the banks.

Apart from the jail terms and other individual fines handed down by the court, the four big banks—Discount, Leumi, Hapoalim, and Mizrachi—were each fined one million shekels (about \$330,000).

At the end of April 1994, another of the disgraced ex-top bankers, former Bank Leumi chairman Ernst Japhet, began his trial on fraud charges arising from the bank-shares collapse. He had left the country in 1987, only returning on January 28 to stand trial. On May 18, 1994, he was fined 900,000 shekels and sentenced to 11 months in jail for share manipulation.

OTHER DOMESTIC MATTERS

Changes in the Israeli Army

On October 9, 1994, the Israeli cabinet approved the appointment of Amnon Shahak, the deputy chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), to succeed Ehud Barak as the 15th chief of staff.

Barak had taken over the army's command in April 1991 and had immediately embarked on a program to tighten discipline in the ranks, improve the efficiency of the command structure, and train his forces for the high-tech battlefield of the nineties. Working within strict budgetary limitations, Barak imposed cuts in numerous areas—including the education corps, the Galei Zahal radio station, the publications division, and even his own headquarters staff. His term in command was not an unqualified success, being marred by a perceived fall in morale in some fighting units, by a failure in admittedly near-impossible circumstances to find a military answer to Islamic extremist suicide bombers, and also by a series of fatal training accidents.

The statistics showed that deaths in training actually declined during Barak's tenure, compared with previous eras, but the new openness with which the Israeli media focused on such accidents meant that Barak attracted more criticism than had his predecessors. In one particularly grave training mishap, in November 1992, at the Tze'elim base in the Negev desert, five soldiers lost their lives. What is more, it later transpired that Barak, Shahak, and more than a dozen senior members of the IDF were themselves barely 200 meters from the spot where a missile, fired in error, landed and caused the fatalities.

The accidents continued through 1994, resulting in eight fatalities. Clearly, putting a halt to this phenomenon would be a high priority for Shahak, who formally took over from Barak on January 1, 1995.

Barak—an accomplished pianist, a walking encyclopedia of Hebrew literature, and the holder of a doctorate in mathematics, who reportedly masterminded the killing of Yasir Arafat's PLO operations chief, Abu Jihad, in Tunis in 1988—was being touted as a near-certainty to join the Rabin cabinet almost from the day he stepped down. He spent most of the traditional 100-day "cooling-off" period after leaving the army in the United States on business, but by late spring was widely known to be considering an offer from Rabin to join the Labor government as minister of the interior. Barak was formally sworn in on July 18, 1995, but Rabin's hope that he would bring a new credibility to the cabinet, particularly on security matters, was gravely undermined by a spate of press reports placing personal blame for the Tze'elim base accident on Barak, including accusations that he had abandoned wounded and dying soldiers and flown off in his private helicopter. Barak furiously and convincingly denied the reports, but they meant that he entered politics under something of a cloud.

Shahak, meanwhile, with a characteristic lack of fanfare, effected a smooth take-

over of the army's command. The 50-year-old, Tel Aviv-born, notoriously tight-lipped soldier had begun his military career 32 years earlier as a paratrooper, picking up two medals for valor commanding a paratroop battalion in the 1967 war and serving as second-in-command of all paratroop units in the 1973 war, before rising to the position of regional commander in Lebanon after Israel's 1982 invasion.

His appointment was welcomed by Palestinian leaders, who were impressed by his integrity over the long negotiating sessions he headed in the run-up to the Gaza-and-Jericho-first accord, and who regarded him—albeit in the absence of any public confirmation from Shahak himself—as a firm supporter of the autonomy process.

Shahak had served as Barak's deputy during the relatively straightforward part of the phased autonomy program, the pullout from Gaza and Jericho. As chief of staff he faced the far more daunting task of overseeing the planned army pullout from other major West Bank Palestinian population centers as the peace process moved forward, while providing security for 4,000–5,000 Jewish settlers living in Gaza and 130,000 settlers in the West Bank.

On a more mundane but also vitally important level, Shahak inherited an army with a unique manpower problem in the history of modern Israel. Where his predecessors sought to make the best use of too few troops, Shahak found himself with a surplus: the post-Yom Kippur War baby boom combined with the influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union left him with more recruits than he needed for the leaner army he and Barak had been shaping. Accordingly, one of Shahak's first areas of focus was easing the burden of service of male reservists—an average 30 days a year—and considering reduced statutory service for men and women.

Immigration

Jews from the former Soviet Union continued to flood into Israel at an average rate of close to 6,000 a month; by the end of 1994, about 550,000 Soviet immigrants had arrived since the start of the decade.

Surveys showed the new arrivals to be settling in relatively well; close to half the new arrivals had reached or exceeded the average Israeli standard of living, and half owned their own homes. Four out of five, furthermore, had jobs, albeit, in three-quarters of cases, at a level below the jobs they held in their former country.

With the basic absorption problems apparently receding, a new problem came to the fore, that of the "Jewishness" of many of the new arrivals. Interior Ministry officials estimated that up to one-third of the immigrants were not Jewish under Halakhah (Jewish law), that is, their mothers were not Jewish, and they had not undergone a religious conversion.

The Israeli Law of Return grants citizenship to anyone with even a single Jewish grandparent; when it comes to issues such as birth, marriage, and death, however, it is not the secular government but the Orthodox rabbinate that holds sway. As a result, increasing numbers of Russian immigrants were confronting Orthodox rab-

binical authorities who refused to sanction their proposed marriages. There were even cases where immigrants were refused burial in Jewish cemeteries.

Tazpit, a polling organization specializing in Russian immigrants, estimated that there were about 20,000 immigrant couples whose children would have difficulty getting married in Israel because the mothers were not Jewish. Describing these people as "immigrants in limbo," officials from the Reform and Conservative movements predicted that their sheer number would eventually lead to the breakdown of the religious status quo and a separation of synagogue and state.

By the end of the year, the problem of burials was on the way to resolution, with the government having ordered the establishment of secular cemeteries. Early in 1995, land was designated in the Beersheba, Tel Aviv, and Haifa areas.

As for marriages, some Russian couples evaded the rabbinate's restrictions by making brief trips back to Russia to tie the knot; a few hundred others appeased the rabbinate by converting; others flew to Cyprus for a ceremony; still others paid \$500 for a marriage certificate issued in Paraguay. Most significantly, legislation was being drafted that would allow for free choice in matters of marriage and divorce. Initiated by the Reform movement, this legislation was designed not "to do away with Orthodox marriages, but simply to let people choose for themselves," according to Rabbi Uri Regev, of Reform's Israel Religious Action Center.

Russian immigrants were believed to have played a crucial role in Rabin's 1992 election victory, with well over half, and possibly as many as 70 percent, of immigrant voters having voted Labor. That support was severely undermined in early October 1994, when Labor and Social Affairs Minister Ora Namir intimated that perhaps Israel should consider some kind of selection procedure for immigrants since, as she put it, "one-third of them are seniors, one-third are handicapped and almost a third are single mothers." Namir, who said she was speaking out in order to make clear what a heavy burden the immigration was for the state, making it difficult to help young native Israelis, was heavily criticized by fellow ministers. On October 9, the government took the extraordinary step of issuing a statement "firmly rejecting" the notion of limiting immigration. Official Ministry of Absorption statistics showed that Namir's assertion was widely off the mark. Only 1 percent of immigrants were handicapped; only 10 percent of immigrant families were one-parent; and only 15 percent of immigrants were retirees.

One survey carried out in the days after Namir's remarks indicated the damage she had caused to her party. Three-quarters of immigrant respondents said they would vote against Labor if elections were held soon.

Comments like Namir's, combined with the anger many Russians felt at having to take jobs outside their professions or at a level beneath their skills, led to renewed pressure for the formation of a Russian immigrant party to run in the 1996 elections. Such a party had competed in 1992, but had not been particularly well organized and had not been backed by the highest-profile Russian immigrant leader-activist, Natan Sharansky. It received fewer than 11,000 votes, far below the level needed to secure Knesset representation. Private opinion polls suggested that a Sharansky-

led party could cross the Knesset threshold, perhaps winning as many as five or six seats in 1996. Low-level preparations for the launching of such a party continued throughout 1994 and into 1995.

ETHIOPIANS

Immigrants from Ethiopia continued to arrive at a rate of approximately 100 per month, most of them from the "Falas Mura" community, whose members had converted to Christianity and were left behind when the mass of Ethiopian Jews were brought to Israel. Argument continued over the religious status of Ethiopian Jews, with the Orthodox Chief Rabbinate still insisting that all Ethiopians undergo symbolic conversions as a precondition for marriage.

The High Court of Justice in the summer of 1994 ordered the rabbinate to establish regional marriage registries, where Ethiopians could be married without converting. By early 1995, two such registries were known to be handling Ethiopian marriages.

Religion

The Orthodox rabbinical establishment continued to resist efforts by the Reform and Masorti (Conservative) movements to achieve greater influence and standing, prompting controversies and confrontations in a number of fields.

On January 26, 1994, for example, the High Court of Justice granted petitions filed by a number of groups, including the Israel Religious Action Center (of the Reform movement), to the effect that candidates for seats on Israeli town and regional religious councils could not be rejected merely on grounds of non-Orthodoxy, as had been the norm. Within a month, however, a group of about 50 leading rabbis approved a resolution blocking non-Orthodox candidates, in defiance of the court. In practice, this meant that, as the months went by, Masorti and Reform candidates were rejected in turn in Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Petah Tikvah, and elsewhere. Finally, in December 1994, a Conservative rabbi, Rafi Friedman, was nominated to the religious council in Karmiel by the town's ruling Labor-Meretz coalition. And in February 1995, a non-Orthodox woman, Bruriah Barish, was voted onto the Tel Aviv religious council.

While the Reform movement maintained its efforts to secure unequivocal government recognition of its conversions inside Israel, the Israeli wing of the Conservative movement launched a new offensive by converting 14 children adopted abroad by Israelis at a spring 1995 ceremony in a ritual bath at the Masorti kibbutz, Hanaton, in the lower Galilee. The Chief Rabbinate had refused to convert the children—adopted from Eastern Europe and South America—since the parents did not observe the Sabbath and dietary laws or send the children to religious schools.

Orthodox politicians and the rabbinate voiced a torrent of protest in early December 1994 over a High Court decision upholding gay rights. The court had ruled on

November 30 that El Al must grant the same benefits to the live-in partner of a homosexual flight attendant as it does to the partner of a heterosexual employee. The rabbinate issued a statement claiming that the ruling "provides a dangerous opening toward justifying a way of life defined in the Torah as an abomination."

DEATH OF THE REBBE

The death on June 12, 1994, at age 92, of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Menachem Mendel Schneerson, in New York, was received without visible signs of mourning at Kfar Chabad, the Hassidic village near Ben-Gurion Airport, the center of the Chabad movement in Israel and home to 500 families. In the last weeks and months of the Rebbe's life, Chabad had frantically stepped up its campaign implying that the messiah was none other than Schneerson himself. In the immediate aftermath of his death, Chabad activists preached that the Rebbe had merely gone on a mission to heaven and would soon return to redeem the world. Chabad spokesmen pledged to intensify their outreach program, to open new kindergartens around the country, expand the "tefillin" booths around Israel, and maintain and expand the various educational institutions at Kfar Chabad itself.

Media Competition

Concern that too much of the Israeli media network was controlled by too few people reached new heights in 1994, as the handful of media moguls tightened their grip.

In the newspaper market, the closure of the tabloid daily *Hadashot* and the perilous economic position of the kibbutz-affiliated *Al Hamishmar* and Labor-linked *Davar* meant that Israel had only three thriving mainstream Hebrew daily newspapers: *Ha'aretz*, *Ma'ariv*, and *Yediot Aharonot*.

Each of the three was owned by a family with extensive interests elsewhere in the media. The Schocken family, owners of the prestigious *Ha'aretz* broadsheet, also owned a string of local weekly newspapers and was competing for a share in the new regional radio market. The Mozes family, owners of the biggest-selling tabloid daily, *Yediot Aharonot*, which held two-thirds of the daily market, also owned 14 weeklies, a leading women's magazine, a teen magazine, a 30-percent share in one of the country's cable television firms, and a quarter share of one of three companies behind Israel's commercial Channel 2 television station. And the Nimrodi family, owners of *Yediot's* main competitor, *Ma'ariv*, which held about a fifth of the daily market, also owned women's and teen magazines, a 20-percent share of a cable TV firm, and an 18-percent share in one of the Channel 2 companies.

Worries over this kind of pervasive "cross-ownership" led to the formation of a group of academics, jurists, politicians, and others urging legislation to loosen the moguls' grip—to little immediate effect.

Concerns were heightened by the potential conflicts of interest involved in the

Mozez and Nimrodi families' holdings outside the media world in advertising, publishing, real estate, insurance, hotels, private medicine, and more. Some journalists at *Yediot* and *Ma'ariv* spoke privately about receiving instructions from their owners to drop articles that reflected badly on the owners' outside interests, or to give disproportionate coverage to firms backed by the owners.

The fierce competition between the trio, and especially between *Yediot* and *Ma'ariv*, led to the newspapers themselves making headlines in late summer. Police arrested two private detectives suspected of bugging the phones of *Yediot* and *Ma'ariv* staffers, and called in senior editorial staff at both newspapers for questioning. The inquiry deepened over the following months, continuing well into 1995, with allegations that *Yediot* and *Ma'ariv* had routinely been bugging each other's journalists and editorial offices, and that several of the private detectives involved had also been bugging politicians' offices, military facilities, and even the residence of Israel's president.

In the first steps toward curbing the media moguls' power, the state barred Mozez and Nimrodi from buying into regional radio, since they already had shares in TV. And Communications Minister Shulamit Aloni pledged that when Channel 2 licenses came up for renewal later in the decade, she would push for the Nimrodi and Mozez shares to be scaled down.

While the newspaper market constricted, the television industry continued to expand with the success of commercial Channel 2 (introduced in late 1993) and the relentless spread of cable television (piped into almost half of Israeli households by the end of 1994). The new competition left state Israel Television floundering, since Channel 2's mix of sitcoms, talk shows, game shows, and streamlined news programs regularly outstripped the more staid state TV channel in the monthly ratings. Cable TV, bringing channels such as MTV and CNN into Israeli homes, contributed to what was seen as a growing Americanization of Israel, a phenomenon reflected in the invasion of American fast-food chains and clothing stores.

Teenage Murderers

When Herzliyah taxi driver Derek Roth was found dead at the wheel of his cab on January 9, having been shot in the back at close range, police and indeed the media immediately assumed that Palestinian terrorists were responsible. Within hours of his funeral the following day, however, police were uncovering an even more unpalatable truth: that Roth had been killed by his fellow countrymen, teenagers at that, apparently imitating cinema violence. Two middle-class Herzliyah teenagers, one aged 15, the other 16, were arrested and taken into custody, suspected of planning and executing the murder, which one of them told police had been carried out "for the fun of it." The youths were apprehended after they bragged about the killing at school. The killing set off a wave of public soul-searching, with newspaper columns and radio phone-ins questioning whether Israeli youth had "gone bad" and lamenting that Israel had now become so "normal" that its teenag-

ers, like those in the West, were aping the violent murders that were the staple fare of movies and television. Once the initial furor had abated, however, and there was time for more serious reflection and analysis, most people concluded that Israeli teens were a generally quite impressive group, and that the Roth murder had been a tragic aberration.

On October 24, after a month-long trial, the two Herzliyah teenagers were convicted and jailed for 16 years each.

"Missing" Yemenite Children

Ever since the late 1940s and early 1950s, when some 50,000 Jews were brought to Israel from Yemen in what was known as "Operation Magic Carpet," many in the Yemenite community had charged that some of their children were missing, that soon after they arrived, healthy children were forcibly taken away from them for "medical treatment" and never returned. Some claimed that the infants were given to Holocaust survivors to replace offspring killed by the Nazis; others believed the children were sold off to rich American Jews to raise funds for the fledgling state; still others asserted that the babies were used in medical research.

A government inquiry in the 1960s, which followed up the alleged disappearance of hundreds of Yemenite children, found four cases of illegal adoption but absolutely no evidence of children being deliberately taken from their families. Investigators concluded that in many cases children had died from diseases they were carrying when they entered Israel and that in the prevailing confusion their families were not properly informed.

That investigation did little to satisfy the Yemenite community, however. Another probe launched in 1988, headed by retired judge Moshe Shalgi, dragged on for years. Its report, issued on December 19, 1994, also found no evidence to support claims that children had been taken from their parents by the authorities for illegal adoption.

In March 1994, the whole affair was brought back into the headlines by a self-styled Yemenite "rabbi," Uzi Meshulam, who barricaded himself and 40 armed militant followers inside his home-synagogue complex in the central Israel town of Yehud. Meshulam refused to come out until the government had agreed to set up a new, independent inquiry into the "missing" children, 4,000 of whom, he claimed, had been kidnapped in a systematic government operation.

The siege of Yehud lasted for almost two months; it ended on May 10 in an exchange of fire in which one of Meshulam's followers was killed, and the "rabbi" and several of his followers were arrested. In February 1995, Meshulam was sentenced to an eight-year jail term by Tel Aviv district court, and 11 of his followers received prison terms ranging from 15 months to four-and-a-half years. A month earlier, though, he had achieved his ostensible aim: on January 8, 1995, the government appointed a state commission of inquiry into the issue of missing Yemenite children, which was still hearing testimony late in the year.

Noteworthy Events

National Police Chief Rafi Peled resigned on April 9 amid publicity over his alleged acceptance of favors from a hotel chain and a private contractor. He was succeeded by Assaf Hefetz.

Rabbi Moshe Teitelbaum, leader of the Brooklyn-based, virulently anti-Zionist Satmar sect, visited Israel in early June 1994 to inaugurate a \$5-million yeshivah complex in the Jerusalem ultra-Orthodox neighborhood of Ezra Torah. Teitelbaum and his followers do not recognize the secular state, do not vote in any elections, and do not converse in Hebrew. Accordingly, the rabbi refused to fly to Israel on the national carrier El Al and declined to visit the "Zionist-liberated" Western Wall. His followers said he was visiting the "Holy Land" rather than the State of Israel. In an address to thousands of followers, Teitelbaum declared that "Zionism destroyed Diaspora Jewry, and brought about bloodshed with Islam."

Archaeologists working at a site near Kiryat Gat, in the northern Negev, in early August found a 2,100-year-old marriage contract, written in Aramaic, on a ceramic tablet. The *ketubah*, bearing wording similar to modern equivalents, was believed to be the oldest ever discovered.

In October, Health Minister Ephraim Sneh signed a controversial regulation limiting smoking in the country's 60,000 workplaces to outside an office's premises or to a designated smoking room. The regulation had waited months for final approval, having passed through the Knesset in February. But Yitzhak Rabin, a heavy smoker himself, who was serving as acting health minister in the period between Haim Ramon's resignation and Sneh's appointment, refused to implement the law himself, saying that it would be hypocritical for him to do so.

On October 30, Prince Philip, husband of Britain's Queen Elizabeth II, arrived in Israel for a private visit. At a ceremony at the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial, he accepted an award recognizing his late mother, Princess Alice of Greece, as a Righteous Gentile, for having hidden a Jewish family in her palace in Athens during World War II.

On December 4, Yihyeh Avraham, who for 44 years had refused to grant his wife, Ora, 66, a divorce, died at the age of 70. The couple had married in Yemen when Ora was 12, and she had first asked for a divorce in 1950, saying Yihyeh had never loved her. He consistently refused to divorce her and spent the last 32 years of his life in Ramleh prison, as the Chief Rabbinate sought in vain to pressure him to grant Ora a *get* (a Jewish divorce document).

Kibbutz chicken farmer Russell Hessayon, 40, became the biggest-ever winner in the national Israel lottery in late December. An English-born immigrant who lived on the Golan kibbutz Mevo Hammah, Hessayon had hoped to keep his identity secret, covering his face when telling reporters, as he went to collect his prize, that he intended to stay on at the kibbutz, getting up as usual by 6 A.M. to work with the chickens. After his name leaked out, however, he dropped out of sight.

A Gaza man won \$2 million in the lottery in February 1995, but had to wait

almost a month before he could pick up his prize in Tel Aviv because the Gaza Strip was sealed off from Israel following the Beit Lid suicide bombing.

There were red faces at the Chief Rabbinate at Passover 1995, when it was discovered that Ahmad Mugarbi, an East Jerusalem businessman who for years had been paid to buy Israel's "hametz" each Passover, was actually born to a Jewish mother. Mugarbi was rapidly replaced by fellow Jerusalemite Salim Daoud.

The McDonald's fast-food chain rapidly established a foothold in Israel in the first half of 1995, opening more than a dozen restaurants, including one at a kibbutz. The chain was also set to open its first-ever kosher restaurants later in the year—at Mevasseret Zion outside Jerusalem and at Rehovot.

Vital Statistics

Israel's population at the end of 1994 stood at 5,460,000 million, of whom 81.1 percent—4,430,000 million—were Jews. That compared with 4,335,200 Jews in 1993. There were 777,000 Muslims (14.2 percent), 161,000 Christians (3 percent), and 92,000 Druse and others (1.7 percent). By June 30, 1995, Israel's population had increased to 5,533,000. The Central Bureau of Statistics put the number of Jews living in the territories as of that date at 133,000.

Road violence continued to take a terrible toll. In 1994, although there was a 6.7-percent decline in total casualties, there was a 4.3-percent increase in fatalities: 528 people were killed on the roads, compared to 506 the previous year.

Personalities

Among Israeli personalities who died in 1994 were Maj. Gen. Nehemia Tamari, the head of Israel's Central Command (including the West Bank), when his helicopter crashed in heavy fog near Jerusalem, on January 12, aged 47; Yigal Hurvitz, finance minister under Menachem Begin from 1979 to 1981, on January 10, aged 75; Haim Bar-Lev, Israel's ambassador to Russia and the IDF chief of staff (1968–72) whose "Bar-Lev Line" on the Suez Canal fell when Egypt attacked in the Yom Kippur War, on May 7, aged 69; Aharon Yariv, the former head of military intelligence (1964–72) and director of Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, on May 7, aged 74; Dr. Yohanan Bader, a longtime leader of the Herut Party and a Knesset member from 1949 to 1977, on June 17, aged 93; Knesset member and Nazareth mayor Tawfik Ziyad, head of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and of the Israeli Communist Party, in a car accident, on July 5, aged 65; former Mapam Knesset member Mohammad Watad, in a car crash, on September 24, aged 57; Eliahu Lankin, a former ambassador to South Africa, commander of the *Altalena*, the prestate Irgun arms ship that was sunk in 1948 on orders of David Ben-Gurion after the underground group refused to turn over its cargo to the new state's army, on August 10, aged 79; Yehoshafat Harkabi, the former chief of military intelligence and a Hebrew University Middle East expert, one of the first

major ex-military figures to call for negotiations with the PLO and a withdrawal from the territories, on August 26, aged 72; Zajneba Hardaga-Susic, a Muslim woman who saved Jews from the Nazis in wartime Yugoslavia and who came to Israel with her family from war-torn Sarajevo in February along with members of the Jewish community, in October, aged 77; Shlomo Goren, the former Israeli and army chief rabbi, of a heart attack, on October 29, aged 77.

Prominent Israelis who died in the first half of 1995 included Yisrael Galili (Balashnikov), developer of the Galil assault rifle and co-developer of the Uzi submachine gun, on March 9, aged 72; Mattityahu Peled, retired general, Tel Aviv University Arabic professor, and Knesset member for the Jewish-Arab Progressive List for Peace (1984–88), on March 10, aged 72; Drora Havkin, leading singer-songwriter of the '60s and '70s, on April 23, aged 60; David Avidan, poet renowned for his inventive use of Hebrew, on May 11, aged 61; Rabbi Shaul Yisraeli, head of Jerusalem's Merkaz Harav Yeshivah and spiritual leader of religious Zionism, on June 17, aged 85; Meir Zorea, former general, Knesset member, and head of the commission that investigated the Shin Bet's killing of two Palestinians who hijacked bus 300 in 1984, on June 24, aged 72; Simon Herman, South African-born professor of social psychology at the Hebrew University and pioneering researcher on Jewish identity, on June 28, aged 83; Ya'akov Meridor, commander of the prestate Irgun underground and economics minister under Menachem Begin, on June 30, aged 81.

DAVID HOROVITZ

World Jewish Population, 1994

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS UPDATES, for the end of 1994, of the Jewish population estimates for the various countries of the world.¹ The estimates reflect some of the results of a prolonged and ongoing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry.² Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.

Since the end of the 1980s important geopolitical changes have affected the world scene, particularly in Eastern Europe. The major event was the political breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent states. The Jewish population has been sensitive to these changes, large-scale emigration from the former USSR being the most visible effect. In the present article, each republic of the former USSR is included as a separate country and listed in Europe or Asia, as appropriate. Similarly, new estimates appear for the several successor states of the former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In spite of the increased fragmentation of the global system of nations, about 95 percent of world Jewry is concentrated in ten countries. The aggregate of these major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of the size of total world Jewry, estimated at 13 million persons at the end of 1994. The country figures for 1994 were updated from those for 1993 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—migrations, vital events (births and deaths), and identificational changes (accessions and secessions). In addition, corrections were introduced in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations. Corresponding corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 1993 figures for major geographical regions (see table 1), so as to allow adequate comparison with the 1994 estimates.

¹The previous estimates, as of 1993, were published in *AJYB* 1995, vol. 95, pp. 466–92.

²Many of these activities are carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The authors acknowledge with thanks the collaboration of the many institutions and individuals in the different countries who have supplied information for this update.

In recent years, new data and estimates have become available for the Jewish populations of several countries through official population censuses and Jewish-sponsored sociodemographic surveys. Official sources that have yielded results on Jewish populations include the population census of the Soviet Union held in 1989, the Swiss census of 1990, the 1991 censuses in Canada and Australia, and the sample census conducted in the Russian Republic in February 1994. Independent country-wide studies include the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) in the United States and the Jewish sociodemographic surveys completed in South Africa and Mexico in 1991. Additional evidence on Jewish population characteristics emerged from the systematic monitoring of membership registers, vital statistics, and immigration records available from Jewish communities and other Jewish organizations in many countries or cities. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort to update the profile of world Jewry that began at the outset of the 1990s.³

The respective results basically confirmed the estimates we had reported in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry.⁴ While allowing for improved population estimates for the year 1994 under review here, these new data highlighted the increasing complexity of the sociodemographic and identificational processes underlying the definition of Jewish populations—hence the estimates of their sizes—the more so at a time of enhanced international migration.

A full review of the major conceptual problems appeared in the 1992 volume of the *American Jewish Year Book*⁵ and will only be briefly summarized here. Users of Jewish population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the consequent limitations of our estimates.

³Following the 1987 International Conference on Jewish Population Problems, sponsored by the major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established. Cochaired by Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University, ISAC coordinated and monitored Jewish population data collection internationally. See Sergio DellaPergola and Leah Cohen, eds., *World Jewish Population: Trends and Policies* (Jerusalem, 1992).

⁴See Roberto Bachi, *Population Trends of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1976); U. O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," AJYB 1981, vol. 81, pp. 61–117; U. O. Schmelz, *Aging of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1984); Sergio DellaPergola, "Changing Cores and Peripheries: Fifty Years in Socio-demographic Perspective," in *Terms of Survival: The Jewish World Since 1945*, ed. R. S. Wistrich (London, 1995), pp. 13–43.

⁵U. O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "World Jewish Population, 1990," AJYB 1992, vol. 92, pp. 485–91.

Presentation of Data

DEFINITIONS

The detailed estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent and country (tables 2–7 below) aim at the concept of “core” Jewish population. We define the core Jewish population as the aggregate of all those who, when asked, identify themselves as such; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. The core Jewish population includes all those who converted to Judaism or joined the Jewish group informally. It excludes those of Jewish descent who formally adopted another religion, as well as other Jewish individuals who did not convert out but currently disclaim being Jewish. The “extended” Jewish population includes Jews, ex-Jews, and non-Jews of Jewish parentage, while the “enlarged” Jewish population also includes the respective non-Jewish household members. These additions may result in significantly higher estimates (not reported below).

We provide separate figures for each country with approximately 100 or more resident core Jews. Residual estimates of Jews living in other smaller communities supplement some of the continental totals. For each of the reported countries, the four columns in the following tables provide the United Nations estimate of midyear 1995 total population,⁶ the estimated end-1994 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate.

ACCURACY RATING

There is wide variation in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries it would be best to indicate a range (minimum-maximum) rather than a definite figure for the number of Jews. It would be confusing, however, for the reader to be confronted with a long list of ranges; this would also complicate the regional and world totals. The figures actually indicated for most of the Diaspora communities should be understood as being the central value of the plausible range of the respective core Jewish populations. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely to the accuracy of the estimate.

The three main elements that affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature and quality of the base data, the recency of the base data, and the method of updating. A simple code combining these elements is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different quality levels of the reported estimates: (A) base figure derived from countrywide census or relatively reliable Jewish popula-

⁶United Nations, Population Division, *The Sex and Age Distribution of the World Populations; The 1994 Revision* (New York, 1994); Michel Louis Lévy and Marguerite Boucher, “Tous les pays du monde (1995),” *Populations et Sociétés*, no. 304 (Paris, 1995).

tion survey; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the respective country during the intervening period; (B) base figure derived from less accurate but recent countrywide Jewish population investigation; partial information on population movements in the intervening period; (C) base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of Jewish population in the particular country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; (D) base figure essentially speculative; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the years for which the base figures or important partial updates were obtained are also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1994 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the end of 1994 as compared to 1993. For 1993 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in 1994 in certain country estimates, in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net increase of the 1993 world Jewry's estimated size by 4,600. This change resulted from upward corrections for Latvia (+4,800), the Netherlands (+1,000), Lithuania (+800), Yugoslavia (+500), Norway (+200), and Tunisia (+100); and downward corrections for the Czech Republic (-1,600), Italy (-800), Greece (-300), and the Netherlands Antilles (-100). Some explanations are given below for the countries whose estimates were revised.

The size of world Jewry at the end of 1994 is assessed at 13,001,700. According to the revised figures, between 1993 and 1994 there was an estimated gain of 34,100 people, or about +0.3 percent. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, it is clear that world Jewry has reached "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel barely compensating for the demographic decline in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a figure of 4,335,200 in 1993 to 4,441,100 at the end of 1994, an increase of 105,900 people, or 2.4 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 8,632,400 (according to the revised figures) to 8,560,600—a decrease of 71,800 people, or 0.8 percent. These changes primarily reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the former USSR. In 1994, the estimated Israel-Diaspora net migratory balance amounted to a gain of about 56,100 Jews for Israel.⁷ Internal demographic evolution produced further growth among the Jewish population in Israel and further decline in the Diaspora. Recently, instances of accession or "return" to Judaism can be observed in connection with the emigration process from Eastern Europe and the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli Law of Return (*hok hashvut*). The Law of Return grants

⁷Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1995*, no. 46 (Jerusalem, 1995), p. 44.

immigrant rights to all current Jews and to their Jewish or non-Jewish spouses, children, and grandchildren, as well as to the spouses of such children and grandchildren. The return or first-time access to Judaism of some of such previously unincorporated or unidentified individuals appears to have contributed some slowing down in the pace of decline of the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations and some further gains to the Jewish population in Israel.

Just about half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with over 46 percent in North America. Over one-third live in Asia, including the Asian Republics of the former USSR (but not the Asian parts of the Russian Republic and Turkey)—most of them in Israel. Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey, accounts for about 14 percent of the total. Less than 2 percent of the world's Jews live in Africa and Oceania. Among the major geographical regions listed in table 1, the number of Jews in Israel—and, consequently, in total Asia—increased in 1994. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for North and Central America, the European Union (now expanded to 15 member countries), and Oceania. South America, Eastern Europe, Asian countries apart from Israel, and Africa sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

World Jewry constitutes about 2.3 per 1,000 of the world's total population. One in about 440 people in the world is a Jew.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 1994 the total number of Jews in the American continents was estimated at close to 6.5 million. The overwhelming majority (93 percent) resided in the United States and Canada, less than 1 percent lived in Central America (including Mexico), and about 6 percent lived in South America—with Argentina and Brazil the largest Jewish communities (see table 2).

United States. The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), provided new benchmark information about the size and characteristics of U.S. Jewry—the largest Jewish population in the world—and the basis for subsequent updates.⁸ According to the official report of the results of this

⁸The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations with the supervision of a National Technical Advisory Committee chaired by Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University. Dr. Barry Kosmin of the North American Jewish Data Bank and City University of New York Graduate Center directed the study. See Barry A. Kosmin, Sidney Goldstein, Joseph Waksberg, Nava Lerer, Ariella Keysar, and Jeffrey Scheckner, *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York, 1991) and Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," *AJYB* 1992, vol. 92, pp. 77–173.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1993 AND 1994

Region	1993			1994		% Change 1993-1994
	Original Abs. N.	Revised Abs. N.	Percent	Abs. N.	Percent	
World	12,963,000	12,967,600	100.0	13,001,700	100.0	+0.3
Diaspora	8,627,800	8,632,400	66.6	8,560,600	65.8	-0.8
Israel	4,335,200	4,335,200	33.4	4,441,100	34.2	+2.4
America, Total	6,440,500	6,440,400	49.6	6,465,400	49.7	+0.4
North ^a	6,008,000	6,008,000	46.3	6,035,000	46.4	+0.4
Central	53,200	53,100	0.4	53,200	0.4	+0.2
South	379,300	379,300	2.9	377,200	2.9	-0.6
Europe, Total	1,872,700	1,877,300	14.5	1,796,700	13.8	-4.3
European Union ^b	1,015,400	1,015,300	7.8	1,016,700	7.8	+0.1
Other West	19,700	19,900	0.2	19,900	0.1	—
Former USSR ^c	731,500	737,100	5.7	657,000	5.1	-10.9
Other East and Balkans ^c	106,100	105,000	0.8	103,100	0.8	-1.6
Asia, Total	4,444,400	4,444,400	34.3	4,535,600	34.9	+2.1
Israel	4,335,200	4,335,200	33.4	4,441,100	34.2	+2.4
Former USSR ^c	85,500	85,500	0.7	72,000	0.5	-15.8
Other ^c	23,700	23,700	0.2	22,500	0.2	-5.1
Africa, Total	109,800	109,800	0.9	107,400	0.8	-2.3
North ^d	9,200	9,300	0.1	8,900	0.0	-4.3
Other ^e	100,600	100,600	0.8	98,500	0.8	-2.1
Oceania	95,600	95,600	0.7	96,600	0.8	+1.0

^aU.S.A. and Canada.^bFifteen countries.^cThe Asian regions of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.^dIncluding Ethiopia.^eSouth Africa, Zimbabwe, and other sub-Saharan countries.

important national sample study, the core Jewish population in the United States comprised 5,515,000 persons in the summer of 1990. Of these, 185,000 were not born or raised as Jews but currently identified with Judaism. An estimated 210,000 persons, not included in the previous figures, were born or raised as Jews but in 1990 identified with another religion. A further 1,115,000 people—thereof 415,000 adults and 700,000 children below age 18—were of Jewish parentage but had not themselves been raised as Jews and declared a religion other than Judaism at the time of the survey. All together, these various groups formed an extended Jewish population of 6,840,000. NJPS also covered 1,350,000 non-Jewish-born members of eligible (Jewish or mixed) households. The study's enlarged Jewish population thus consisted of about 8,200,000 persons. The 1990 Jewish population estimates are within the range of a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.⁹ This means a range between 5.3 and 5.7 million for the core Jewish population in 1990.

Since 1990, the international migration balance of U.S. Jewry should have generated an actual increase of Jewish population size. According to HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), the main agency involved in assisting Jewish migration from the former USSR to the United States, the number of assisted migrants was 32,714 in 1990, 35,568 in 1991, 46,083 in 1992, 35,934 in 1993, and 32,906 in 1994.¹⁰ These figures include a small number of individuals who settled in Canada, and, more significantly, refer to the "enlarged" Jewish population concept, therefore incorporating the non-Jewish members of mixed households. The actual number of ex-USSR Jews resettling in the United States was therefore somewhat smaller, yet quite substantial.

In retrospect, it can be seen that the influence of international migration between 1971 and 1990 was less than might have been expected. The first National Jewish Population Study, conducted in 1970–71, estimated the U.S. Jewish population at 5.4 million; the 1990 NJPS estimated a core Jewish population of 5.5 million, a difference of 100,000. However, since Jewish immigration contributed 200,000–300,000 in this period, it is clear that the balance of other factors of core population change over that whole 20-year period must have been negative. Detailed analyses of the new NJPS data actually provide evidence of a variety of contributing factors: low levels of Jewish fertility and the "effectively Jewish" birthrate, increasing aging of the Jewish population, increasing outmarriage rate, declining rate of conversion to Judaism (or "choosing" Judaism), rather low proportions of children of mixed marriages being identified as Jewish, and a growing tendency to adopt non-Jewish

⁹See Kosmin et al., p. 39.

¹⁰See HIAS, *Annual Report 1994* (New York, 1995). See also Barry R. Chiswick, "Soviet Jews in the United States: An Analysis of Their Linguistic and Economic Adjustment," *Economic Quarterly*, July 1991, no. 148, pp. 188–211 (Hebrew), and *International Migration Review*, 1993 (English).

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, END 1994

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	29,600,000	360,000	12.2	A 1991
United States	263,200,000	5,675,000	21.6	B 1990
Total North America ^a	293,000,000	6,035,000	20.6	
Bahamas	300,000	300	1.0	D
Costa Rica	3,300,000	2,500	0.8	C 1993
Cuba	11,200,000	700	0.1	C 1990
Dominican Republic	7,800,000	100	0.0	D
El Salvador	5,900,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Guatemala	10,600,000	1,000	0.1	B 1993
Jamaica	2,400,000	300	0.1	A 1995
Mexico	93,700,000	40,800	0.4	A 1991
Netherlands Antilles	240,000	300	1.3	A 1995 X
Panama	2,600,000	5,000	1.9	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,700,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	110,000	300	2.7	C 1986
Other	20,150,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	162,000,000	53,200	0.3	
Argentina	34,600,000	208,000	6.0	C 1990
Bolivia	7,400,000	700	0.1	B 1990
Brazil	157,800,000	100,000	0.6	C 1980
Chile	14,300,000	15,000	1.0	C 1988
Colombia	37,700,000	5,000	0.1	C 1993
Ecuador	11,500,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	5,000,000	900	0.2	B 1995
Peru	24,000,000	2,900	0.1	C 1993
Suriname	450,000	200	0.4	B 1986
Uruguay	3,200,000	23,600	7.4	C 1993
Venezuela	21,800,000	20,000	0.9	C 1989
Total South America ^a	319,000,000	377,200	1.2	
Total	774,000,000	6,465,400	8.4	

^aIncluding countries not listed separately.

rituals.¹¹ A temporary increase in the Jewish birthrate occurred during the late 1980s, because the large cohorts born during the "baby boom" of the 1950s and early 1960s were in the prime procreative ages; however, this echo effect is now fading away as the much smaller cohorts born since the late 1960s have reached the stage of parenthood.

Taking this evidence into account, our estimate of U.S. Jewish population size at the end of 1994 starts from the NJPS benchmark core Jewish population of 5,515,000 and attempts to account for Jewish population changes that occurred since the latter part of 1990, after completion of NJPS, through 1994. Assuming a total net migration gain of about 60,000 Jews from the USSR, Israel, and other origins for the whole of 1990, we apportioned 20,000 to the later months of 1990. A further 40,000 were added for 1991, 45,000 for 1992, and 30,000 for 1993. In 1994, as noted, the number of Jewish immigrants from the former USSR to the United States was lower than in 1993. At the same time, Israeli statistics continue to show significant numbers of Israelis leaving the United States after a prolonged stay and returning to Israel.¹² We estimate the total Jewish population increase in the United States in 1994 at about 25,000. This figure accounts for immigration net of emigration and of some further attrition based on current marriage, fertility, and age-composition trends in the U.S. core Jewish population. We thus suggest an estimate of 5,675,000 Jews in the United States at the end of 1994.

The research team of the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), which was responsible for the primary handling of NJPS data files, has also continued its yearly compilation of local Jewish population estimates. These are reported elsewhere in this volume.¹³ NAJDB estimated the U.S. Jewish population in 1986 at 5,814,000, including "under 2 percent" non-Jewish household members. This closely matched our own pre-NJPS estimate of 5,700,000. The NAJDB estimate was updated as follows: 1987—5,943,700; 1988—5,935,000; 1989—5,944,000; 1990—5,981,000; 1991—5,798,000; 1992—5,828,000; 1993—5,840,000; 1994—5,880,000. These changes in the main do not reflect actual sudden growth or decline, but rather corrections and adaptations made in the figures for several local communities—some of them in the light of NJPS regional results or new local community studies. It should be realized that compilations of local estimates, even if as painstaking as in the case of the NAJDB, are subject to a great many local biases and tend to fall behind the actual pace of national trends. This is especially true in a context of vigorous internal migrations, as in the United States. In our view, the NJPS figure,

¹¹See Goldstein, AJYB 1992; see also U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography* (American Jewish Committee, New York, 1988); and Sergio DellaPergola, "New Data on Demography and Identification Among Jews in the U.S.: Trends, Inconsistencies and Disagreements," *Contemporary Jewry* 12, 1991, pp. 67–97.

¹²*Statistical Abstract of Israel*, vol. 46, 1995, p. 167.

¹³The first in a new series of yearly compilations of local U.S. Jewish population estimates appeared in Barry A. Kosmin, Paul Ritterband, and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1986," AJYB 1987, vol. 87, pp. 164–91. The 1995 update appears elsewhere in the present volume.

in spite of sample-survey biases, provides a more reliable national Jewish population estimate than the sum of local estimates.¹⁴

Canada. Results of the 1991 Canadian census provided a new baseline for the estimate of the local Jewish population. As customary in Canada, the census included questions on both religion and ethnic origin, besides information on year of immigration of the foreign-born and languages. An intensive special processing of the data concerning Jews was produced by a joint team of researchers from McGill University's Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning, Statistics Canada, and Council of Jewish Federations Canada, directed by Prof. Jim Torczyner.¹⁵ The new census enumerated 318,070 Jews according to religion; of these, 281,680 also reported being Jewish by ethnicity (as one of up to four options to the latter question), while 36,390 reported one or more other ethnic origins. Another 38,245 persons reported no religion and a Jewish ethnic origin, again as one of up to four options.¹⁶ After due allowance is made for the latter group, a total core Jewish population of 356,315 was estimated for 1991—an increase of 44,255 (14.2 percent) over the corresponding estimate of 312,060 from the 1981 census. A further 49,640 Canadians, who reported being Jewish by ethnic origin but identified with another religion (such as Catholic, Anglican, etc.), were not included in the 1991 core estimate. Including them would produce an extended Jewish population of 405,955.

In comparison with the 1981 census, the 1991 data revealed an increase of 21,645 (7.3 percent) in the number of Jews defined by religion. A more significant increase occurred among those reporting a Jewish ethnicity with no religious preference: 22,610 persons, or more than twice (+144.6 percent) as many as in 1981. The increase was comparatively even larger among those reporting a partially Jewish ethnic ancestry and among ethnic Jews with another religion. Besides actual demographic and identificational trends, changes in the wording of the relevant questions in the two censuses may have influenced these variations in the size of both the core and the ethnically (or, in our terminology, extended) Jewish population of Canada.¹⁷

Most of the 1981–1991 Jewish population increase was due to international migration: out of the total increase of 44,255 core Jews, 25,895 (59 percent) appear

¹⁴While the NAJDB estimate for the total U.S. Jewry in 1994 exceeds ours by 205,000 (a difference of 3.6 percent), over the years 1991–1994 we have estimated a Jewish population increase of 100,000 as against 82,000 according to NAJDB.

¹⁵Jim L. Torczyner, Shari L. Brotman, Kathy Viragh, and Gustave J. Goldmann, *Demographic Challenges Facing Canadian Jewry: Initial Findings from the 1991 Census* (Montreal, 1993); Jim L. Torczyner and Shari L. Brotman, "The Jews of Canada: A Profile from the Census," *AJYB* 1995, vol. 95, pp. 227–60.

¹⁶Statistics Canada, *Religions in Canada—1991 Census* (Ottawa, 1993). See also Leo Davids, "The Jewish Population of Canada, 1991" (paper presented at Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1993).

¹⁷The results of preceding censuses can be found in Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada: Population: Ethnic Origin; Religion* (Ottawa, 1983, 1984); Statistics Canada, *Population by Ethnic Origin, 1986 Census: Canada, Provinces and Territories and Census Metropolitan Areas* (Ottawa, 1988).

to have arrived in Canada since 1981. The principal country of origin was the former USSR (6,230), followed by Israel (4,975), the United States (3,630), and South Africa (2,855).¹⁸ Practically all the rest of the Jewish population growth consists of ethnic Jews who did not report a religion, including many whose reported Jewish ethnicity is only one among several others. The latter are quite certainly children of intermarriages, whose frequency indeed increased in Canada by about one-third over the 1980s.¹⁹ All this implies that the 1981–1991 demographic balance of the Jewish population living in Canada was close to zero or slightly negative. Taking into account the increasingly aged Jewish population structure, it is suggested that since the 1991 census, the continuing migratory surplus may have generated a modest surplus over the probably negative balance of internal evolution. For the end of 1994 we updated the previous year's estimated figure of 358,000 to 360,000, making Canada the world's fifth-largest Jewish population.

Central America. A Jewish-sponsored population survey of the Jews in the Mexico City metropolitan area was completed in 1991.²⁰ The results point to a community definitely less affected than others in the Diaspora by the common trends of low fertility, intermarriage, and aging. Some comparatively more traditional sectors in the Jewish community still contribute a current surplus of births over deaths, and overall—thanks also to some immigration—the Jewish population has been quite stable or moderately increasing. The new medium Jewish population estimate was put at 37,500 in the Mexico City metropolitan area and at 40,000 nationally. Official Mexican censuses over the years have provided rather erratic and unreliable Jewish population figures. This was the case with the 1990 census, which came up with a national total of 57,918 (aged five and over). As in the past, most of the problem derived from unacceptably high figures for peripheral states. The new census figures for the Mexico City metropolitan area (33,932 Jews—aged five and over—in the Federal District and State of Mexico) came quite close—in fact are slightly below—our survey's estimates. Taking into account a modest residual potential for natural increase, as shown by the 1991 survey, we estimated the Jewish population at 40,800 in 1994.

The Jewish population is estimated at about 5,000 in Panama, 2,500 in Costa Rica, and 1,500 in Puerto Rico.

*South America.*²¹ The Jewish population of Argentina, the largest in Latin Amer-

¹⁸See Torczyner et al., *Demographic Challenges . . .*, Appendices, p. 22.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 20.

²⁰Sergio DellaPergola and Susana Lerner, *La población judía de México: Perfil demográfico, social y cultural* (Mexico-Jerusalem, 1995). The project, conducted in cooperation between the Centro de Estudios Urbanos y de Desarrollo Urbano (CEDDU), El Colegio de Mexico, and the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University, was sponsored by the Asociación Mexicana de Amigos de la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén.

²¹For a more detailed discussion of the region's Jewish population trends, see U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demography of Latin American Jewry," *AJYB* 1985, vol. 85,

ica, is marked by a negative balance of internal evolution. A number of local surveys conducted in the Buenos Aires area at the initiative of the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA), as well as in some provincial cities, point to growing aging.²² Since the 1960s, while the pace of emigration and return migration was significantly affected by the variable nature of economic and political trends in the country, the balance of external migrations was generally negative. Accordingly, the estimate for Argentinean Jewry was reduced from 210,000 in 1993 to 208,000 in 1994.

In Brazil, the official population census of 1980 showed a figure of 91,795 Jews. Since it is possible that some otherwise identifying Jews failed to declare themselves as such in the census, a corrected estimate of 100,000 was adopted for 1980 and has been kept unchanged through 1994, assuming that the overall balance of Jewish vital events and external migrations was close to zero. The national figure of approximately 100,000 fits the admittedly rough estimates that are available for the size of local Jewish communities in Brazil.²³ As further evidence of a substantially stable Jewish population, a 1992 study in Porto Alegre and the state of Rio Grande do Sul—Brazil's third-largest community—unveiled an enlarged Jewish population of about 11,000. Excluding the non-Jewish household members, the core Jewish population can be estimated at about 9,000, very close to the corrected 1980 census figure.²⁴

On the strength of fragmentary information available, the estimate for Uruguay was slightly reduced, while those for Venezuela, Chile, Colombia, and Peru were not changed.

EUROPE

About 1.8 million Jews lived in Europe at the end of 1994; 58 percent lived in Western Europe and 42 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 3). In 1994 Europe lost 4.3 percent of its estimated Jewish population, mainly through the continuing emigration from the European republics of the former USSR.

pp. 51–102, and Sergio DellaPergola, "Demographic Trends of Latin American Jewry," in *The Jewish Presence in Latin America*, ed. J. Laikin Elkin and G.W. Merks (Boston, 1987), pp. 85–133.

²²Rosa N. Geldstein, *Censo de la Población Judía de la ciudad de Salta*, 1986; *Informe final* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Yacov Rubel, *Los Judiós de Villa Crespo y Almagro: Perfil Sociodemográfico* (Buenos Aires, 1989); Yacov Rubel and Mario Toer, *Censo de la Población Judía de Rosario, 1990* (Buenos Aires, 1992); Centro Union Israelita de Cordoba, *First Sociodemographic Study of Jewish Population*, Cordoba 1993 (Cordoba, 1995).

²³Claudia Milnitzky, ed., *Apêndice estatístico da comunidade judaica do estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1980); Egon and Frieda Wolff, *Documentos V: Os recenseamentos demográficos oficiais do século XX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993–1994).

²⁴Anita Brumer, *Identidade em mudança: Pesquisa sociológica sobre os judeus do Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre, 1994).

European Union. At the end of 1994, Austria, Finland, and Sweden became member states of the European Union (EU), which thus expanded from 12 to 15 countries. In its new format, the EU had an estimated combined Jewish population of over one million. Overall, only minor change was recorded as against the 1993 estimate, although different trends affected the Jewish populations in each member country.²⁵

The estimated size of French Jewry has been assessed for the last 20 years at 530,000. Since the breakup of the USSR, France has had the third-largest Jewish population in the world, after the United States and Israel. Monitoring the plausible trends of both the internal evolution and external migrations of Jews in France suggests little net change in Jewish population size since the major survey that was taken in the 1970s.²⁶ A study conducted in 1988 at the initiative of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) confirmed the basic demographic stability of French Jewry.²⁷

Periodic reestimations of the size of Jewish population in the United Kingdom are carried out by the Community Research Unit (CRU) of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–1979, the population baseline for 1977 was set at a central value of 336,000.²⁸ The vital statistical records regularly compiled by the CRU show an excess of deaths over births in the range of about 1,000–1,500 a year.²⁹ Further attrition derives from emigration and some assimilatory losses. A study of Jewish synagogue membership indicated a decline of over 7 percent between 1983 and 1990.³⁰ A new national estimate by CRU, mainly based on an evaluation of Jewish death records in 1984–1988, suggested a central estimate of 308,000 for 1986.³¹ Allowing for a further continuation of these well-established trends, we adopted an estimate of 300,000 for 1991 and revised it downward to 294,000 for 1994 (sixth-largest worldwide).

In 1990, Germany was politically reunited. In the former (West) German Federal Republic, the 1987 population census reported 32,319 Jews. Immigration used to compensate for the surplus of deaths over births in this aging Jewish population. Estimates about the small Jewish population in the former (East) German Democratic Republic ranged between 500 and 2,000. While there is a lack of certainty

²⁵See Sergio DellaPergola, "Jews in the European Community: Sociodemographic Trends and Challenges," *AJYB* 1993, vol. 93, pp. 25–82.

²⁶Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem-Paris, 1984).

²⁷Erik H. Cohen, *L'Etude et l'éducation juive en France ou l'avenir d'une communauté* (Paris, 1991).

²⁸Steven Haberman, Barry A. Kosmin, and Caren Levy, "Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975–79: Insights and Applications for the Size and Structure of British Jewry," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 146, pt. 3, 1983, pp. 294–310.

²⁹Marlena Schmol, *Report of Community Statistics 1994* (London, 1995).

³⁰Marlena Schmol and Frances Cohen, *British Synagogue Membership in 1990* (London, 1991).

³¹Steven Haberman and Marlena Schmol, "Estimates of the British Jewish Population 1984–88," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 158, pt. 3, 1995, pp. 547–62.

about the number of recent Jewish immigrants from the former USSR, according to some reports over 30,000 have settled in Germany since the end of 1989, including non-Jewish family members. Jewish community records reported 27,711 affiliated Jews at the end of 1989, 28,468 in 1990, 33,692 in 1991, 37,498 in 1992, 40,823 in 1993, and 45,559 in 1994.³² Allowing for some time lag between immigration and registering with the organized Jewish community, and taking into account the presence of non-Jewish members of Jewish immigrant households, our estimate for unified Germany was increased to 35,000 in 1989, 40,000 in 1990, 42,500 in 1991, 50,000 in 1992, 52,000 in 1993, and 55,000 at the end of 1994, including the unaffiliated. At the beginning of 1995, the number of applicants for Jewish migration to Germany from the former USSR had surpassed 85,000.³³ While most of these applications have already been approved, the actual number of immigrants should be lower, since some of the applicants may prefer to move to Israel or the United States, or to remain in their present places of residence. Nevertheless, the potential for growth of the Jewish population in Germany is impressive.

Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each have Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There is a tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewries, but in some instances this is offset by immigration. In Belgium, the size of the Jewish population is probably quite stable, owing to the comparatively strong Orthodox section in that community. In Italy, membership in Jewish communities has been voluntary since 1987, a change from the previous system of compulsory affiliation. Although most Jews reaffiliated, the new looser legal framework may facilitate the ongoing attrition of the Jewish population. Recent Jewish community records for Milan indicated an affiliated Jewish population of 6,500, against over 8,000 in the 1960s, despite substantial immigration from other countries in the intervening period. This evidence prompted a reduction in our national estimate for Italy to 30,000. In the Netherlands, a recent study indicated a growing number of residents of Israeli origin. This may have offset the declining trends among veteran Jews. We accordingly increased the Jewish population estimate to 26,500.

Other EU member countries have smaller and, overall, slowly declining Jewish populations. Exceptions may be Sweden and Spain, whose Jewish populations are very tentatively estimated at 15,000 and 12,000, respectively. Austria's permanent Jewish population was upwardly estimated at 8,000. While there is evidence of a negative balance of births and deaths connected with great aging and frequent outmarriage, immigration tends to offset the internal losses. The small Jewish populations in other Scandinavian countries are, on the whole, numerically rather stable.

Other Western Europe. Few countries remain in Western Europe which have not

³²Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland, *Vierteljahresmeldung über den Mitglieder-stand* (Frankfurt, 1995).

³³Pavel Polian and Klaus Teschemacher, "Jewish Emigration from the Community of Independent States to Germany" (paper presented at 3rd European Population Conference, Milan, 1995).

joined the EU. In 1994 they accounted for a combined Jewish population of 19,900. Switzerland's Jewish population was reestimated, based on the results of the 1990 census. The official count indicated 17,577 Jews, as against 18,330 in 1980—a decline of 4 percent.³⁴ Allowing for undeclared Jews, we put the new estimate at 18,000.

Former USSR (European parts). Since 1989, the demographic situation of East European Jewry has been rapidly changing as a consequence of the dramatic geopolitical changes in the region. The economic and political crisis that culminated in the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a state in 1991 generated an upsurge in Jewish emigration. After rapidly reaching a peak in 1990, emigration continued, slightly attenuated, throughout 1994. While mass emigration is an obvious factor in population decrease, the demography of East European Jewry has been characterized for years by very low levels of “effectively Jewish” fertility, frequent outmarriage, and heavy aging. As a result, the shrinking of Jewish populations in that region must be comparatively rapid.

Data on nationalities (ethnic groups) from the Soviet Union's last official population census, carried out in January 1989, revealed a total of 1,450,500 Jews.³⁵ The figure confirmed the declining trend already apparent since the previous three censuses: 2,267,800 in 1959, 2,150,700 in 1970, and 1,810,900 in 1979.

Our reservation about USSR Jewish population figures in previous AJYB volumes bears repeating: some underreporting is not impossible, but it cannot be quantified and should not be exaggerated. One should cautiously keep in mind the possible conflicting effects on census declarations of the prolonged existence of a totalitarian regime: on the one hand, stimulating a preference for other than Jewish nationalities in the various parts of the Soviet Union, especially in connection with mixed marriages; on the other hand, preserving a formal Jewish identification by coercion, through the mandatory registration of nationality on official documents such as passports. Viewed conceptually, the census figures represent the core Jewish population in the USSR. They actually constitute a good example of a large and empirically measured core Jewish population in the Diaspora, consisting of the aggregate of self-identifying Jews. The figures of successive censuses appear to be remarkably consistent with one another and with the known patterns of emigration and internal demographic evolution of the Jewish population in recent decades.³⁶

Systematic analysis of previously inaccessible data about the demographic characteristics and trends of Jews in the former USSR has now become possible and is

³⁴Bundesamt für Statistik, *Wohnbevölkerung nach Konfession und Geschlecht, 1980 und 1990* (Bern, 1993).

³⁵Goskomstat SSSR, *Vestnik Statistiki* 10 (1990), pp. 69–71. This figure omits the Tats (Mountain Jews); see below.

³⁶U.O. Schmelz, “New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews,” *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2, 1974, pp. 209–23; Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War: Population and Social Structure* (Westport, 1987).

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE,
END 1994

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	8,100,000	8,000	1.0	C 1995
Belgium	10,200,000	31,800	3.1	C 1987
Denmark	5,200,000	6,400	1.2	C 1990
Finland	5,100,000	1,300	0.3	B 1990
France ^a	58,100,000	530,000	9.1	C 1990
Germany	81,700,000	55,000	0.7	C 1995
Greece	10,500,000	4,500	0.4	B 1995 X
Ireland	3,600,000	1,300	0.4	B 1993
Italy	57,700,000	30,000	0.5	B 1995 X
Luxembourg	400,000	600	1.5	B 1990
Netherlands	15,500,000	26,500	1.7	C 1995 X
Portugal	9,900,000	300	0.0	C 1986
Spain	39,100,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,900,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
United Kingdom	58,600,000	294,000	5.0	B 1994
Total European Union	372,600,000	1,016,700	2.7	
Gibraltar	31,000	600	19.4	C 1981
Norway	4,300,000	1,200	0.3	B 1995 X
Switzerland	7,000,000	18,000	2.6	A 1990
Other	600,000	100	0.2	D
Total other West Europe	11,931,000	19,900	1.7	
Belarus	10,300,000	35,000	3.4	C 1994
Estonia	1,500,000	3,100	2.1	B 1994
Latvia	2,500,000	15,200	6.1	C 1994 X
Lithuania	3,700,000	6,500	1.8	C 1994 X
Moldova	4,300,000	12,200	2.8	C 1994
Russia ^b	147,000,000	375,000	2.6	B 1994
Ukraine	52,000,000	210,000	4.0	C 1994
Total former USSR in Europe	221,300,000	657,000	3.0	

TABLE 3.—(Continued)

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3,500,000	200	0.1	D
Bulgaria	8,500,000	1,600	0.2	C 1993
Croatia	4,500,000	1,300	0.3	D
Czech Republic	10,400,000	2,200	0.2	C 1995 X
Hungary	10,200,000	54,500	5.3	D
Poland	38,600,000	3,500	0.1	D
Romania	22,700,000	14,500	0.6	C 1993
Slovakia	5,400,000	3,800	0.7	D
Slovenia	2,000,000	100	0.1	C 1993
Turkey ^b	61,400,000	19,400	0.3	C 1995
Yugoslavia ^c	10,800,000	1,900	0.2	C 1995 X
Other	5,600,000	100	0.0	D
Total other East Europe and Balkans	183,600,000	103,100	0.6	
Total	789,431,000	1,796,700	2.3	

^aIncluding Monaco.^bIncluding Asian regions.^cSerbia and Montenegro.

producing important new insights into recent and current trends.³⁷ The new data confirm the prevalence of very low fertility and birthrates, high frequencies of outmarriage, a preference for non-Jewish nationalities among the children of out-marriages, aging, and a clear surplus of Jewish deaths over Jewish births. These trends are especially visible in the Slavic republics, which hold a large share of the total Jewish population.

³⁷Mark Tolts, "Some Basic Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography," in *Papers in Jewish Demography 1989*, ed. U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 237-43; Viacheslav Konstantinov, "Jewish Population of the USSR on the Eve of the Great Exodus," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3 (16), 1991, pp. 5-23; Mordechai Altshuler, "Socio-demographic Profile of Moscow Jews," *ibid.*, pp. 24-40; Mark Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths Among Soviet Jewry," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 2 (18), 1992, pp. 13-26; Leonid E. Darsky, "Fertility in the USSR; Basic Trends" (paper presented at European Population Conference, Paris, 1991); Mark Tolts, "Jewish Marriages in the USSR: A Demographic Analysis," *East European Jewish Affairs* 22 (2) (London, 1992).

The respective figures for the enlarged Jewish population—including all current Jews as well as any other persons of Jewish parentage and their non-Jewish household members—must be substantially higher in a societal context like that of the ex-USSR, which has been characterized by high intermarriage rates for a considerable time. While a definitive estimate for the total USSR cannot be provided for lack of appropriate data, evidence for the Russian Republic indicates a high ratio of non-Jews to Jews in the enlarged Jewish population.³⁸ Nor can any information about the ratio between Jews and non-Jews in an enlarged Jewish population in the USSR be derived from the statistics of immigrants to Israel. Due to the highly self-selective character of aliyah, non-Jews have constituted a relatively small minority of all new immigrants from the USSR.³⁹ It is obvious, though, that the wide provisions of Israel's Law of Return (see above) apply to virtually the maximum emigration pool of self-declared Jews and close non-Jewish relatives. Any of the large figures attributed in recent years to the size of Soviet Jewry, insofar as they were based on demographic reasoning, did not relate to the core but to various measures of an enlarged Jewish population. The evidence also suggests that in the USSR core Jews constitute a smaller share of the total enlarged Jewish population than in some Western countries, such as the United States.

Just as the number of declared Jews evolved consistently between censuses, the number of persons of Jewish descent who preferred not to be identified as Jews was rather consistent too, at least until 1989. However, the recent political developments, and especially the current emigration urge, have probably led to greater readiness to declare a Jewish self-identification by persons who did not describe themselves as such in the 1989 census. In terms of demographic accounting, these "returnees" imply an actual net increment to the core Jewish population of the USSR, as well as to World Jewry.

With regard to updating the January 1989 census figure to the end of 1994 for each of the republics of the former USSR, Jewish emigration has played the major role among the intervening changes. An estimated 71,000, thereof about 62,000 declared Jews, left in 1989, as against 19,300 in 1988, 8,100 in 1987, and only 7,000 during the whole 1982–1986 period. In 1990, according to Soviet, Israeli, American and other sources, an estimated 205,000 emigrated from the USSR, including

³⁸Mark Tolts, "Jews in the Russian Republic Since the Second World War: The Dynamics of Demographic Erosion," in *International Union for the Scientific Study of Population*, International Population Conference, vol. 3 (Montreal, 1993), pp. 99–111.

³⁹Israel's Ministry of Interior records the religion-nationality of each person, including new immigrants. Such attribution is made on the basis of documentary evidence supplied by the immigrants themselves and checked by competent authorities in the former Soviet Union and in Israel. According to data available from the Interior Ministry's Central Population Register, 90.3 percent of all new immigrants from the USSR during the period October 1989–August 1992 were recorded as Jewish. The annual trend clearly pointed to a growing proportion of non-Jews among the immigrants. See Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demographic Context of the Soviet Aliya," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3 (16), 1991, pp. 41–56.

179,000 declared Jews—the balance being composed of non-Jewish family members. In 1991, 148,000 immigrants from the former USSR arrived in Israel, another 35,000 went to the United States, and possibly 12,000 went to other countries. We estimate that of these total 195,000 migrants, about 159,000 were Jewish. In 1992, 65,000 immigrated to Israel, another 45,000 went to the United States, and possibly up to 20,000 settled elsewhere. Of these 130,000, an estimated 96,000 were Jewish. In 1993, 66,000 went to Israel, 36,000 went to the United States, and possibly 14,000 went elsewhere. Of these 116,000, an estimated 80,000 were Jewish. In 1994, of an estimated total of 110,000 emigrants, 68,000 went to Israel, 33,000 to the United States, and 9,000 to other destinations. Of these 110,000, possibly 75,000 were Jewish.⁴⁰ These apparently declining emigration figures should not be misconstrued: when compared to the similarly declining Jewish population figures for the former USSR, they actually demonstrate a remarkably stable desire to emigrate. At the same time, the heavy deficit of internal population dynamics continued and even intensified due to the great aging which is known to have prevailed for many decades. Aging in the communities of origin was exacerbated by the significantly younger age composition of the emigrants.⁴¹

On the strength of these considerations, our estimate of the core Jewish population in the USSR (including the Asian regions) was reduced from the census figure of 1,450,500 at the end of 1988/beginning of 1989 to 1,370,000 at the end of 1989, 1,157,500 at the end of 1990, 990,000 at the end of 1991, and 890,000 at the end of 1992.⁴² The 1992 estimate, besides considering the intervening changes, also corrected for the past omission of the Tats, also known as Mountain Jews—a group mostly concentrated in the Caucasus area that enjoys fully Jewish status and the prerogatives granted by Israel's Law of Return.

For the end-1993 estimates, an important new piece of evidence, basically confirming the known trends, became available with the publication of the first results

⁴⁰Estimates based on Israel Central Bureau of Statistics and HIAS reports. See also Sidney Heitman, "Soviet Emigration in 1990," *Berichte des Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und internationale studien* 33, 1991.

⁴¹Age structures of the Jewish population in the Russian Federal Republic were reported in Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda*, vol. 4, table 33 (Moscow, 1973); Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda*, vol. 4, part 2, table 2 (Moscow, 1989); Goskomstat SSSR, *Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 goda* (Moscow, 1991). Age structures of recent Jewish migrants from the USSR to the United States and to Israel appear, respectively, in HIAS, *Statistical Abstract* 30 (4) (New York, 1990), and unpublished annual data kindly communicated to the authors; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel*, Special Series (Jerusalem, yearly publication); Yoel Florsheim, "Immigration to Israel and the United States from the Former Soviet Union, 1992," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3 (22), 1993, pp. 31–39; Mark Tolts, "Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography Since the Second World War," in *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union*, ed. Ya'acov Ro'i (London, 1995).

⁴²Dr. Mark Tolts of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University actively contributed to the preparation of these estimates.

of the national Microcensus of the Russian Republic conducted February 14–23, 1994.⁴³ The data, based on a 5-percent sample, revealed a Jewish population of about 400,000 plus approximately 8,000 Tats. Allowing for sampling errors, we obtained a total of 408,000 and a range of variation between 401,000 and 415,000. Apportioning for Jewish population changes (decline) between December 31, 1993, the date of our estimates, and February 23, 1994, the date of the Microcensus, the central estimate rose to 410,000 at the end of 1993. This figure was 6 percent higher than the independent projection otherwise obtained for the same date (385,000), based on our previous estimate of 415,000 for the end of 1992. Accordingly, we corrected our Russian estimate upward. The corrected 1993 estimate for the total of the former USSR was 817,000.

The 1994 estimates were prepared as usual by taking into account all of the available data and estimates concerning Jewish emigration, births, and deaths for each republic separately. The Jewish population for the total of the former USSR was estimated at 729,000. Of this total, 657,000 lived in the European republics and 72,000 in the Asian parts of the former USSR (see below). The pace of Jewish population change in each republic has been significantly different because of varying propensities to emigrate, different rates of assimilation and natural decrease, and some geographic redistribution across the different republics. The largest Jewish population in the former USSR's European parts remained in Russia, currently the fourth-largest in the world. Our end-1994 estimate for Russia was 375,000, reflecting the continuation of Jewish population decline. Jews in Ukraine, which in recent years has experienced large-scale emigration, were estimated at 210,000 (seventh-largest community worldwide). A further 35,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Belarus, 12,200 in the Moldovan Republic, and a combined total of 24,800 in the three Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Based on the evidence of local official population registers, Jewish population estimates were revised upward for Latvia (+4,800, to 15,200) and Lithuania (+800, to 6,500).⁴⁴

Inconsistencies between recent estimates of the number of Jews in former USSR republics can be explained by any combination of the following five factors: (a) some migration of Jews between the various republics of the former USSR since 1991, especially to the Russian Republic; (b) the presence of a higher proportion of non-Jews than previously assumed among the "enlarged" pool of Jewish emigrants from the former USSR, resulting in excessively lowered estimates of the number of Jews remaining there; (c) adoption of a Jewish identification in the new official sources of data on the part of persons who declared other nationalities in previous

⁴³See V. Aleksandrova, "Mikroperepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi Federatsii," *Voprosy Statistiki*, 1994 (1), p. 37 (Moscow, 1994). See also Mark Tolts, "The Interrelationship Between Emigration and the Socio-Demographic Profile of Russian Jewry," in *Russian Jews on Three Continents*, ed. Noah Levin-Epstein, Paul Ritterband, and Yaakov Ro'i (London, 1996).

⁴⁴Lithuanian Department of Statistics, *Demographic Yearbook 1993* (Vilnius, 1994); "Par Latvijas Republikas cilvēkiem," *Latvijas Vestnesim*, 44 (Riga, 1995).

censuses; (d) inclusion in the Russian Microcensus and in the population registers of other republics of some persons who actually left but whose status is not yet that of émigrés, based on the legal criteria of the country of origin, but is such based on the criteria of the State of Israel or other countries of current residence; (e) the return to Russia (and other republics) from Israel and other countries of migrants who for various reasons are still registered as residents of the latter. While it is impossible at this stage to establish the respective weight of each of these factors, their impact is quite secondary in the context of overall Jewish population changes. Points (d) and (e) above also indicate the likelihood of some double counts of former-USSR Jews in their country of origin and in the countries they have emigrated to. Consequently, it is entirely possible that our statistical synopsis is overestimated by several thousand.

Other East Europe and Balkans. The Jewish populations in Hungary and Romania and the small remnants in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak republics, Poland, and the former Yugoslavia are all reputed to be very overaged and to experience frequent outmarriage. In each of these countries, the recent political transformations have permitted greater autonomy of the organized Jewish communities and their registered membership, including increased emigration. Although some Jews or persons of Jewish origin may have come out in the open after years of hiding their identity, the inevitable numerical decline of Jewish populations in Eastern Europe is reflected in reduced estimates for 1994.

The size of Hungarian Jewry—the largest in Eastern Europe outside the former USSR—is quite insufficiently known. Overall membership in local Jewish organizations is estimated at about 20–25,000. Our estimate of 54,500—as against much higher figures that are periodically circulated—attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails in Hungary according to the available indications. The January 1992 census of Romania indicated a Jewish population of 9,107. However, based on the detailed Jewish community records available there, our estimate for the end of 1994 was 14,500. The numbers of Jews in the Czech Republic and Slovakia were very tentatively estimated at 2,200 and 3,800, respectively, and the estimate for Poland was put at 3,500.

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia continued, causing further Jewish population decline. The core Jewish population for the total of the five successor republics, reduced through emigration, was reassessed at 3,500 at the end of 1994. Of these, roughly 2,000 lived in the new territorially shrunken Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and 1,300 in Croatia. Fewer than 2,000 Jews were left in Bulgaria.

The Jewish population of Turkey, where a significant surplus of deaths over births has been reported for several years, is estimated at about 20,000.

ASIA

Israel. Israel accounts for about 98 percent of all the 4.5 million Jews in Asia, including the Asian republics of the former USSR, but excluding the Asian territo-

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, END 1994^a

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel	5,471,000 ^b	4,441,100	811.7	A 1995
Armenia	3,700,000	100	0.0	C 1994
Azerbaijan	7,300,000	15,000	2.1	C 1994
Georgia	5,400,000	12,000	2.2	C 1994
Kazakhstan	16,900,000	13,000	0.8	C 1994
Kyrgyzstan	4,400,000	3,000	0.7	C 1994
Tajikistan	5,800,000	2,200	0.4	C 1994
Turkmenistan	4,500,000	1,700	0.4	C 1994
Uzbekistan	22,700,000	25,000	1.1	C 1994
Total former USSR in Asia ^a	70,700,000	72,000	1.0	
Hong Kong	6,000,000	1,000	0.2	D
India	930,600,000	4,400	0.0	C 1981
Iran	61,300,000	14,000	0.2	C 1986
Iraq	20,600,000	100	0.0	C 1993
Japan	125,200,000	1,000	0.0	C 1988
Korea, South	44,900,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	68,400,000	100	0.0	C 1988
Singapore	3,000,000	300	0.1	B 1990
Syria	14,700,000	800	0.1	C 1994
Thailand	60,200,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Yemen	13,200,000	200	0.0	B 1994
Other	1,965,300,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,313,400,000	22,500	0.0	
Total	3,389,571,000	4,535,600	1.3	

^aNot including Asian regions of Russia and Turkey.^bEnd 1994.

ries of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 4). By the end of 1994, Israeli Jews constituted over 34 percent of total world Jewry. Israel's Jewish population grew in 1994 by about 106,000, or 2.4 percent.⁴⁵ After reaching growth rates of 6.2 percent in 1990 and 5 percent in 1991, steady population increases of 2–2.5 percent were recorded since 1992. The number of new immigrants in 1994 (79,800) slightly increased above the 1993 total (76,800). About 53 percent of Jewish population growth in 1994 was due to the net migration balance; the remaining 47 percent of Jewish population growth reflected natural increase, as well as cases of immigrants from the former USSR and other countries who were previously listed as non-Jews being reregistered as Jews.

Former USSR (Asian parts). The total Jewish population in the Asian republics of the former USSR was estimated at about 72,000 at the end of 1994. The fear of Muslim fundamentalism in Central Asia and the various ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus area continued to cause concern and stimulated Jewish emigration, especially from Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.⁴⁶ Internal identificational and demographic processes were less a factor of attrition among these Jewish populations than was the case in the European republics of the former USSR. At the beginning of the 1990s, minimal rates of natural increase still existed among the more traditional sections of these Jewish communities, but the conditions were rapidly eroding this residual surplus.⁴⁷ Reflecting these trends, the largest community remained in Uzbekistan (25,000), followed by Azerbaijan (15,000), Kazakhstan (13,000), and Georgia (12,000).

Other countries. It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran for any given date, but it continues to dwindle. Based on partial available estimates from the 1986 population census,⁴⁸ the estimate for 1994 was reduced to 14,000. In other Asian countries with small veteran communities—such as India, or several Muslim countries—the Jewish population tends to decline. The recent reduction was more notable in Syria and Yemen, where Jews were officially allowed to emigrate. Very small Jewish communities, partially of a transient character, exist in several countries of Southeast Asia.

⁴⁵Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1995* (Jerusalem, 1995). For a comprehensive review of sociodemographic changes in Israel, see U.O. Schmelz, Sergio DellaPergola, and Uri Avner, "Ethnic Differences Among Israeli Jews: A New Look," *AJYB* 1990, vol. 90, pp. 3–204. See also Sergio DellaPergola, "Demographic Changes in Israel in the Early 1990s," in *Israel's Social Services 1992–93*, ed. Y. Kop (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 57–115. We thank the staff of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics for facilitating compilation of published and unpublished data.

⁴⁶Yoel Florsheim, "Jewish Emigration from the Former USSR in 1994," unpublished report, in Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1995).

⁴⁷Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths. . . ."

⁴⁸Kindly provided by Dr. Mehdi Bozorgmehr, Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California-UCLA, Los Angeles.

AFRICA

Fewer than 110,000 Jews were estimated to remain in Africa at the end of 1994. The Republic of South Africa accounted for 89 percent of total Jews in that continent (see table 5). In 1980, according to a national census, there were about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.⁴⁹ Substantial Jewish emigration since then was only partially compensated by Jewish immigration and return migration of former emigrants. An incipient negative balance of internal changes was producing some further attrition. The last official population census, carried out in March 1991, did not provide a reliable new national figure on Jewish population size. The

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, END 1994

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	61,900,000	200	0.0	C 1993
Ethiopia	56,000,000	500	0.0	C 1993
Morocco	29,200,000	6,400	0.2	C 1995
Tunisia	8,900,000	1,700	0.2	C 1995 X
Other	62,000,000	100	0.0	D
Total North Africa	218,000,000	8,900	0.0	
Botswana	1,500,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Kenya	28,300,000	400	0.0	B 1990
Namibia	1,500,000	100	0.1	B 1993
Nigeria	101,200,000	100	0.0	D
South Africa	43,500,000	96,000	2.2	B 1991
Zaire	44,100,000	300	0.0	B 1993
Zimbabwe	11,300,000	1,000	0.1	A 1993
Other	270,600,000	500	0.0	D
Total other Africa	502,000,000	98,500	0.2	
Total	720,000,000	107,400	0.1	

⁴⁹Sergio DellaPergola and Allie A. Dubb, "South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile," *AJYB* 1988, vol. 88, pp. 59-140.

question on religion was not mandatory, and only about 65,406 white people declared themselves as Jewish. Assuming that the proportion of Jews who had not stated their religion was the same as that of other whites, an inflated census figure of 91,859 Jews was arrived at.⁵⁰ The results of a Jewish-sponsored survey of the Jewish population in the five major South African urban centers, completed—like the census—in 1991, confirmed the ongoing demographic decline.⁵¹ Based on the new evidence, the most likely range of Jewish population size was estimated at 92,000 to 106,000 for 1991, with a central value of 100,000.⁵² The latter figure was also suggested as our estimate for the end of 1992. Taking into account the pace of continuing emigration from South Africa to Israel and other Western countries (especially Australia), we project a decline since 1991, and suggest a new estimate of 96,000 for South African Jewry at the end of 1994.

In recent years, the Jewish community of Ethiopia has been at the center of an international effort of rescue. In the course of 1991, the overwhelming majority of Ethiopian Jews—about 20,000 people—were brought to Israel, most of them in a dramatic one-day airlift operation. Some of these migrants were non-Jewish members of mixed households. In connection with these events, it was assumed that only a few Jews remained in Ethiopia. However, in subsequent years, the small remaining core Jewish population appeared to be somewhat larger than previously estimated. Over 3,600 immigrants from Ethiopia arrived in Israel in 1992, about 900 in 1993, and about 1,200 in 1994, including non-Jewish immigrants seeking reunification with their Jewish relatives. Keeping in mind the possibility that more Jews may appear requesting to emigrate to Israel, and the Israeli immigration policy that now allows the entry of the Christian relatives of Ethiopian Jews (whose actual number is unknown), an estimate of 500 Jews is tentatively suggested for the end of 1994. Small Jewish populations remain in several African countries south of the Sahara.

The remnant of Moroccan and Tunisian Jewry tend to shrink slowly through emigration, mostly to France and Canada. The end-1994 estimate was 6,400 for Morocco and about 1,700 for Tunisia.⁵³ It should be pointed out, though, that some Jews have a foothold both in Morocco or Tunisia and also in France or other Western countries, and their geographic attribution is therefore uncertain.

OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in Oceania (Australasia) is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of nearly 97,000 Jews live (see table 6). The April 1991 census of Australia, in which the question on religion was optional,

⁵⁰Allie A. Dubb, *The Jewish Population of South Africa; The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey* (Cape Town, 1994).

⁵¹The study was directed by Dr. Allie A. Dubb and supported by the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Cape Town.

⁵²Dubb, *Jewish Population of South Africa*.

⁵³George E. Gruen, "Jews in the Middle East and North Africa," *AJYB* 1994, vol. 94, pp. 438–64; and confidential information obtained through Jewish organizations.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, END 1994

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	18,000,000	92,000	5.1	B 1991
New Zealand	3,500,000	4,500	1.3	C 1988
Other	6,500,000	100	0.0	D
Total	28,000,000	96,600	3.5	

enumerated 74,386 declared Jews.⁵⁴ This represented an increase of 5,303 (7.7 percent) over the figure reported in the 1986 census. In 1991, over 23 percent of the country's whole population either did not specify their religion or stated explicitly that they had none. This large group must be assumed to contain persons who identify in other ways as Jews. However, a 1991 survey in Melbourne, where roughly one half of all Australia's Jews live, revealed that less than 7 percent of the Jewish respondents had not identified as Jews in the census.⁵⁵ The Melbourne survey actually depicted a very stable community, even if one affected by growing acculturation. Australian Jewry has received migratory reinforcements during the last decade, especially from South Africa, the former USSR, and Israel. At the same time, there are demographic patterns with negative effects on Jewish population size, such as strong aging. Taking into account these various factors, we revised our estimate for 1994 to a figure of 92,000—substantially more than the official census returns, but less than would obtain by adding the full proportion of those who did not report any religion in the census. The Jewish community in New Zealand is estimated at 4,500.

Dispersion and Concentration

COUNTRY PATTERNS

Table 7 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The 94 individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over all the continents. In 1994, 9 countries had a Jewish population of 100,000 or more; another

⁵⁴Bill Rubinstein, "Census Total for Jews Up by 7.7 Percent; Big Gains in Smaller States," unpublished report (Geelong, Victoria, 1993).

⁵⁵John Goldlust, *The Jews of Melbourne: A Report of the Findings of the Jewish Community Survey, 1991* (Melbourne, 1993).

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN EACH COUNTRY, END 1994

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0-0.9	1.0-4.9	5.0-9.9	10.0-24.9	25.0+
Number of Countries						
Total	94 ^a	60	23	7	3	1
100-900	31	26	4	—	1	—
1,000-4,900	24	22	2	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	6	2	4	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	20	8	10	2	—	—
50,000-99,900	4	1	1	2	—	—
100,000-999,900	7	1	2	3	1	—
1,000,000 or more	2	—	—	—	1	1
Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)						
Total	13,001,700 ^b	384,700	921,500	1,217,300	6,035,600	4,441,100
100-900	10,200	8,100	1,500	—	600	—
1,000-4,900	54,100	46,500	7,600	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	37,300	11,400	25,900	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	408,000	163,700	205,500	38,800	—	—
50,000-99,900	297,500	55,000	96,000	146,500	—	—
100,000-999,900	2,077,000	100,000	585,000	1,032,000	360,000	—
1,000,000 or more	10,116,100	—	—	—	5,675,000	4,441,100
Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews)^c						
Total	100.0 ^b	2.9	7.1	9.4	46.4	34.2
100-900	0.1	0.1	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000-4,900	0.4	0.4	0.0	—	—	—
5,000-9,900	0.3	0.1	0.2	—	—	—
10,000-49,900	3.1	1.2	1.6	0.3	—	—
50,000-99,900	2.3	0.4	0.7	1.1	—	—
100,000-999,900	16.0	0.8	4.5	7.9	2.8	—
1,000,000 or more	77.8	—	—	—	43.6	34.2

^aExcluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.^bIncluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.^cMinor discrepancies due to rounding.

4 countries had 50,000 or more; another 26 had 5,000 or more; and 55 out of 94 countries had fewer than 5,000 Jews each. In relative terms, too, the Jews were thinly scattered nearly everywhere in the Diaspora. There is not a single Diaspora country where they amounted even to 25 per 1,000 (2.5 percent) of the total population. In most countries they constituted a far smaller fraction. Only three Diaspora countries had more than 10 per 1,000 (1 percent) Jews in their total population; and only 10 countries had more than 5 Jews per 1,000 (0.5 percent) of population. The respective 10 countries were, in descending order of the proportion, but regardless of the absolute number of their Jews: United States (21.6 per 1,000), Gibraltar (19.4), Canada (12.2), France (9.1), Uruguay (7.4), Latvia (6.1), Argentina (6.0), Hungary (5.3), Australia (5.1), and United Kingdom (5.0). The other major Diaspora Jewries, having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total population, were Russia (2.6 per 1,000), Ukraine (4.0), Brazil (0.6), and South Africa (2.2).

In the State of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 812 per 1,000 (81.2 percent) in 1994 compared to 814 per 1,000 (81.4 percent) in 1993—not including the Arab population of the administered areas.

While Jews are widely dispersed throughout the world, they are also concentrated to a large extent (see table 8). In 1994, 95 percent of world Jewry lived in the 11 countries with the largest Jewish populations; and 78 percent lived in the two largest

TABLE 8. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1994

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,675,000	43.6	43.6	66.3	66.3
2	Israel	4,441,100	34.2	77.8	—	—
3	France	530,000	4.1	81.9	6.2	72.5
4	Russia	375,000	2.9	84.8	4.4	76.9
5	Canada	360,000	2.8	87.6	4.2	81.1
6	United Kingdom	294,000	2.3	89.9	3.4	84.5
7	Ukraine	210,000	1.6	91.5	2.5	87.0
8	Argentina	208,000	1.6	93.1	2.4	89.4
9	Brazil	100,000	0.8	93.9	1.2	90.6
10	South Africa	96,000	0.7	94.6	1.1	91.7
11	Australia	92,000	0.7	95.3	1.1	92.8
12	Germany	55,000	0.4	95.7	0.6	93.4
13	Hungary	54,500	0.4	96.1	0.6	94.0
14	Mexico	40,800	0.3	96.4	0.5	94.5

communities—the United States and Israel. Similarly, ten leading Diaspora countries together comprised nearly 93 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; three countries (United States, France, and Russia) accounted for 77 percent, and the United States alone for over 66 percent of total Diaspora Jewry.

CONCENTRATION IN MAJOR CITIES

Intensive international and internal migrations have led to the concentration of the overwhelming majority of the Jews in large urban areas. Table 9 provides a first

TABLE 9. METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1994

Rank	Metro Area ^a	Country	Jewish Population
1	New York-Northern NJ	U.S.	1,937,000
2	Tel Aviv	Israel	1,859,000
3	Los Angeles	U.S.	590,000
4	Jerusalem	Israel	454,000 ^b
5	Haifa	Israel	424,000
6	Miami-Ft. Lauderdale	U.S.	382,000
7	Paris	France	310,000
8	Philadelphia	U.S.	280,000
9	Chicago	U.S.	263,000
10	Boston	U.S.	235,000
11	San Francisco	U.S.	216,000
12	London	United Kingdom	215,000
13	Buenos Aires	Argentina	180,000
14	Washington, DC-MD-VA	U.S.	166,000
15	Toronto	Canada	163,000
16	W. Palm Beach-Boca Raton	U.S.	151,000
17	Moscow	Russia	150,000
18	Netanya	Israel	140,000 ^c
19	Be'er Sheva	Israel	138,000 ^c
20	Ashdod	Israel	115,000 ^c
21	Baltimore	U.S.	105,000
22	Montreal	Canada	101,000

^aMost metropolitan statistical areas include extended inhabited territory and several municipal authorities around the central city. Definitions vary by country.

^bCentral city plus Ma'ale Adumim, Mevasseret Zion, Giv'at Ze'ev, and Har Adar.

^cCentral city only. Our estimate of Jewish population from total population data.

attempt to rank the cities where the largest Jewish populations were found in 1994.⁵⁶ Twenty-two urban areas worldwide had estimated populations of 100,000 Jews or more. These 22 central places together comprised over 65 percent of the whole world Jewish population. Ten of these cities were in the United States, six in Israel, two in Canada, and one each in France, the United Kingdom, Russia, and Argentina. The ten metropolitan areas in the United States included over 76 percent of total U.S. Jewry, and the six major Israeli centers included over 70 percent of Israel's Jewish population.

The extraordinary urbanization of the Jews was evinced even more by the fact that over one-half of all world Jewry (6,734,000, or 51.8 percent) lived in only ten metropolitan areas: New York (including Northern New Jersey), Los Angeles (including Orange and Riverside Counties), Miami-Ft. Lauderdale, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston in the United States; Paris in France; and Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa in Israel.

U.O. SCHMELZ
SERGIO DELLA PERGOLA

⁵⁶Definitions of metropolitan statistical areas vary across countries. Estimates reported here reflect the criteria adopted in each place. For U.S. estimates, see Kosmin and Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1995," *AJYB* 1996; for Israeli estimates, see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population in Localities: Demographic Characteristics by Geographical Divisions, 1994* (Jerusalem, 1996); for Canadian estimates, see Torczyner and Brotman, "Jews of Canada"; for other estimates, A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry.

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COMMUNITY RELATIONS

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM (1943). PO Box 9009, Alexandria, VA 22304. (703)836-2546. Pres. Alan V. Stone; Exec. Dir. Allan C. Brownfeld. Seeks to advance the universal principles of a Judaism free of nationalism, and the national, civic, cultural, and social integration into American institutions of Americans of Jewish faith. *Issues of the American Council for Judaism; Special Interest Report.*

AMERICAN JEWISH ALTERNATIVES TO ZIONISM, INC. (1968). 347 Fifth Ave., Suite 605A, NYC 10016. (212)213-9125. Pres. Elmer Berger; V.-Pres. Mrs. Arthur

Gutman. Applies Jewish values of justice and humanity to the Arab-Israel conflict in the Middle East; rejects nationality attachment of Jews, particularly American Jews, to the State of Israel as self-segregating, inconsistent with American constitutional concepts of individual citizenship and separation of church and state, and as being a principal obstacle to Middle East peace. *Report.*

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (1906). Institute of Human Relations, The Jacob Blaustein Building, 165 E. 56 St., NYC 10022. (212)751-4000. FAX: (212)750-0326. Pres. Robert S. Rifkind; Exec. Dir. David A. Harris. Protects the rights and

*The information in this directory is based on replies to questionnaires circulated by the editors.

freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and anti-Semitism and promotes human rights for all; works for the security of Israel and deepened understanding between Americans and Israelis; advocates public-policy positions rooted in American democratic values and the perspectives of the Jewish heritage; and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people. Includes Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Center for Human Relations, Project Interchange, William Petschek National Jewish Family Center, Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations. *AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK; Commentary; AJC Journal; Anti-Semitism World Report.*

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS (1918). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., NYC 10028. (212)879-4500. FAX: (212)-249-3672. Pres. David V. Kahn; Exec. Dir. Phil Baum. Works to foster the creative survival of the Jewish people; to help Israel develop in peace, freedom, and security; to eliminate all forms of racial and religious bigotry; to advance civil rights, protect civil liberties, defend religious freedom, and safeguard the separation of church and state; organization is known as "The Attorney General for the Jewish Community." *Congress Monthly; Judaism; Islamic Fundamentalism Update; Inside Israel.*

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH (1913). 823 United Nations Plaza, NYC 10017. (212)490-2525. FAX: (212)-867-0779. Chmn. David H. Strassler; Dir. Abraham H. Foxman. Seeks to combat anti-Semitism and to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens through law, education, and community relations. *ADL on the Frontline; Law Enforcement Bulletin; Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies; Hidden Child Newsletter; International Reports; Civil Rights Reports.*

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKERS (1950). 7800 Northaven Road, Dallas, TX 75230. (214)-369-3313. FAX: (214)369-8943. Pres. Marlene Gorin. Aims to stimulate higher standards of professional practice in Jewish community relations; encourages research and training toward that end; conducts educational programs and seminars; aims to encourage cooperation between

community-relations workers and those working in other areas of Jewish communal service.

CENTER FOR JEWISH COMMUNITY STUDIES (1970). Temple University, Center City Campus, 1616 Walnut St., Suite 513, Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215)204-1459. FAX: (215)204-7784. E-mail: V2026R@TEMPLE.VM. AT&T Mail: !CJCS. Jerusalem office: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. Pres. Daniel J. Elazar; Dir. General Zvi Marom; Chmn. Board of Overseers Miriam Schneirov. Worldwide policy-studies institute devoted to the study of Jewish community organization, political thought, and public affairs, past and present, in Israel and throughout the world. Publishes original articles, essays, and monographs; maintains library, archives, and reprint series. *Jerusalem Letter/Viewpoints; Survey of Arab Affairs; Jewish Political Studies Review.*

CENTER FOR RUSSIAN JEWRY WITH STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY/SSSJ (1964). 240 Cabrini Blvd., #5B, NYC 10033. (212)928-7451. FAX: (212)-795-8867. Dir.-Founder Jacob Birnbaum; Chmn. Dr. Ernest Bloch; Student Coord. Glenn Richter. Campaigns for the human rights of the Jews of the former USSR, with emphasis on emigration and Jewish identity; supports programs for needy Jews there and for newcomers in Israel and USA, stressing employment and Jewish education. As the originator of the grassroots movement for Soviet Jewry in the early 1960s, possesses unique archives.

COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (1953, joint instrumentality of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)249-0100. 2027 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. Chmn. Evelyn Laser Shlensky; Dir. Rabbi Eric Yoffie; Codir. & Dir. Religious Action Center Rabbi David Saperstein. Policy-making body that relates ethical and spiritual principles of Judaism to social-justice issues; implements resolutions through the Religious Action Center in Washington, DC, via advocacy, development of educational materials, and congregational programs. *Tsedek V'Shalom (social action newsletter); Chai Impact (legislative update).*

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1955). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)-318-6111. FAX: (212)644-4135. Chmn. Leon Levy; Exec. V.-Chmn. Malcolm Hoenlein. Seeks to strengthen the U.S.-Israel alliance and to protect and enhance the security and dignity of Jews abroad. Toward this end, the Conference of Presidents speaks and acts on the basis of consensus of its 52 member agencies on issues of national and international Jewish concern.

CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS-CCJO (1946). 420 Lexington Ave., Suite 1733, NYC 10170. (212)808-5437. Pres.'s Ady Steg, Fred Tuckman, and Joseph Nuss; Sec.-Gen. Warren Green. A nongovernmental organization in consultative status with the UN, UNESCO, ILO, UNICEF, and the Council of Europe; cooperates and consults with, advises, and renders assistance to the Economic and Social Council of the UN on all problems relating to human rights and economic, social, cultural, educational, and related matters pertaining to Jews.

COORDINATING BOARD OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1947). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202)-857-6545. Pres. Tommy Baer; Exec. V.-Pres. Dr. Sidney Clearfield; Dir. Internatl. Affairs Daniel S. Mariaschin; Deputy Dir. Warren Eisenberg; Dir. UN Off. Harris Schoenberg. Coordinates the UN activities of B'nai B'rith and the British and South African Boards of Jewish Deputies.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE, INC. (1948). 45 E. 33 St., Rm. 604, NYC 10016. (212)689-2015. FAX: (212)447-1633. Pres. Louis Weiser. Supports merit system; encourages recruitment of Jewish youth to government service; member of Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, NY Jewish Community Relations Council, NY Metropolitan Coordinating Council on Jewish Poverty, Jewish Labor Committee, America-Israel Friendship League. *Council Digest*.

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS (see Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America)

INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE REPARATION OF RUSSIAN JEWS, INC. (1963). 2 Fountain Lane, Suite 2J, Scarsdale, NY 10583. (914)683-3225. FAX: (914)683-

3221. Pres. Morris Brafman; Chmn. James H. Rapp. Helped to bring the situation of Soviet Jews to world attention; catalyst for advocacy efforts, educational projects, and programs on behalf of Russian Jews in the former USSR, Israel, and U.S. Provides funds to help Russian Jewry in Israel and the former Soviet Union.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE (1934). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 21 St., NYC 10010. (212)477-0707. FAX: (212)-477-1918. Pres. Lenore Miller; Exec. Dir. Michael S. Perry. Serves as liaison between the Jewish community and the trade union movement; works with the U.S. and international labor movement to combat anti-Semitism, promote improved intergroup relations, and engender support for the State of Israel and Jews in and from the former Soviet Union; promotes effective teaching in American public schools about the Holocaust and Jewish resistance; strengthens support within the Jewish community for the social goals and programs of the labor movement; supports Yiddish-language and cultural institutions. *Jewish Labor Committee Review; Issues Alert; Alumni Newsletter*.

_____, NATIONAL TRADE UNION COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (1956). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 21 St., NYC 10010. (212)477-0707. FAX: (212)477-1918. Chmn. Sol Hoffman; Exec. Dir. Michael S. Perry. Works with the American labor movement in advancing the struggle for social justice and equal opportunity, and assists unions in every issue affecting human rights. Fights discrimination on all levels and helps to promote labor's broad social and economic goals.

JEWISH PEACE FELLOWSHIP (1941). Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. (914)358-4601. FAX: (914)358-4924. Pres. Rabbi Philip Bentley; Sec. Naomi Goodman; Ed. Murray Polner. Unites those who believe that Jewish ideals and experience provide inspiration for a nonviolent philosophy and way of life; offers draft counseling, especially for conscientious objection based on Jewish "religious training and belief"; encourages Jewish community to become more knowledgeable, concerned, and active in regard to the war/peace problem. *Shalom/Jewish Peace Letter*.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1896). 1811 R St.,

NW, Washington, DC 20009. (202)265-6280. FAX: (202)234-5662. Natl. Exec. Dir. Herb Rosenbleeth; Natl. Commander Neil Goldman. Seeks to foster true allegiance to the United States; to combat bigotry and prevent defamation of Jews; to encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice for all; to cooperate with and support existing educational institutions and establish new ones; to foster the education of ex-servicemen, ex-servicewomen, and members in the ideals and principles of Americanism. *Jewish Veteran*.

———, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN JEWISH MILITARY HISTORY (1958). 1811 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009. (202)-265-6280. FAX: (202)462-3192. Pres. Edward D. Blatt; Asst. Dir./Archivist Sandor B. Cohen. Documents and preserves the contributions of Jewish Americans to the peace and freedom of the United States; educates the public concerning the courage, heroism, and sacrifices made by Jewish Americans who served in the armed forces; and works to combat anti-Semitism. *Museum News* (quarterly newsletter).

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH LEGISLATORS (1976). 65 Oakwood St., Albany, NY 12208. (518)458-8512. Exec. Dir. Mark Hiller; Pres. Byron Baer, N.J. state senator. A nonpartisan Jewish state legislative network focusing on domestic issues and publishing quarterly newsletters. Maintains close ties with the Knesset and Israeli leaders.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY (formerly AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY) (1964; reorg. 1971). 730 Broadway, 2nd fl., NYC 10003. (212)780-9500. FAX: (212)780-0888. 1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 501, Washington, DC 20036. (202)898-2500. FAX: (202)898-0822. Chmn. Rabbi Mark Staitman; Exec. Dir. Mark B. Levin. Coordinating agency for major national Jewish organizations and local community groups in the U.S., acting on behalf of Soviet Jewry through public education and social action; stimulates all segments of the community to maintain an interest in the problems of Soviet Jews by publishing reports and special pamphlets, sponsoring special programs and projects, organizing public meetings and forums. *Newswatch*; *annual report*; *action and program kits*; *Wrap-Up Leadership Report*.

———, SOVIET JEWRY RESEARCH BUREAU. Chmn. Rabbi Mark Staitman. Organized by NCSJ to monitor emigration trends. Primary task is the accumulation, evaluation, and processing of information regarding Soviet Jews, especially those who apply for emigration.

NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION (1985). 415 2nd St., NE, Suite 100, Washington, DC 20002. (202)547-7701. FAX: (202)544-2434. Natl. Chmn. Cheryl Halpern; Hon. Chmn. Max M. Fisher, George Klein, Richard J. Fox, and Amb. Joseph Gildenhorn; Exec. Dir. Matt Brooks. Promotes involvement in Republican politics among its members; sensitizes Republican leaders to the concerns of the American Jewish community; promotes principles of free enterprise, a strong national defense, and an internationalist foreign policy. *NJC Bulletin*.

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMISSION ON LAW AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS (COLPA) (1965). 135 W. 50 St., 6th fl., NYC 10020. (212)-641-8992. FAX: (212)641-8197. Pres. Allen L. Rothenberg; Exec. Dir. Dennis Rapps. Voluntary association of attorneys whose purpose is to represent the observant Jewish community on legal, legislative, and public-affairs matters.

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL (1944). 443 Park Ave. S., 11th fl., NYC 10016. (212)-684-6950. FAX: (212)686-1353. Chmn. Michael N. Newmark; Sec. Frederick N. Frank; Exec. V.-Chmn. Lawrence Rubin. National coordinating body for the field of Jewish community relations, comprising 13 national and 117 local Jewish community-relations agencies. Promotes understanding of Israel and the Middle East; freedom for Soviet Jews; equal status for Jews and other groups in American society. Through the NJCRAC's work, its constituent organizations seek agreement on policies, strategies, and programs for effective utilization of their resources for common ends. *Joint Program Plan for Jewish Community Relations*.

NATIONAL JEWISH DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL (1990). 503 Capital Ct., NE, #300, Washington, DC 20002. (202)544-7636. FAX: (202)544-7645. E-mail: NJDCONLINE@AOL.COM. Chmn. Monte Friedkin; Sec. Esther R. Landa; Treas. Sheldon Cohen; Founding Chmn. Morton Mandel.

An independent organization of Jewish Democrats committed to strengthening the Democratic party through its members' participation in the grassroots political process; to making the party sensitive to the views of American Jews; and to encouraging American Jewish support for the party. *Capital Communiqué*.

SHALOM CENTER (1983). 7318 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19119. (215)247-9700. FAX: (215)247-9703. (Part of ALEPH Alliance for Jewish Renewal.) Exec. Dir. Arthur Waskow. National resource and organizing center for Jewish perspectives on dealing with global warming and nuclear and other environmental dangers. Assists local Jewish communities on environmental issues. "Eco-Shalom Corps" trains environmental organizers. Sponsors Sukkat Shalom, Eco-Kosher project, and Ira Silverman Memorial. Provides school curricula, sermon materials, legislative reports, liturgies, adult-education texts, and media for Jewish use. *New Menorah*.

STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY, INC. (see Center for Russian Jewry)

UNION OF COUNCILS (formerly the UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS) (1970). 1819 H St., NW, Suite 230, Washington, DC 20006. (202)775-9770. FAX: (202)-775-9776. Natl. Pres. Pamela B. Cohen; Natl. Dir. Micah H. Naftalin. Its 38 member councils and 100,000 members throughout the U.S. support and protect Soviet Jews by gathering and disseminating news on their condition and treatment; advocacy; publications and educational programs, including briefings and policy analyses. Matches U.S. synagogues to FSU Jewish communities in Yad L'Yad assistance program; operates five Human Rights Bureaus to monitor anti-Semitism and ethnic intolerance in FSU, advocate for refuseniks and political prisoners, and seek to advance democracy and rule of law. *Monitor* (weekly digest of news and analysis from states of the FSU).

WORLD CONGRESS OF GAY AND LESBIAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1975). PO Box 3345, NYC 10008-3345. (514)931-7265. FAX: (514)270-5363. Pres. Harvey Cohen (Montreal); Exec. Dir. James Baaden (London). Works to coordinate and promote educational and development programs for gay and lesbian Jewish groups

throughout the world; coordinates educational programs and disseminates information about homosexuality and Judaism and the activities of the World Congress; sponsors regional and international conferences. *The W.C. Digest*.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS (1936; org. in U.S. 1939). 501 Madison Ave., 17th fl., NYC 10022. (212) 755-5770. FAX: (212)-755-5883. Pres. Edgar M. Bronfman; Co-chmn. N. Amer. Branch Prof. Irwin Cotler (Montreal) and Evelyn Sommer; Sec.-Gen. Israel Singer; Exec. Dir. Elan Steinberg. Seeks to intensify bonds of world Jewry with Israel as central force in Jewish life; to strengthen solidarity among Jews everywhere and secure their rights, status, and interests as individuals and communities; to encourage development of Jewish social, religious, and cultural life throughout the world and coordinate efforts by Jewish communities and organizations to cope with any Jewish problem; to work for human rights generally. Represents its affiliated organizations—most representative bodies of Jewish communities in more than 80 countries and 35 national organizations in American section—at UN, OAS, UNESCO, Council of Europe, ILO, UNICEF, and other governmental, intergovernmental, and international authorities. Publications (including those by Institute of Jewish Affairs, London): *WJC Report*; *East European Jewish Affairs*; *Boletín Informativo OJI*; *Christian-Jewish Relations*; *Dateline: World Jewry*; *Patterns of Prejudice*; *Coloquio*; *Batfutsot*; *Gesher*.

—, **UN WATCH** (1993). 56 Quai Gustave-Ador, 1207 Geneva, Switzerland. (41-22)700-39-15. FAX: (41-22)700-39-17. Chmn. Morris B. Abram. Measures UN performance by the yardstick of the UN Charter and advocates the nondiscriminatory application of the Charter to all UN member states. Opposes expressions of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism in UN forums and seeks to institutionalize at the UN the fight against worldwide anti-Semitism.

CULTURAL

AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH (1929). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8864. FAX: (212)678-8947. Pres. Robert Chazan. Encourages Jewish learning and research; holds annual or semiannual meeting; awards grants for

the publication of scholarly works. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research; Texts and Studies; Monograph Series.*

AMERICAN GATHERING OF JEWISH HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS. 122 W. 30 St., NYC 10001. (212)239-4230. FAX: (212)279-2926. Pres. Benjamin Meed; Exec. Dir. Arie Bucheister. Dedicated to documenting the past and passing on a legacy of remembrance. Compiles the *National Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors*—to date, the records of more than 90,000 survivors and their families—housed at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC; holds an annual Yom Hashoah commemoration and occasional international gatherings; sponsors an intensive summer program for U.S. teachers in Poland and Israel to prepare them to teach about the Holocaust. *Together (newspaper).*

AMERICAN GUILD OF JUDAIC ART (1991). PO Box 1794, Murray Hill Station, NYC 10156-0609. (212)889-7581. FAX: (212)-779-9015. Pres. Michael Berkowicz. A membership org. for those with interest in the Judaic arts; serves as a resource center for contemporary Jewish artists and the general public; acts to increase public awareness of Judaic craft and fine art; provides a forum for the exchange of ideas about Judaic art. *Hiddur (newsletter devoted to the Jewish visual arts); Update (members' networking newsletter); Guild Showcase (a marketing magazine supplement).*

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY (1892). 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, MA 02154. (617)891-8110. FAX: (617)899-9208. Pres. Justin L. Wyner; Exec. Dir. Dr. Michael Feldberg. Collects, catalogues, publishes, and displays material on the history of the Jews in America; serves as an information center for inquiries on American Jewish history; maintains archives of original source material on American Jewish history; sponsors lectures and exhibitions; makes available audiovisual material. *American Jewish History; Heritage.*

AMERICAN JEWISH PRESS ASSOCIATION (1944). Natl. Admin. Off.: 12703 Research Blvd., Suite 220, Austin, TX 78759. (512)-250-2409. FAX: (301)816-2379. Exec. Dir. L. Malcolm Rodman; Pres. Debra Rubin. Seeks the advancement of Jewish

journalism and the maintenance of a strong Jewish press in the U.S. and Canada; encourages the attainment of the highest editorial and business standards; sponsors workshops, services for members; sponsors annual competition for Simon Rockower awards for excellence in Jewish journalism. *Membership bulletin newsletter; Roster of Members.*

AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION (1973). 305 7th Ave., NYC 10001. (212)366-7223. FAX: (212)366-7263. Presidium Victor DeLoya, Murray Farash, Dr. Heskell Haddad, Leon Levy, Raymond Mallel, Mehdi Nassimi, Bernard Ouziel, Jack Pessio. Central umbrella organization for all Sephardic congregations, organizations, and agencies. Seeks to preserve and promote Sephardic culture, education, and traditions. Disseminates resource material on all aspects of Sephardic life. Strives to bring a Sephardic agenda and perspective to American Jewish life. *Sephardic Highlights Newsletter.*

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR JEWISH MUSIC (1974). 170 W. 74 St., NYC 10023. (212)-874-4456. FAX: (212)874-8605. Pres. Jack Gottlieb; V.-Pres. Judith Tischler & Martha Novick; Bd. Chmn. Henry Michelman. Promotes the knowledge, appreciation, and development of Jewish music, past and present, for professional and lay audiences; seeks to raise the standards of composition and performance in Jewish music; to encourage research, and to sponsor performances of new and rarely heard works. *Musica Judaica Journal.*

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH BOOK PUBLISHERS (1962). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)-249-0100. Pres. Stuart M. Matlins; Exec. Dir. Ginny Perrin. As a nonprofit group, provides a forum for discussion of mutual areas of interest among Jewish publishers, and promotes cooperative exhibits and promotional opportunities for members. Membership fee is \$75 annually per publishing house.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETIES (1988). PO Box 50245, Palo Alto, CA 94303. (415) 424-1622. E-mail RWEISSJGS@AOL.COM. Pres. Robert Weiss. Confederation of over 55 Jewish Genealogical Societies (JGS) worldwide. Encourages Jews to research their family history, promotes membership in the various JGSs, acts as representative of orga-

nized Jewish genealogy, implements projects of interest to persons researching their Jewish family history. Annual conference where members learn and exchange ideas. Each local JGS publishes its own newsletter.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH LIBRARIES (1965). 15 E. 26 St., Rm. 1034, NYC 10010. (216)-381-6440. FAX: (216)381-5509. Pres. Zachary Baker; V-Pres. Esther Nussbaum. Seeks to promote and improve services and professional standards in Jewish libraries; disseminates Jewish library information and guidance; promotes publication of literature in the field; encourages the establishment of Jewish libraries and collections of Judaica and the choice of Judaica librarianship as a profession; cocertifies Jewish libraries (with Jewish Book Council). *AJL Newsletter; Judaica Librarianship.*

BEIT HASHOAH—MUSEUM OF TOLERANCE OF THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER (1993). 9760 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90035-4792. (310)553-8403. FAX: (310)553-4521. Dean-founder Rabbi Marvin Hier; Dir. Dr. Gerald Margolis; Assoc. Dean Rabbi Abraham Cooper; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Meyer May. A unique experiential museum focusing on personal prejudice, group intolerance, struggle for civil rights, and 20th-century genocides, culminating in a major exhibition on the Holocaust. Archives, Multimedia Learning Center designed for individualized research, 6,700-square-foot temporary exhibit space, 324-seat theater, 150-seat auditorium, and outdoor memorial plaza.

B'NAI B'RITH KLUTZNICK NATIONAL JEWISH MUSEUM (1957). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202)-857-6583. FAX: (202)857-6609. Dir. Ori Z. Soltes. A center of Jewish art and history in the nation's capital, maintains temporary and permanent exhibition galleries, permanent collection of Jewish ceremonial objects, folk art, and contemporary fine art, outdoor sculpture garden and museum shop, as well as the American Jewish Sports Hall of Fame. Provides exhibitions, tours, educational programs, research assistance, and tourist information. *Semianual newsletter; permanent collection catalogue; temporary exhibit catalogues.*

CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES, DOCUMENTATION & RESEARCH (1974). Merged

into A Living Memorial to the Holocaust—Museum of Jewish Heritage, Jan. 1991.

CENTRAL YIDDISH CULTURE ORGANIZATION (CYCO), INC. (1943). 25 E. 21 St., 3rd fl., NYC 10010. (212)505-8305. Mgr. David Kirszenwejj. Promotes, publishes, and distributes Yiddish books; publishes catalogues.

CONFERENCE ON JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES, INC. (formerly CONFERENCE ON JEWISH RELATIONS, INC.) (1939). Building 70, Stanford University, Program in Jewish Studies, Stanford University, Stanford CA 94305. (415)725-0829. FAX: (415)725-2920. Pres. Steven J. Zipperstein; V-Pres. Aron Rodrigue. *Jewish Social Studies.*

CONGREGATION BINA (1981). 600 W. End Ave., Suite 1-C, NYC 10024. (212)873-4261. Pres. Joseph Moses; Exec. V.-Pres. Moses Samson; Hon. Pres. Samuel M. Daniel; Secy. Gen. Elijah E. Jhirad. Serves the religious, cultural, charitable, and philanthropic needs of the Children of Israel who originated in India and now reside in the U.S. Works to foster and preserve the ancient traditions, customs, liturgy, music, and folklore of Indian Jewry and to maintain needed institutions. *Kol Bina.*

CONGRESS FOR JEWISH CULTURE (1948). 25 E. 21 St., NYC 10010. (212)505-8040. Copres.'s Prof. Yonia Fain, Dr. Barnett Zumoff. An umbrella group comprising 16 constituent organizations; perpetuates and enhances Jewish creative expression in the U.S. and abroad; fosters all aspects of Yiddish cultural life through the publication of the journal *Zukunft*, the conferring of literary awards, commemoration of the Holocaust and the martyrdom of the Soviet Jewish writers under Stalin, and a series of topical readings, scholarly conferences, symposiums, and concerts. *Zukunft.*

ELAINE KAUFMAN CULTURAL CENTER (1952). 129 W. 67 St., NYC 10023. (212)-362-8060. FAX: (212)874-7865. Chmn. Leonard Goodman; Pres. Elaine Kaufman; Exec. Dir. Lydia Kontos. Offers instruction in its Lucy Moses School for Music and Dance in music, dance, art, and theater to children and adults, in Western culture and Jewish traditions. Presents frequent performances of Jewish and general music by leading artists and ensembles in its Merkin Concert Hall and Ann Goodman Recital Hall. The Birnbaum Music

Library houses Jewish music scores and reference books. *Kaufman Cultural Center News*; bimonthly concert calendars; catalogues and brochures.

HISTADRUTH IVRITH OF AMERICA (1916; reorg. 1922). 47 W. 34 St., Rm. 609, NYC 10001. (212)629-9443. Pres. Dr. David Sidersky; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Abraham Kupchik. Emphasizes the primacy of Hebrew in Jewish life, culture, and education; aims to disseminate knowledge of written and spoken Hebrew in N. America, thus building a cultural bridge between the State of Israel and Jewish communities throughout N. America. *Hadoar*; *Lamish-paha*; *Tov Lichtov*; *Hebrew Week*; *Ulpan*.

HOLOCAUST CENTER OF THE UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER PITTSBURGH (1980). 242 McKee Pl., Pittsburgh, PA 15213. (412)682-7111. FAX: (412)-681-8804. Pres. Holocaust Comm. Daniel Butler; Bd. Chmn. Ruth G. Schachter; Dir. Linda F. Hurwitz. Develops programs and provides resources to further understanding of the Holocaust and its impact on civilization. Maintains a library, archive; provides speakers, educational materials; organizes community programs.

HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL RESOURCE & EDUCATION CENTER OF CENTRAL FLORIDA (1982). 851 N. Maitland Ave., Maitland, FL 32751. (407)628-0555. FAX: (407)-628-0555. Pres. Judy Albertson; Bd. Chmn. Tess Wise. An interfaith educational center devoted to teaching the lessons of the Holocaust. Houses permanent multimedia educational exhibit; maintains library of books, videotapes, films, and other visuals to serve the entire educational establishment; offers lectures, teacher training, and other activities. *Newsletter*; *Bibliography*; "Holocaust—Lessons for Tomorrow."

HOLOCAUST MUSEUM AND LEARNING CENTER (formerly ST. LOUIS CENTER FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES) (1977). 12 Millstone Campus Dr., St. Louis, MO 63146. (314)432-0020. Chmn. Thomas R. Green; Chmn. Emer. Leo Wolf; Dir. Rabbi Robert Sternberg; Asst. Dir. Harold M. Lainoff. Develops programs and provides resources and educational materials to further an understanding of the Holocaust and its impact on civilization; has a 5,000 sq. ft. museum containing photographs, artifacts, and audiovisual displays. *Newsletter for*

Friends of the Holocaust Museum and Learning Center.

INSTITUTE FOR RUSSIAN JEWRY, INC. (1990). PO Box 96, Flushing, NY 11367. (718)969-0911. Exec. Dir. Rosa Irgal; Sec. Azia Zverena. Disseminates knowledge of Judaism in Russian language, from historical and cultural perspectives; promotes knowledge of the religious and cultural heritage of Russian Jews through Russian folk and fine art exhibits, lecture series, music and dance workshops.

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH MEDIA ASSOCIATION (1987). U.S.: c/o St. Louis Jewish Light, 12 Millstone Campus Dr., St. Louis, MO 63146. (314)432-3353. FAX: (314)-432-0515. Israel: PO Box 92, Jerusalem 91920. 02-202-222. FAX: 02-513-642. Pres. Robert A. Cohn (c/o St. Louis Jewish Light); Exec. Dir. Malcolm Rodman, 12703 Research Blvd., Suite 220, Austin, TX 78759. (512)250-2409. FAX: (512)-219-5851. Israel Liaison, Ellen Shmueloff, WZO Dept. of Infor. A worldwide network of Jewish journalists, publications and other media in the Jewish and general media, which seeks to provide a forum for the exchange of materials and ideas and to enhance the status of Jewish media and journalists throughout the world. *President's Bulletin*; *Proceedings of the International Conference on Jewish Media*.

INTERNATIONAL NETWORK OF CHILDREN OF JEWISH HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS, INC. (1981). 3000 NE 145 St., N. Miami, FL 33181-3600. (305)940-5690. FAX: (305)-940-5691. Pres. Rositta E. Kenigsberg; V.-Pres. Jean Bloch Rosensaft, Marilyn E. Kingston. Links Second Generation groups and individuals throughout the world. Represents the shared views and interests of children of Holocaust survivors; aims to perpetuate the authentic memory of the Holocaust and prevent its recurrence, to strengthen and preserve the Jewish spiritual, ideological, and cultural heritage, to fight anti-Semitism and other forms of racial, ethnic, and religious hatred, and to fight discrimination, persecution, and oppression anywhere in the world. *International Study of Organized Persecution of Children*.

JEWISH ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, INC. (1926). 888 Seventh Ave., Suite 403, NYC 10106. (212)757-1627. Hon. Pres. Prof. Abraham Katsh; Acting Pres. Prof.

Milton Handler; V.-Pres. Joseph Handlerman; V.-Chmn. Robert L. Sadoff, MD; Treas. Zvi Levavy. An honor society of Jews who have attained distinction in the arts, sciences, professions, and communal endeavors. Encourages the advancement of knowledge; stimulates scholarship, with particular reference to Jewish life and thought; recognition by election to membership and/or fellowship; publishes papers delivered at annual convocations.

JEWISH BOOK COUNCIL (1943). 15 E. 26 St., NYC 10010. (212)532-4949, ext. 297. Pres. Dr. Arthur Kurzweil; Ex. Dir. Carolyn Starman Hessel; Acting Bd. Chmn. Henry Everett. Serves as literary arm of the American Jewish community and clearinghouse for Jewish-content literature; assists readers, writers, publishers, and those who market and sell product. Provides bibliographies, list of publishers, book stores, libraries, in cooperation with Association of Jewish Libraries. Sponsors National Jewish Book Awards, Jewish Book Month, Judaica Book and Crafts Marketplace, library citations. *Jewish Book Annual; Jewish Book World*.

JEWISH HERITAGE PROJECT (1981). 150 Franklin St., #1W, NYC 10013. (212)-925-9067. Exec. Dir. Alan Adelson. Strives to bring to the broadest possible audience authentic works of literary and historical value relating to Jewish history and culture. Distributor of the film *Lodz Ghetto*, which it developed, as well as its companion volume *Lodz Ghetto: Inside a Community Under Siege*.

JEWISH MUSEUM (1904, under auspices of Jewish Theological Seminary of America). 1109 Fifth Ave., NYC 10128. (212)423-3200. FAX: (212)423-3232. Dir. Joan H. Rosenbaum; Bd. Chmn. E. Robert Goodkind. Expanded museum reopened in June 1993, featuring permanent exhibition on the Jewish experience. Repository of the largest collection of Judaica—paintings, prints, photographs, sculpture, coins, medals, antiquities, textiles, and other decorative arts—in the Western Hemisphere. Includes the National Jewish Archive of Broadcasting. Tours, lectures, film showings, and concerts; special programs for children; cafe; shop. *Special exhibition catalogues; annual report*.

JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY (1888). 1930 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103.

(215)564-5925. FAX: (215)564-6640. Pres. D. Walter Cohen; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Michael A. Monson; Ed.-in-Chief Dr. Ellen Frankel; Dir. of Marketing Donna Weber. Publishes and disseminates books of Jewish interest for adults and children; titles include TANAKH, religious studies and practices, life cycle, folklore, classics, art, history, belles-lettres. *The Bookmark; JPS Catalogue*.

JEWISH SPORTS CONGRESS (1992). PO Box 4549, Old Village Station, Great Neck, NY 11023. (516)482-5550. FAX: (516) 482-5583. Founding Chmn. Marty Glickman; Intl. Chmn. Yael Arad; Pres. David J. Kufeld; Exec. V.-Pres. Mike Cohen. An independent, nondenominational organization that promotes and supports athletics and physical fitness within the international Jewish community. Offers JSC awards program; participatory tournaments in tennis, golf, and basketball; sports-related travel packages; fitness certification for Jewish day-school youth; sponsors the Olympic Martyrs Commemorative; JSC speakers bureau and Jewish Sports News Bureau. *Jewish Sports & Fitness; Jewish Sports Yearbook*.

JUDAH L. MAGNES MUSEUM—JEWISH MUSEUM OF THE WEST (1962). 2911 Russell St., Berkeley, CA 94705. (510)549-6950. FAX: (510)849-3673. Pres. Fred Weiss; Dir. Seymour Fromer. Collects, preserves, and makes available Jewish art, culture, history, and literature from throughout the world. Permanent collections of fine and ceremonial art, rare Judaica library, Western Jewish History Center (archives). The museum has changing exhibits, traveling exhibits, docent tours, lectures, numismatics series, poetry award, museum shop. *Magnes News; special exhibition catalogues; scholarly books*.

JUDAICA CAPTIONED FILM CENTER, INC. (1983). PO Box 21439, Baltimore, MD 21208-0439. Voice (1-800)-735-2258; TDD (410)655-6767. Pres. Lois Lilienfeld Weiner. Developing a comprehensive library of captioned and subtitled films and tapes on Jewish subjects; distributes them to organizations serving the hearing-impaired, including mainstream classes and senior adult groups, on a freeloan, handling/shipping-charge-only basis. *Newsletter*.

LEAGUE FOR YIDDISH, INC. (1979). 200 W. 72 St., Suite 40, NYC 10023. (212)787-

6675. Pres. Dr. Sadie Turak; Exec. Dir. Dr. Mordkhe Schaechter. Encourages the development and use of Yiddish as a living language; promotes its modernization and standardization; publisher of Yiddish textbooks and English-Yiddish dictionaries; most recent book publication: *Yiddish Two: An Intermediate and Advanced Textbook*, 1995. *Afn Shvel* (quarterly).

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE, INC. (1955). 129 E. 73 St., NYC 10021. (212)744-6400. FAX: (212)988-1305. Pres. Ismar Schorsch; Exec. Dir. Carol Kahn Strauss. A library, archive, and research center for the history of German-speaking Jewry. Offers lectures, exhibits, faculty seminars; publishes a series of monographs, yearbooks, and journals. *LBI News*; *LBI Yearbook*; *LBI Memorial Lecture*; *LBI Library & Archives News*.

A LIVING MEMORIAL TO THE HOLOCAUST-MUSEUM OF JEWISH HERITAGE (1984). 342 Madison Ave., Suite 706, NYC 10173. (212)687-9141. FAX: (212)573-9847. Cochmn. George Klein, Robert M. Morgenthau, Sen. Manfred Ohrenstein, Peter A. Cohen, Howard J. Rubenstein; Museum Dir. David Altshuler. The New York tri-state region's principal public memorial and institution of Holocaust remembrance and education that teaches about the Holocaust in the context of modern Jewish history. Permanent and changing exhibitions. Ground was broken for the museum in 1994; public opening is scheduled for 1997. *Quarterly newsletter*; *Holocaust bibliography*; *promotional brochures*; *educational materials*.

LIVING TRADITIONS (1994). 430 W. 14 St., #514, NYC 10014. (212)691-1272. FAX: (212)691-1657. E-mail: LIVETRADES@AOL.COM. Pres. Henry Sapoznik; V.-Pres. Lorin Sklamberg. Nonprofit membership organization dedicated to the study, preservation, and innovative continuity of traditional folk and popular culture through workshops, concerts, recordings, radio and film documentaries; clearinghouse for research in klezmer and other traditional music; sponsors yearly weeklong international cultural event, "Yiddish Folk Arts Program/'Klez-Kamp.'" *Living Traditions* (newsletter).

MAALOT-A SEMINARY FOR CANTORS AND JUDAISTS (1987). 15 W. Montgomery Ave., Suite 204, Rockville, MD 20850.

(301)309-2310. FAX: (301)309-2328. Pres./Exec. Off. David Shneyer. An educational program established to train individuals in Jewish music, the liturgical arts, and the use, design, and application of Jewish customs and ceremonies. Offers classes, seminars, and an independent study program.

MARTYRS MEMORIAL & MUSEUM OF THE HOLOCAUST OF THE JEWISH FEDERATION COUNCIL OF GREATER LOS ANGELES (1963; reorg. 1978). 6505 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90048. (213)852-3242. FAX: (213)951-0349. Dir. Dr. Alex Grobman. A photo-narrative museum and resource center dedicated to Holocaust history, issues of genocide and prejudice, and curriculum development. *Zachor* (quarterly newsletter; educational guides).

MEMORIAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE, INC. (1964). 15 E. 26 St., NYC 10010. (212)679-4074. Pres. Jack J. Spitzer; Exec. V.-Pres. Jerry Hochbaum. Through the grants that it awards, encourages Jewish scholarship and Jewish education, supports communities that are struggling to maintain their Jewish identity, makes possible the training of Jewish men and women for professional careers in communal service in Jewishly deprived communities, and stimulates the documentation, commemoration, and teaching of the Holocaust.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE (1960). 330 Seventh Ave., 21st fl., NYC 10001. (212)629-0500. FAX: (212)629-0508. Pres. Tom L. Freudenheim; Exec. Dir. Richard A. Siegel. The leading Jewish organization devoted to promoting Jewish culture in the U.S. Administers the Council of American Jewish Museums, the Council of Archives and Research Libraries in Jewish Studies, and the Council of Jewish Theatres; supports Jewish scholarship through doctoral dissertation fellowships; provides funding to major Jewish cultural institutions through the Joint Cultural Appeal; organizes conferences, symposia, and festivals in the arts and humanities; initiated the Jewish Endowment for the Arts and Humanities. *Jewish Cultural News*; *Yearbook of American Jewish Culture*; *Resource Guide*.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN JEWISH MILITARY HISTORY (see Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.)

NATIONAL YIDDISH BOOK CENTER (1980). 48 Woodbridge St., South Hadley, MA 01075. (413)535-1303. FAX: (413)535-1007. Pres. Aaron Lansky; Development Dir. Eric Vieland. Collects and disseminates Yiddish books; conducts activities contributing to the revitalization of Yiddish culture in America. *Der Pakn-treger/The Book Peddler*.

ORTHODOX JEWISH ARCHIVES (1978). 84 William St., NYC 10038. (212)797-9000, ext. 73. FAX: (212)269-2843. Dir. Rabbi Moshe Kolodny. Founded by Agudath Israel of America; houses historical documents, photographs, periodicals, and other publications relating to the growth of Orthodox Jewry in the U.S. and related communities in Europe, Israel, and elsewhere. Particularly noteworthy are its holdings relating to rescue activities organized during the Holocaust and its traveling exhibits available to schools and other institutions.

RESEARCH FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH IMMIGRATION, INC. (1971). 570 Seventh Ave., NYC 10018. (212)921-3871. FAX: (212)-575-1918. Pres. Curt C. Silberman; Sec. and Coord. of Research Herbert A. Strauss; Archivist Dennis E. Rohrbaugh. Studies and records the history of the migration and acculturation of Central European German-speaking Jewish and non-Jewish Nazi persecutees in various resettlement countries worldwide, with special emphasis on the American experience. *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés, 1933-1945; Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the USA*.

RUSSIAN TELEVISION NETWORK (RTN) (1991). PO Box 3589, Stamford, CT 06905. (203)359-1570. FAX: (203)359-1381. Pres. Mark S. Golub; V.-Pres. Michael Pravin. Devoted to producing daily television programming for the immigrant Jewish community from the former Soviet Union; seen 24 hours a day on Cablevision of Brooklyn and nationally on the International Channel and NJT/National Jewish Television.

SEPHARDIC EDUCATIONAL CENTER (1979). 6505 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 403, Los Angeles, CA 90048. (213)653-7365. FAX: (213)653-9985. Pres. Jose A. Nessim, MD; Chmn. Internatl. Youth & Young Adults Neil J. Sheff. Has chapters in the U.S., North, Central, and South America,

Europe and Asia, a spiritual and educational center in the Old City of Jerusalem, and executive office in Los Angeles. Serves as a meeting ground for Sephardim from many nations and sponsors the first worldwide movement for Sephardic youth and young adults. Disseminates information about Sephardic Jewry in the form of motion pictures, pamphlets, and books, which it produces. *Hamerkaz (quarterly bulletin)*.

SEPHARDIC HOUSE (1978). 2112 Broadway, Suite 200A, NYC 10023. (212)496-2173. FAX: (212)496-2264. Hon. Pres. Morrie R. Yohai; Exec. Dir. Dr. Janice E. Ovadia. A cultural organization dedicated to fostering Sephardic history and culture; sponsors a wide variety of classes and public programs, film festivals, including summer program in France for high-school students; publication program disseminates materials of Sephardic value; outreach program to communities outside of the New York area; program bureau provides program ideas, speakers, and entertainers. *Sephardic House Newsletter*.

SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER (1977). 9760 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90035-4701. (310)553-9036. FAX: (310)553-8007. Dean-Founder Rabbi Marvin Hier; Assoc. Dean Rabbi Abraham Cooper; Dir. Dr. Gerald Margolis; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Meyer May. Regional offices in New York, Miami, Toronto, Paris, Jerusalem, Buenos Aires. The largest institution of its kind in N. America, dedicated to the study of the Holocaust, its contemporary implications, and related human-rights issues through education and awareness. Incorporates 385,000-sq.-ft. Beit Hashoah-Museum of Tolerance, library, media department, archives, "Testimony to the Truth" oral histories, educational outreach, research department, international social action, "Page One" (syndicated weekly radio news magazine presenting contemporary Jewish issues). *Response Magazine*.

SKIRBALL CULTURAL CENTER (1995) AND **SKIRBALL MUSEUM** (1913; 1972 in Calif.; under auspices of Hebrew Union College). 2701 N. Sepulveda Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90049. (310)440-4500. FAX: (310)440-4595. Pres. & CEO Uri D. Herscher; Chmn. of the Board Howard Friedman. Aims to celebrate the American Jewish experience through interpretive museum exhibits and programming; incorporates the Skirball Museum, offering a core exhibi-

tion integrating Jewish and American values, and a museum shop; the Discovery Center, emphasizing archaeology, with an on-site dig; and the Conference Center, providing rooms and an auditorium for concerts, lectures, performances, readings, film screenings, and classes. *Catalogues of exhibits and collections.*

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF CZECHOSLOVAK JEWS, INC. (1961). 87-08 Santiago St., Holliswood, NY 11423. (718)468-6844. Pres. and Ed. Lewis Weiner; Sec. Hana Borges. Studies the history of Czechoslovak Jews; collects material and disseminates information through the publication of books and pamphlets. *The Jews of Czechoslovakia (3 vols.); Review I-VI.*

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF THE TOURO SYNAGOGUE, NATIONAL HISTORICAL SHRINE, INC. (1948). 85 Touro St., Newport, RI 02840. (401)847-4794. FAX: (401)847-8121. Pres. Meira Lisman Max; Exec. Dir. B. Schlessinger Ross. Helps maintain Touro Synagogue as a national historic site, opening and interpreting it for visitors; promotes public awareness of its pre-eminent role in the tradition of American religious liberty; annually commemorates George Washington's letter of 1790 to the Hebrew Congregation of Newport. *Society Update.*

_____, **TOURO NATIONAL HERITAGE TRUST** (1984). 85 Touro St., Newport, RI 02840. (401)847-0810. FAX (401)847-8121. Pres. Bernard Bell; Chmn. Benjamin D. Holloway. Works to establish national education center within Touro compound; sponsors Touro Fellow through John Carter Brown Library; presents seminars and other educational programs; promotes knowledge of the early Jewish experience in this country.

SPERTUS MUSEUM, SPERTUS INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES (1968). 618 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60605. (312)922-9012. FAX: (312)922-6406. Pres. Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies, Dr. Howard A. Sulklin. The largest, most comprehensive Judaic museum in the Midwest with 12,000 square feet of exhibit space and a permanent collection of some 6,000 works spanning 5,000 years of Jewish history and culture. Also includes Holocaust memorial, gallery of contemporary art, changing special exhibitions, and children's ARTIFACT Center, plus traveling exhibits for

Jewish educators, life-cycle workshops, programs for seniors and the disabled, and community-generated art projects. *Exhibition catalogues; educational pamphlets.*

UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM (1980; opened Apr. 1993). 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW, Washington, DC 20024. (202)488-0400. FAX: (202)488-2690. Chmn. Miles Lerman; Exec. Dir. Dr. Walter Reich. Federally chartered and privately built, its mission is to teach about the Nazi persecution and murder of six million Jews and millions of others from 1933 to 1945 and to inspire visitors to contemplate their moral responsibilities as citizens of a democratic nation. Opened in April 1993 near the national Mall in Washington, DC, the museum's permanent exhibition tells the story of the Holocaust through authentic artifacts, videotaped oral testimonies, documentary film and historical photographs. Offers educational programs for students and adults, an interactive computerized learning center, and special exhibitions and community programs. *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Update (bimonthly); Directory of Holocaust Institutions; Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies (quarterly); Days of Remembrance Guidebook (annual).*

THE WILSTEIN (SUSAN & DAVID) INSTITUTE OF JEWISH POLICY STUDIES (1988). 43 Hawes St., Brookline, MA 02146. (617)232-8710. FAX: (617)264-9264. Dir. Dr. David M. Gordis; Chmn. Howard I. Friedman. The Wilstein Institute's West Coast Center in Los Angeles and East Coast Center at Hebrew College in Boston provide a bridge between academics, community leaders, professionals, and the organizations and institutions of Jewish life. The Institute serves as an international research and development resource for American Jewry. *Bulletins, various newsletters, monographs, research reports, and books.*

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY MUSEUM (1973). 2520 Amsterdam Ave., NYC 10033-3201. (212)960-5390. FAX: (212)960-5406. Dir. Sylvia A. Herskowitz. Collects, preserves, and interprets Jewish life and culture through changing exhibitions of ceremonial objects, paintings, rare books and documents, synagogue architecture, textiles, decorative arts, and photographs. Oral history archive. Special events, holiday work-

shops, live performances, lectures, etc. for adults and children. Guided tours and workshops are offered. *Seasonal calendars; special exhibition catalogues.*

YIDDISHER KULTUR FARBAND-YKUF (1937). 1133 Broadway, Rm. 1019, NYC 10010. (212)691-0708. Pres. and Ed. Itche Goldberg. Publishes a bimonthly magazine and books by contemporary and classical Jewish writers; conducts cultural forums; exhibits works by contemporary Jewish artists and materials of Jewish historical value; organizes reading circles. *Yiddishe Kultur.*

YIVO INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH (1925). 555 W. 57 St., Suite 1100, NYC 10019. (212)246-6080. FAX: (212)292-1892. Chmn. Bruce Slovin; Exec. V.-Pres. Laurence H. Rubinstein; Rsch. Dir. Allan Nadler. Engages in social and cultural research pertaining to East European Jewish life; maintains library and archives which provide a major international, national, and New York resource used by institutions, individual scholars, and the public; trains graduate students in Yiddish, East European, and American Jewish studies; offers continuing education classes in Yiddish language, exhibits, conferences, public programs; publishes books. *Yidishe Shprakh; YIVO Annual; YIVO Bleter; Yedies fun Yivo.*

—, **MAX WEINREICH CENTER FOR ADVANCED JEWISH STUDIES** (1968). 555 W. 57 St., Suite 1100, NYC 10019. (212)246-6080. FAX: (212)292-1892. Dean Allan Nadler. Provides advanced-level training in Yiddish language and literature, ethnography, folklore, linguistics, and history; offers guidance on dissertation or independent research; post-doctoral fellowships available.

YUGNTRUF-YOUTH FOR YIDDISH (1964). 200 W. 72 St., Suite 40, NYC 10023. (212)787-6675. FAX: (212)799-1517. Chmn. Dr. Paul Glasser; V-Chmn. Dr. Adina Cimet de Singer; Coord. Binyumen Schaechter. A worldwide, nonpolitical organization for younger generation with a knowledge of, or interest in, Yiddish; fosters Yiddish as a living language and culture. Sponsors all activities in Yiddish: reading, conversation, and creative writing groups; annual weeklong retreat in Berkshires; non-Hassidic play group; sale of shirts. *Yugntrof Journal.*

ISRAEL-RELATED

THE ABRAHAM FUND (1989). 477 Madison Ave., 4th fl., NYC 10022. (212)303-9421. FAX: (212)935-1834. Pres. Alan B. Slifka; Co-founder Dr. Eugene Weiner; Interim Exec. Dir. Joan A. Bronk. Established solely to enhance and fund Jewish-Arab coexistence, to encourage the citizens of Israel to live and work together with mutual respect and in harmony. Supports programs run by both Jews and Arabs in a wide variety of fields, including health, social services, education, environment, culture, and women's rights. *Quarterly newsletter.*

ALYN-AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN ISRAEL (1934). 19 W. 44 St., NYC 10036. (212)869-8085. FAX: (212)768-0979. Chmn. Simone P. Blum; Pres. Caroline W. Halpern; Exec. Dir. Joan R. Mendelson. Supports the work of ALYN Hospital, rehabilitation center for severely orthopedically handicapped children, located in Jerusalem, whose aim is to prepare patients for independent living.

AMERICA-ISRAEL CULTURAL FOUNDATION, INC. (1939). 317 Madison Ave., Suite 1605, NYC 10017. (212)557-1600. FAX: (212)557-1611. Bd. Chmn. Isaac Stern; Pres. Vera Stern; Exec. Dir. USA Kathleen Mellon. Supports and encourages the growth of cultural excellence in Israel through grants to cultural institutions; scholarships to gifted young artists and musicians. *Newsletter.*

AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE, INC. (1971). 134 E. 39 St., NYC 10016. (212)213-8630. FAX: (212)683-3475. Pres. Mortimer B. Zuckerman; Bd. Chmn. Kenneth J. Bialkin; Exec. V.-Pres. Ilana Artman. A nonsectarian, nonpartisan organization which seeks to broaden the base of support for Israel among Americans of all faiths and backgrounds. Activities include educational exchanges, tours of Israel for American leadership groups, symposia and public-education activities, and the dissemination of printed information. *Newsletter.*

AMERICAN ASSOCIATES, BEN-GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV (1973). 342 Madison Ave., NYC 10173. (212)687-7721. FAX: (212)370-0686. Pres. Kenneth Tucker; Bd. Chmn. Harold Oshry; Exec. V.-Pres. Kenneth Farber. Serves as the

university's fund-raising link to the U.S.; is committed to programs for the development of the Negev, publicizing university activities and issues, securing student scholarships, transferring contributions, and encouraging American support for the university. *AABGU Reporter; BGU Bulletin; BGU Media Profiles; Annual Media Report; Overseas Study Catalog.*

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR SHAARE ZEDEK HOSPITAL IN JERUSALEM, INC. (1949). 49 W. 45 St., Suite 1100, NYC 10036. (212)354-8801. Pres. Charles H. Bendheim; Bd. Chmn. Erica Jesselson; Sr. Exec. V.-Pres. Morris Talansky. Raises funds for the various needs of the Shaare Zedek Medical Center, Jerusalem, such as equipment and medical supplies, nurses' training, and research; supports exchange program between Shaare Zedek Medical Center and Albert Einstein College of Medicine, NY. *Heartbeat Magazine.*

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR SHENKAR COLLEGE IN ISRAEL, INC. (1971). 855 Ave. of the Americas, NYC 10001. (212) 947-1597. FAX: (212)643-9887. Pres. Steven Boxer; Exec. Dir. Charlotte Fainblatt. Raises funds for capital improvement, research and development projects, laboratory equipment, scholarships, lectureships, fellowships, and library/archives of fashion and textile design at Shenkar College in Israel, Israel's only fashion and textile technology college. Accredited by the Council of Higher Education, the college is the chief source of personnel for Israel's fashion and apparel industry. *Shenkar News.*

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE (1944). 51 Madison Ave., NYC 10010. (212)779-2500. FAX: (212)779-3209. Chmn. S. Donald Sussman; Pres. Robert Begam; Sr. V.-Pres. Fran Ginsburg. Through 16 regional offices in the U.S. raises funds, disseminates information, and does American purchasing for the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot, Israel, a world-renowned center of scientific research and graduate study. The institute conducts research in disease, energy, the environment, and other areas; runs an international summer science program for gifted high-school students. *Rehovot; Interface; Research, Weizmann Now; annual report.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF ASSAF HAROFEH MEDICAL CENTER (1975). 110 E. 59 St.,

NYC 10022. (212)318-6125. FAX: (212) 826-8959. Chmn. Kenneth Kronen; Natl. Exec. V.-Pres. David Agronin; Treas. Robert Kastin. Support group for Assaf Harofeh, Israel's third-largest government hospital, serving a poor population of over 400,000 in the area between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Raises funds for medical equipment, medical training for immigrants, hospital expansion, school of nursing, and school of physiotherapy. *Newsletter.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY (1955). 91 Fifth Ave., Suite 200, NYC 10003. (212)337-1270. FAX: (212)337-1274. Chancellor Rabbi Emanuel Rackman; Chmn. Global Bd. of Trustees Dr. Morris L. Green; Pres. Amer. Bd. of Overseers Jane Stern Lebell; Exec. V.-Pres. Gen. Yehuda Halevy. Supports Bar-Ilan University, an institution that integrates the highest standards of contemporary scholarship in liberal arts and sciences with a Judaic studies program as a requirement for graduation. Located in Ramat-Gan, Israel, and chartered by the Board of Regents of the State of NY. *Bar-Ilan News; Bar-Ilan University Scholar.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF BETH HATEFUTSOTH (1976). 110 E. 59 St., Suite 4099, NYC 10022. (212)339-6034. FAX: (212) 318-6176. Pres. Abraham Spiegel; Chmn. Sam E. Bloch; Exec. Dir. Gloria Golan. Supports the maintenance and development of Beth Hatefutsoth, the Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora in Tel Aviv, and its cultural and educational programs for youth and adults. Circulates its traveling exhibitions and provides various cultural programs to local Jewish communities. Includes Jewish genealogy center (DOROT); the center for Jewish music, and photodocumentation center. *Beth Hatefutsoth quarterly newsletter.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF HAIFA UNIVERSITY (1972). c/o Lester Schwab Katz & Dwyer, Att: Robert J. Benowitz, 120 Broadway, Suite 3800, NYC 10271-0071. (212)964-6611. FAX: (212)267-5916. Pres. Sir Anthony Jacobs; Sec./Treas. Robert Jay Benowitz. Promotes, encourages, and aids higher and secondary education, research, and training in all branches of knowledge in Israel and elsewhere; aids in the maintenance and development of Haifa University; raises and allocates funds for the above purposes; provides scholarships;

promotes exchanges of teachers and students.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF RABIN MEDICAL CENTER (1994). 3000 Connecticut Ave., Suite 400A, Washington DC 20008. (202)-234-7100. FAX: (202)234-1062. New York office: 299 Broadway, Suite 1019, NYC 10007. (212) 587-0502. Pres. Miriam Romm; V.-Pres. Sherwood Goldberg. Supports the maintenance and development of this medical, research, and teaching institution in central Israel, which unites the Golda and Beilinson hospitals, providing 12% of all hospitalization in Israel. Department of Organ Transplantation performs 80% of all kidney and 60% of all liver transplants in Israel. Affiliated with Tel Aviv University's Sackler School of Medicine.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF RAMBAM MEDICAL CENTER (1969). 441 Lexington Ave., Suite 1403, NYC 10017. (212)949-6770. FAX: (212)599-1663. Pres. Howard S. Denburg; Exec. Dir. Linda E. Frankel. Represents and raises funds for Rambam Medical Center (Haifa), an 887-bed hospital serving approx. one-third of Israel's population, incl. the entire population of northern Israel (and south Lebanon), the U.S. Sixth Fleet, and the UN Peacekeeping Forces in the region. Rambam is the teaching hospital for the Technion's medical school. *Quarterly newsletter.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF RATZ/CRM(1988). 15 E. 26 St., Rm. #919, NYC 10010. (212)447-6652. FAX: (212)447-7638. Pres. Rabbi Israel Dresner; Chmn. Russell Pearce; Exec. Dir. Sara Zucker. Supports and promotes Ratz/CRM, the Civil Rights and Peace Movement in Israel, which is dedicated to democracy, human and civil rights, religious pluralism, equality for women and ethnic minorities, and Israeli-Palestinian peace based on mutual recognition and self-determination. Initiates dialogue between Israelis and American Jews on these topics. *Meretz Report.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY, INC. (1955). 360 Lexington Ave., NYC 10017. (212)687-5651. FAX: (212)-687-4085. Bd. Chmn. Melvin S. Taub; Pres. Robert J. Topchik; Exec. V.-Pres. Jules Love. Promotes higher education at Tel Aviv University, Israel's largest and most comprehensive institution of higher learning. Among its nine faculties are the

Sackler School of Medicine with its fully accredited NY State English-language program, the Rubin Academy of Music, and 70 research institutes including the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East & African Studies and the Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies. *Tel Aviv University News; FAX Flash.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY (1925; inc. 1931). 11 E. 69 St., NYC 10021. (212)472-9800. FAX: (212)-744-2324. Pres. Barbara A. Mandel; Bd. Chmn. Lawrence Newman; Exec. V.-Pres. Adam Kahan. Fosters the growth, development, and maintenance of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; collects funds and conducts informational programs throughout the U.S., highlighting the university's achievements and its significance. *Hebrew University News; Scopis newsletter.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ISRAEL MUSEUM (1972). 500 Fifth Ave., Suite 2540, NYC 10110. (212)997-5611. FAX: (212)-997-5536. Pres. Judith Steinhardt; Exec. Dir. Michele Cohn Tocci. Raises funds for special projects of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem; solicits works of art for exhibition and educational purposes. *Newsletter.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF ISRAEL. 330 W. 58 St., #401, NYC 10019. (212)713-1515. FAX: (212)-974-0769. Natl. Chmn. Irving M. Rosenbaum; Exec. V.-Pres. Eric G. Heffler. *Open Letter.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE SHALOM HARTMAN INSTITUTE (1976). 282 Grand Ave., Englewood, NJ 07631. (201)894-0566. FAX: (201)894-0377. Pres. Richard F. Kaufman; Dir. Rabbi Donniel Hartman; Admin. Dorothy Minchin. Supports the Shalom Hartman Institute, Jerusalem, an institute of higher education and research center devoted to applying the teachings of classical Judaism to the issues of modern life. Founded in 1976 by David Hartman, the institute includes advanced research centers in philosophy, theology, political thought, education, ethics, and Halakhah; a Beit Midrash, teacher-training programs, Russian scholars program, an experimental high school, and programs for Diaspora lay leadership and Jewish communal professionals and educators.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE TEL AVIV MUSEUM OF ART (1974). 133 E. 58 St., Suite

701, NYC 10022. (212)319-0555. FAX: (212)754-2987. Pres. Stanley Batkin. Raises funds for the Tel Aviv Museum of Art for special projects, art acquisitions, and exhibitions; seeks contributions of art to expand the museum's collection; encourages art loans and traveling exhibitions; creates an awareness of the museum in the USA; makes available exhibition catalogues, monthly calendars, and posters published by the museum. *Newsletter*.

AMERICAN FRIENDS/SARAH HERZOG MEMORIAL HOSPITAL—JERUSALEM (EZRATH NASHIM) (1895). 40 E. 34 St., Suite 916, NYC 10016. (212)725-8175. FAX: (212)-725-2519. Pres. Burton G. Greenblatt; Dir. Rena M. Isaacson. Conducts research, education, and patient care at Sarah Herzog Memorial Hospital in Jerusalem, which includes a 290-bed hospital, comprehensive outpatient clinic, drug-abuse clinic, geriatric center, and psychiatric research center; Israel's only independent, nonprofit, voluntary geriatric and psychiatric hospital; affiliated with Hadassah Hospital, Hebrew University, Bar-Ilan University, and other major medical schools and facilities. *Friend to Friend; To Open the Gates of Healing*.

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (AIPAC) (1954). 440 First St., NW, Washington, DC 20001. (202)639-5200. FAX: (202)347-4921. Pres. Melvin Dow; Exec. Dir. Neal M. Sher. Registered to lobby on behalf of legislation affecting U.S.-Israel relations; represents Americans who believe support for a secure Israel is in U.S. interest. Works for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship. *Near East Report; AIPAC Papers on U.S.-Israel Relations*.

AMERICAN-ISRAELI LIGHTHOUSE, INC. (1928; reorg. 1955). 30 E. 60 St., NYC 10022. (212)838-5322. Pres. Mrs. Leonard F. Dank; Sec. Frances Lentz. Provides education and rehabilitation for the blind and physically handicapped in Israel to effect their social and vocational integration into the seeing community; built and maintains Rehabilitation Center for the Blind (Migdal Or) in Haifa. *Tower*.

AMERICAN JEWISH LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL (1957). 130 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)-371-1583. FAX: (212)371-3265. Pres. Dr. Martin L. Kalmanson. Seeks to unite all those who, notwithstanding differing philosophies of Jewish life, are committed

to the historical ideals of Zionism; works independently of class, party, or religious affiliation for the welfare of Israel as a whole. Not identified with any political parties in Israel. Member of World Jewish Congress, World Zionist Organization, American Zionist Movement. *Newsletter*.

AMERICAN PHYSICIANS FELLOWSHIP FOR MEDICINE IN ISRAEL (1950). 2001 Beacon St., Suite 211, Brookline, MA 02146. (617)232-5382. FAX: (617) 739-2616. Pres. Louis M. Sherwood, MD; Exec. Dir. Donald J. Perlstein. Supports projects that advance medical education, research, and care in Israel and builds links between the medical communities of Israel and N. Amer.; provides fellowships for Israeli physicians training in N. Amer. and arranges lectureships in Israel by prominent N. Amer. physicians; sponsors CME seminars in Israel and N. Amer.; coordinates U.S./Canadian medical emergency volunteers for Israel. *APF News*.

AMERICAN RED MAGEN DAVID FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1940) (a.k.a. ARMDI & Red Magen David). 888 Seventh Ave., Suite 403, NYC 10106. (212)757-1627. FAX: (212)757-4662. Natl. Pres. Robert L. Sadoff, MD; Natl. Chmn. Louis Cantor; Exec. V.-Pres. Benjamin Saxe. An authorized tax-exempt organization; the sole support arm in the U.S. of Magen David Adom (MDA), Israel's equivalent to a Red Cross Society; raises funds for the MDA emergency medical, ambulance, blood, and disaster services which help Israel's defense forces and civilian population. Helps to supply and equip ambulances, bloodmobiles, and cardiac rescue ambulances as well as 45 prehospital MDA Emergency Medical Clinics and the MDA National Blood Service Center and MDA Fractionation Institute in Ramat Gan, Israel. *Life-line*.

AMERICANS FOR A SAFE ISRAEL (1971). 147 E. 76 St., NYC 10021. (212)628-9400. FAX: (212)988-4065. Chmn. Herbert Zweibon. Seeks to educate Americans in Congress, the media, and the public about Israel's role as a strategic asset for the West; through meetings with legislators and the media, in press releases and publications AFSI promotes the notion of Jewish rights to Judea and Samaria and the concept of "peace for peace" as an alternative to "territory for peace." *Outpost*.

AMERICANS FOR PEACE NOW (1984). 27 W. 20 St., 9th fl., NYC 10011. (212)645-6262. FAX: (212)645-7355. Copres. Ernest Bogen, Mary Ann Stein; Exec. Dir. Gary E. Rubin. Conducts educational programs and raises funds to support the Israeli peace movement, Shalom Achshav (Peace Now), and coordinates U.S. advocacy efforts through APN's Washington-based Center for Israeli Peace and Security. *National Newsletter*.

AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL (1952). 224 W. 35 St., Suite 403, NYC 10001. (212)868-0386. A socialist-Zionist organization historically supporting a just and durable peace between Israel and all its Arab neighbors, including the Palestinian people; works for the national liberation of all Jews; seeks the democratization of Jewish communal and organizational life; promotes dignity of labor, social justice, and a deeper understanding of Jewish culture and heritage. Affiliate of American Zionist Movement and World Union of Mapam, with fraternal ties to Hashomer Hatzair and Kibbutz Artzi Federation of Israel. *Israel Horizons*.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR TECHNION-ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (1940). 810 Seventh Ave., 24th fl., NYC 10019. (212)262-6200. FAX: (212)262-6155. Pres. Ben Sosewitz; Chmn. Lewis M. Weston; Exec. V.-Pres. Melvyn H. Bloom. Supports the work of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa, which trains over 10,000 students in 19 faculties and a medical school, and conducts research across a broad spectrum of science and technology. *Technion USA*.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR YAD VASHEM (1981). 48 W. 37 St., NYC 10018. (212)-564-9606. FAX: (212)564-6395. Chmn. Eli Zborowski; Exec. Dir. Selma Schiffer. Development arm of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, the central international authority created by the Knesset in 1953 for the purposes of commemoration and education in connection with the Holocaust. *Martyrdom and Resistance* (newsletter).

AMERICAN ZIONIST MOVEMENT (formerly AMERICAN ZIONIST FEDERATION) (1939; reorg. 1949, 1970, 1993). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)318-6100. FAX: (212)-935-3578. Pres. Seymour D. Reich; Exec. Dir. Karen J. Rubinstein. Umbrella organization for 22 American Zionist organiza-

tions and the voice of unified Zionism in the U.S. Conducts advocacy for Israel; strengthens Jewish identity; promotes the Israel experience; prepares the next generation of Zionist leadership. Regional offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, South Florida. Groups in Atlanta, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Washington, DC. *The Zionist Advocate*.

AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH FOUNDATION, INC. (1963). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)339-6002 (Israel Programs) or (212)-339-6925,6 (Executive Offices). Chmn. Julius Berman; Exec. V.-Chmn. Don Adelman. Heightens Zionist awareness among Jewish youth through programs and services geared to high-school and college-age youngsters. Sponsors educational tours to Israel, study in leading institutions; sponsors field workers on campus and in summer camps; prepares and provides specialists who present and interpret the Israel experience for community centers and federations throughout the country. *The Campus Review; Monthly Ma'atafa; The Complete Guide to Israel Programs*.

AMIT (1925). 817 Broadway, NYC 10003. (212)477-4720. FAX: (212)353-2312. Pres. Evelyn Blachor; Exec. Dir. Marvin Leff. The State of Israel's official *reshet* (network) for religious secondary technological education; maintains innovative children's homes and youth villages in Israel in an environment of traditional Judaism; promotes cultural activities for the purpose of disseminating Zionist ideals and strengthening traditional Judaism in America. *AMIT Magazine* (formerly AMERICAN MIZRACHI WOMEN).

AMPAL-AMERICAN ISRAEL CORPORATION (1942). 1177 Avenue of the Americas, NYC 10036. (212)782-2100. FAX: (212)-782-2114. Pres. Lawrence Lefkowitz; Bd. Chmn. Shlomo Recht. Acquires interests in businesses located in the State of Israel or that are Israel-related. Interests include hotels and leisure-time, real estate, energy distribution, basic industry, and high technology and communications. *Annual report; quarterly reports*.

ARZA-ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA (1977). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)650-4280. FAX: (212)517-7968. Pres. Philip Meltzer; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Ammiel Hirsch. Individual Zionist membership organization devoted to

achieving Jewish pluralism in Israel and strengthening the Israeli Reform movement. Chapter activities in the U.S. concentrate on these issues and on strengthening American public support for Israel. *Journal of Reform Zionism; ARZA Report.*

BETAR ZIONIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION (1935). 218 E. 79 St., NYC 10021. (212)-650-1231. Central Shaliach, Ofer Laufman. Organizes youth groups across North America to teach Zionism, Jewish identity, and love of Israel; sponsors summer programs in Israel for Jewish youth ages 14-22; sponsors Tagar Zionist Student Activist Movement on college campuses.

BOYS TOWN JERUSALEM FOUNDATION OF AMERICA INC. (1948). 91 Fifth Ave., Suite 601, NYC 10003. (212)242-1118. FAX: (212)242-2190. Pres. Michael J. Scharf; Chmn. Josh S. Weston; V.-Chmn. Alexander S. Linchner; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Ronald L. Gray. Raises funds for Boys Town Jerusalem, which was established in 1948 to offer a comprehensive academic, religious, and technical education to disadvantaged Israeli and immigrant boys from over 45 different countries, including Ethiopia, Russia, and Iran. Enrollment: over 1,000 students in jr. high school, academic and technical high school, and a college of applied engineering. *BTJ Newsbriefs; Your Town Magazine.*

CAMERA-COMMITTEE FOR ACCURACY IN MIDDLE EAST REPORTING IN AMERICA (1983). PO Box 428, Boston, MA 02258. (617)789-3672. FAX: (617)787-7853. Pres./ Exec. Dir. Andrea Levin; Bd. Chmn. Herman Swartz. Monitors and responds to media distortion in order to promote better understanding of Middle East events; urges members to alert the media to errors, omissions, and distortions; unites all friends of Israel regardless of politics or religion to correct unbalanced or inaccurate coverage of Middle East. *CAMERA Media Report (quarterly); CAMERA on Campus; Action Alerts; Media Directories; Monographs.*

COALITION FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1989). PO Box 107, Knickerbocker Station, NYC 10002. (212)475-7128. FAX: (212)475-7128. Chmn. N.R. Greenfield; Pres. Howard B. Weber; Exec. Sec. Elliot M. Jager; Rabbinic Cabinet, Rabbi David Algaze. Publishes educational "*hasbara*" advertisements in the press regarding Jewish

rights to the Land of Israel. Informally, coordinates activities of various "national camp" organizations.

COUNCIL FOR A BEAUTIFUL ISRAEL ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION FOUNDATION (1973). 919 3rd Ave., 18th fl., NYC 10022. (212)888-7372. Pres. Dina A. Evan; Admin. Dir. Donna Lindemann. A support group for the Israeli body, whose activities include education, town planning, lobbying for legislation to protect and enhance the environment, preservation of historical sites, the improvement and beautification of industrial and commercial areas, and sponsoring the CBI Center for Environmental Studies located in Yarkon Park, Tel Aviv. *Yearly newsletter.*

EDUCATION FUND FOR ISRAELI CIVIL RIGHTS AND PEACE (1991). 15 E. 26 St., Rm. #919, NYC 10010. (212)447-6652. FAX: (212)447-7638. Pres. Rabbi Israel Dresner; Chmn. Russell Pearce; Exec. Dir. Sara Zucker. A forum for addressing the issues of social justice and peace in Israel. Educates about issues related to democracy, human and civil rights, religious pluralism, and equality for women and ethnic minorities; promotes the resolution of Israel's conflict with the Palestinians on the basis of mutual recognition, self-determination, and peaceful coexistence.

EMUNAH OF AMERICA (formerly HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION) (1948). 7 Penn Plaza, NYC 10001. (212)-564-9045, (800)368-6440. FAX: (212)-643-9731. Natl. Pres. Dr. Rosalie Reich; Exec. V.-Pres. Shirley Singer. Maintains and supports 200 educational and social-welfare institutions in Israel within a religious framework, including day-care centers, kindergartens, children's residential homes, vocational schools for the underprivileged, senior-citizen centers, a college complex, and Holocaust study center. Also involved in absorption of Soviet and Ethiopian immigrants (recognized by Israeli government as an official absorption agency). *Emunah Magazine; Lest We Forget.*

FEDERATED COUNCIL OF ISRAEL INSTITUTIONS-FCII (1940). 4702 15th Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11219. (718)972-5530. Bd. Chmn. Z. Shapiro; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Julius Novack. Central fund-raising organization for over 100 affiliated institutions; handles and executes estates, wills, and be-

quests for the traditional institutions in Israel; clearinghouse for information on budget, size, functions, etc. of traditional educational, welfare, and philanthropic institutions in Israel, working cooperatively with the Israeli government and the overseas department of the Council of Jewish Federations. *Annual financial reports and statistics on affiliates.*

FRIENDS OF LABOR ISRAEL (1987). 27 W. 20 St., 9th fl., NYC 10011. FAX: (212)929-3459. Chmn. Rabbi Daniel Polish. American organization committed to a program of education in America and Israel on behalf of institutions, organizations, and projects in Israel designed to promote democracy, pluralism, social justice, and peace. FLI is an affinity group of the Israel Labor movement and represents the concerns of like-minded American Jews in Labor circles.

FRIENDS OF THE ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES (1981). 21 W. 38 St., 5th fl., NYC 10018. (212)575-5030, (800)896-8860. FAX: (212)575-7815. Chmn. Marvin Josephson; Pres. Stephen Rubin; Natl. Dir. Brig. Gen. Eliezer Hemeli. Supports the Agudah Lema'an Hahayal, Israel's Assoc. for the Well-Being of Soldiers, founded in the early 1940s, which provides social, recreational, and educational programs for soldiers, special services for the sick and wounded, and summer programs for widows and children of fallen soldiers.

GESHER FOUNDATION (1969). 421 Seventh Ave., #905, NYC 10001. (212) 564-0338. FAX: (212)967-2726. Pres. Matthew J. Maryles; Exec. V.-Pres. Hillel Wiener. Seeks to bridge the gap between Jews of various backgrounds in Israel by stressing the interdependence of all Jews. Runs encounter seminars for Israeli youth; distributes curricular materials in public schools; offers Jewish identity classes for Russian youth, and a video series in Russian and English on famous Jewish personalities.

GIVAT HAVIVA EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC. (1966). 224 W. 35 St., Suite 403, NYC 10001. (212)868-0353, (800)385-3536. FAX: (212)868-0364. Chmn. Fred Howard; Exec. Dir. Hal Cohen. Supports programs at the Givat Haviva Institute, Israel's leading organization dedicated to promoting coexistence between Arabs and Jews, with 40,000 people participating each year in programs teaching conflict

resolution, Middle East studies and languages, and Holocaust studies. In the U.S., GHEF sponsors public-education programs and lectures by Israeli speakers. *Givat Haviva News; special reports; in Israel—research papers on Arab-Jewish relations, Holocaust studies, kibbutz life.*

GOLDA MEIR ASSOCIATION (1984). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)318-6197. FAX: (215)830-0351. Chmn. Abe Pollin; Pres. Robert C. Klutznick. Consultant, Robert I. Evans: 2300 Computer Ave., Bldg. C-15, Willow Grove, PA 19090. (215)830-0304. FAX: (215)830-0351. North American support group for the Israeli association, whose large-scale educational programs address the issues of democracy in Israel, Sephardi-Ashkenazi integration, religious pluralism, the peace process, and relations between Israeli Jews and Arabs. Its "Project Democracy" has been adapted to help new Soviet immigrants integrate into Israeli society by providing them an education in democratic ideals and principles. *Newsletter.*

HABONIM-DROR NORTH AMERICA (1935). 27 W. 20 St., 9th fl., NYC 10011. (212)-255-1796. FAX: (212)929-3459. Mazkira Tnuva Tribby Smith; Shaliach Gil Matz. Fosters identification with progressive, cooperative living in Israel; stimulates study of Jewish and Zionist culture, history, and contemporary society; sponsors summer and year programs in Israel and on kibbutz, six summer camps in N. Amer. modeled after kibbutzim, and *aliyah* frameworks. *Batnua—In Our Movement; Bimat Hamaapilim.*

HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1912). 50 W. 58 St., NYC 10019. (212)355-7900. FAX: (212)303-8282. Pres. Marlene Edith Post; Exec. Dir. Beth Wohlgelemer. In America delivers factual information on the development and security of Israel to the general public; provides basic Jewish education as a background for intelligent and creative Jewish living; develops knowledgeable leadership for the American Jewish community; sponsors Young Judaea, largest Zionist youth movement in U.S.; operates six Zionist youth camps in this country; supports summer and all-year courses in Israel. Maintains in Israel Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center for healing, teaching, and research; Hadassah College of Technology; and Hadassah

Career Counseling Institute. *Update; Headlines; Hadassah Magazine; Textures; Bat Kol; The American Scene; Communities; Connections; Vanguard; MedBriefs; Focus on Me.*

———, YOUNG JUDAEA (1909; reorg. 1967). 50 W. 58 St., NYC 10019. (212)303-4575. FAX: (212)303-4572. Natl. Dir. Doron Krakow. Seeks to educate Jewish youth aged 8-30 toward Jewish and Zionist values, active commitment to and participation in the American and Israeli Jewish communities; maintains six summer camps, both summer and year programs in Israel, and a jr. year program in connection with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. *Hamagshimim Journal; Kol Hat'nua; The Young Judean.*

HASHOMER HATZAIR, SOCIALIST ZIONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT (1923). 224 W. 35 St., Suite 403, NYC 10001. (212)868-0388. FAX: (212)868-0364. Pres. Avshalom Vilan; Natl. Sec. Jordana Jacobs; Dir. Dana Bendor. Seeks to educate Jewish youth to an understanding of Zionism as the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. Promotes *aliyah* to kibbutzim. Affiliated with AZYF and Kibbutz Artzi Federation. Espouses socialist-Zionist ideals of peace, justice, democracy, and intergroup harmony. *Young Guard.*

INTERNS FOR PEACE (NITZANEI SHALOM/BARA'EM AS'SALAAM/BUDS OF PEACE) (1976). 165 E. 56 St., NYC 10022. (212)-319-4545. FAX: (212)319-4549. Internatl. Dir. Rabbi Bruce M. Cohen; Education Dir. Karen Wald Cohen. An independent, nonprofit, nonpolitical educational program training professional community peace workers. In Israel, initiated and operated jointly by Jews and Arabs; over 180 interns trained in 35 cities; over 80,000 Israeli citizens participating in joint programs in education, sports, culture, business, women's affairs, and community development; since the peace accord, Palestinians from West Bank and Gaza training as interns. *IFP Reports Quarterly; Guidebooks for Ethnic Conflict Resolution.*

ISRAEL CANCER RESEARCH FUND (1975). 1290 Avenue of the Americas, NYC 10104. (212)969-9800. FAX: (212)969-9822. Pres. Dr. Yashar Hirshaut; Chmn. S. Donald Friedman; Exec. Dir. Milton Fussman. The largest single source of private funds for cancer research in Israel. Has a

threefold mission: to encourage innovative cancer research by Israeli scientists; to harness Israel's vast intellectual and creative resources to establish a world-class center for cancer study; to broaden research opportunities within Israel to stop the exodus of talented Israeli cancer researchers. *Annual Report; Research Awards; Glossary; Newsletter.*

ISRAEL HISTADRUT FOUNDATION (1960). 276 Fifth Ave., Suite 900, NYC 10001. (212)683-5656, (800)443-5699. FAX: (212)213-9233. Pres. Marvin Sirota; Exec. V.-Pres. Stanley J. Abrams. Provides philanthropic support to enable Histadrut to build and maintain in Israel its network of social-service agencies, which benefit over 85 percent of Israel's population. Also supports other philanthropic and educational endeavors in the United States and Israel.

ISRAEL POLICY FORUM (1994). 666 Fifth Ave., 21st fl., NYC 10103. (212)245-4227. FAX: (212)245-0517. Pres. Robert K. Lifton; Exec. V.-Pres. Jonathan Jacoby. A leadership institute committed to the belief that the best future for Israel lies in the vision promoted by the government of Israel's present policies. Works with major Jewish organizations to encourage programs and activities that educate about the positive aspects of these policies.

JEWISH INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS (JINSA) (1976). 1717 K St., NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20006. (202)833-0020. FAX: (202)296-6452. Pres. David Steinman; Chmn. Ben Gettler; Exec. Dir. Tom Neumann. A nonprofit, nonpartisan educational organization working within the American Jewish community to explain the link between American defense policy and the security of the State of Israel; and within the national security establishment to explain the key role Israel plays in bolstering American interests. *Security Affairs.*

JEWISH INSTITUTE FOR THE BLIND-JERUSALEM, INC. (1902, Jerusalem). 15 E. 26 St., NYC 10010. (212) 532-4155. FAX: (212) 447-7683. Pres. Rabbi David E. Lapp; Admin. Eric L. Loeb. Supports a dormitory and school for the Israeli blind and handicapped in Jerusalem. *Insight.*

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA (1901). 42 E. 69 St., NYC 10021. (212)-879-9300. FAX: (212)517-3293. Pres. Milton S. Shapiro; Exec. V.-Pres. Dr. Sam-

uel I. Cohen. Exclusive fund-raising agency of the world Zionist movement for the afforestation, reclamation, and development of the land of Israel, including construction of roads, parks, and recreational areas, preparation of land for agriculture, new communities, and industrial facilities; helps emphasize the importance of Israel in schools and synagogues throughout the U.S. *JNF Almanac; Land and Life*.

JEWISH PEACE LOBBY (1989). 8604 Second Ave., Suite 317, Silver Spring, MD 20910. (301)589-8764. FAX: (301)589-2722. Pres. Jerome M. Segal. A legally registered lobby promoting changes in U.S. policy vis-a-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Supports Israel's right to peace within secure borders; a political settlement based on mutual recognition of the right of self-determination of both peoples; a two-state solution as the most likely means to a stable peace. *Washington Action Alerts*.

KEREN OR, INC. JERUSALEM CENTER FOR MULTI-HANDICAPPED BLIND CHILDREN (1956). 350 Seventh Ave., Suite 200, NYC 10001. (212)279-4070. FAX: (212)279-4043. Bd. Chmn. Dr. Edward L. Steinberg; Pres. Dr. Albert Hornblass; Exec. V.-Pres. Marden David Paru. Funds the Keren-Or Center for Multi-Handicapped Blind Children, at 3 Abba Hillel Silver St., Ramot, Jerusalem, housing and caring for 70 children, 1½ to 23 years of age. Provides long-term basic training, therapy, rehabilitation, and early childhood education to the optimum level of the individual; with major hospitals, is involved in research into causes of multi-handicapped blind birth. *Insights Newsletter*.

LABOR ZIONIST ALLIANCE (formerly **FARBAND LABOR ZIONIST ORDER**; now uniting membership and branches of **POALE ZION-UNITED LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA** and **AMERICAN HABONIM ASSOCIATION**) (1913). 275 Seventh Ave., NYC 10001. (212)366-1194, (212)366-1387. FAX: (212)675-7685. Pres. Daniel Mann. Seeks to enhance Jewish life, culture, and education in U.S.; aids in building State of Israel as a cooperative commonwealth and its Labor movement organized in the Histadrut; supports efforts toward a more democratic society throughout the world; furthers the democratization of the Jewish community in America and the welfare of Jews everywhere; works with labor and liberal forces

in America. *Jewish Frontier; Yiddisher Kempfer*.

LIKUD USA (1925). 305 7th Ave., 11th fl., NYC 10001. (212)645-4828. FAX: (212)-645-4015. Chmn. George S. Meissner; Pres. Howard Barbanel. Educates the Jewish community and the American public about the views of Israel's Likud party; encourages support for a strong, secure State of Israel in all of its territory; produces TV program, "The JNN World News," also available on videotape. *Zionism Today (quarterly newspaper)*.

MACCABI USA/SPORTS FOR ISRAEL (formerly **UNITED STATES COMMITTEE SPORTS FOR ISRAEL**) (1948). 1926 Arch St., Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215)561-6900. Pres. Robert E. Spivak; Exec. Dir. Barbara G. Lissy. Sponsors U.S. team for World Maccabiah Games in Israel every four years; seeks to enrich the lives of Jewish youth in the U.S., Israel, and the Diaspora through athletic, cultural, and educational programs; develops, promotes, and supports international, national, and regional athletic-based activities and facilities. *Maccabiah Newsletter; USCSFI Newsletter; commemorative Maccabiah Games journal; financial report*.

MERCAZ U.S.A. (1979). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010. (212)533-7800. FAX: (212)-533-2601. Pres. Roy Clements, Exec. Dir. Rabbi Robert R. Golub. The U.S. Zionist organization for Conservative/Masorti Judaism; works for religious pluralism in Israel, defending and promoting Conservative/Masorti institutions and individuals; fosters Zionist education and *aliyah* and develops young leadership. *Mercaz News & Views*.

NA'AMAT USA, THE WOMEN'S LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (formerly **PIONEER WOMEN/NA'AMAT**) (1925). 200 Madison Ave., 21st fl., NYC 10016. (212)725-8010. FAX: (212)-447-5187. Natl. Pres. Sylvia Lewis. Part of a world movement of working women and volunteers, the largest Jewish women's organization in the world, Na'amat USA helps provide social, educational, and legal services for women, teenagers, and children in Israel. It also advocates legislation for women's rights and child welfare in Israel and the U.S., furthers Jewish education, and supports Habonim-Dror, the

Labor Zionist youth movement. *Na'amat Woman magazine*.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ISRAEL (1923). 275 Seventh Ave., NYC 10001. (212)647-0300. FAX: (212)647-0308. Pres. Jay Mazur; Exec. Dir. Jerry Goodman; Chmn. Trade Union Council Morton Bahr. Brings together diverse groups—Jews and non-Jews—to build support for Israel and advance closer Arab-Israel ties. Conducts educational and communal activities in the Jewish community and among labor groups to promote better relations with labor Israel and Israel's labor federation—Histadrut. Israel Histadrut Campaign raises funds for youth, educational, health, social, and cultural projects. *NCLI Notebook; occasional background papers*.

NEW ISRAEL FUND (1979). 1625 K St., NW, Suite 500, Washington, DC 20006. (202)-223-3333. FAX: (202)659-2789. New York office: 165 E. 56 St., NYC 10022. (212)750-2333. FAX: (212)750-8043. Pres. Herbert Teitelbaum; Exec. Dir. Norman S. Rosenberg. A partnership of Israelis and North Americans dedicated to promoting social justice, coexistence, and pluralism in Israel, the New Israel Fund helps strengthen Israeli democracy by providing grants and technical assistance to the public-interest sector, cultivating a new generation of social activists and educating citizens in Israel and the Diaspora about the challenges to Israeli democracy. *Quarterly newsletter; annual report*.

PEC ISRAEL ECONOMIC CORPORATION (formerly PALESTINE ECONOMIC CORPORATION) (1926). 511 Fifth Ave., NYC 10017. (212)687-2400. Chmn. R. Recanati; Pres. Frank J. Klein; Exec. V.-Pres. James I. Edelson; Treas. William Gold. Primarily engaged in the business of organizing, acquiring interest in, financing, and participating in the management of companies located in the State of Israel or Israel-related. *Annual and quarterly reports*.

PEF ISRAEL ENDOWMENT FUNDS, INC. (1922). 317 Madison Ave., Suite 607, NYC 10017. (212)599-1260. Chmn. Sidney A. Luria; Pres. B. Harrison Frankel; Sec. Harvey Brecher. A totally volunteer organization that makes grants to educational, scientific, social, religious, health, and other philanthropic institutions in Israel. *Annual report*.

PIONEER WOMEN/NA'AMAT (see NA'AMAT USA)

POALE AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA, INC. (1948). 4405 13th Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11219. (718)435-8228. Pres. Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld. Aims to educate American Jews to the values of Orthodoxy and *aliyah*; supports kibbutzim, trade schools, yeshivot, moshavim, kollelim, research centers, and children's homes in Israel. *PAI News; She'arim; Hamayan*.

—, **WOMEN'S DIVISION OF** (1948). Pres. Miriam Lubling; Presidium: Sarah Ivansky, Tili Stark, Peppi Petzenbaum. Assists Poale Agudath Israel to build and support children's homes, kindergartens, and trade schools in Israel. *Yediot PAI*.

PRO ISRAEL (1990). 17 E. 45 St., Suite 603, NYC 10017. (212)867-0577. FAX: (212)-867-0615. Pres. Dr. Ernest Bloch; V.-Pres. Dr. Donald H. Miller; Exec. Dir. Pearl Witkin. Educates the public about Israel and the Middle East through mailings, newsletters, speakers, radio ads and TV and radio appearances; provides support for community development throughout the Land of Israel, particularly in Judea, Samaria, Gaza, and the Golan Heights; maintains a research and information center on Israel and the Middle East. An umbrella organization for eight affiliate groups: in Israel—Aliyah for the Land of Israel Movement, Generals of "Gamla Won't Fall a Second Time," Internat. Rabbinic Coalition for Israel, IDF Officers for National Strength, Professors for a Strong Israel; in U.S.—American Academics for Israel's Future, Jewish Action Alliance, Operation Chizuk. *Pro Israel Newsletter*.

PROJECT NISHMA (1988). 1225 15 St., NW, Washington, DC 20005. (202)462-4268. FAX: (202)462-3892. Chmn. Theodore R. Mann, Edward Sanders, Henry Rosovsky; Exec. Dir. Thomas R. Smerling. Conducts educational programs on Israeli security and the peace process; arranges military briefings for Jewish leaders; publishes articles by senior Israeli defense and foreign-policy experts; analyzes Israeli and U.S. Jewish opinion; and articulates pragmatic positions on peace and security. Sponsored by over 100 nationally active Jewish leaders from across the country.

RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA. 25 W. 26 St., NYC 10010. (212)689-1414.

—, BNEI AKIVA OF THE U.S. & CANADA (1934). 25 W. 26 St., NYC 10010. (212)889-5260. FAX: (212)213-3053. Pres. Eric Weisberg; Exec. Dir. Daniel Ehrlich. The only religious Zionist youth movement in North America, serving over 10,000 young people from grade school through graduate school in 16 active regions across the United States and Canada, six summer camps, seven established summer, winter, and year programs in Israel. Stresses communal involvement, social activism, leadership training, and substantive programming to educate young people toward a commitment to Judaism and Israel. *Akivon; Pinkas Lamadrich; Daf Rayonot; Me'Ohalai Torah; Zraim.*

—, MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI (1909; merged 1957). 25 W. 26 St., NYC 10010. (212)689-1414. FAX: (212)779-3043. Pres. Rabbi Sol Roth; Exec. V.-Pres. Israel Friedman. Disseminates ideals of religious Zionism; conducts cultural work, educational program, public relations; raises funds for religious educational institutions in Israel, including *yeshivot hesder* and Bnei Akiva. *Newsletters; Kolenu.*

—, NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TORAH EDUCATION OF MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI (1939). 25 W. 26 St., NYC 10010. Pres. Rabbi Israel Schorr; Dir. Rabbi Meyer Golombek. Organizes and supervises *yeshivot* and Talmud Torahs; prepares and trains teachers; publishes textbooks and educational materials; organizes summer seminars for Hebrew educators in cooperation with Torah Department of Jewish Agency; conducts ulpan. *Hazarkor; Chemed.*

SCHNEIDER CHILDREN'S MEDICAL CENTER OF ISRAEL (1982). 130 E. 59 St., Suite 1203, NYC 10022. (212)759-3370. FAX: (212)759-0120. Bd. Chmn. H. Irwin Levy. Raises funds to help improve the quality of health care in Israel, its primary goal the construction of the Children's Medical Center of Israel, a 224-bed tertiary care facility for the entire region. *Brochures and newsletters.*

SOCIETY OF ISRAEL PHILATELISTS (1949). 24355 Tunbridge Lane, Beachwood, OH 44122. (216)292-3843. Pres. Dr. Justin Gordon; Journal Ed. Dr. Oscar Stadler. Promotes interest in, and knowledge of, all phases of Israel philately through sponsorship of chapters and research groups,

maintenance of a philatelic library, and support of public and private exhibitions. *The Israel Philatelist; monographs; books.*

STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS (1951). 575 Lexington Ave., #60, NYC 10025. (212)644-2663. FAX: (212)644-3887. Bd. Chmn. William Belzberg; Pres. & CEO Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Nathan Sharony; Intl. Chmn. David B. Hermelin; N. Amer. Chmn. Michael Siegal; Natl. Chmn. Susan Weikers-Volchok. An international organization offering securities issued by the government of Israel. Since its inception in 1951 has secured more than \$15 billion in investment capital for the development of every aspect of Israel's economy, including agriculture, commerce, and industry; plays a major role in absorbing Jews from the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and elsewhere.

THEODOR HERZL FOUNDATION (1954). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)339-6000. FAX: (212)318-6176. Chmn. Kalman Sul-tanik; Dir. of Publications Sam E. Bloch. Offers cultural activities, lectures, conferences, courses in modern Hebrew and Jewish subjects, Israel, Zionism, and Jewish history. *Midstream.*

—, HERZL PRESS. Chmn. Kalman Sul-tanik; Dir. of Publications Sam E. Bloch. Serves as "the Zionist Press of record," publishing books that are important for the light they shed on Zionist philosophy, Israeli history, contemporary Israel and the Diaspora and the relationship between them. They are important as contributions to Zionist letters and history. *Midstream.*

TSOMET-TECHIYA USA (1978). PO Box 501, NYC 10002. (212)475-7128. FAX: (212)-475-7128. Acting Pres. Fredrica B. Tobin; Central Committee Members: Honey Rackman, Elliot Jager, Melvin D. Shay, Howard B. Weber. A member of the American Zionist Movement; supports the activities of the Israeli Tsomet party, which advocates Israeli control over the entire Land of Israel.

UNITED CHARITY INSTITUTIONS OF JERUSALEM, INC. (1903). 1467 48 St., Brooklyn, NY 11219. (718)633-8469. FAX: (718)-633-8478. Chmn. Rabbi Charlop; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Pollak. Raises funds for the maintenance of schools, kitchens, clinics, and dispensaries in Israel; free loan foundations in Israel.

- UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC. (1925). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)339-6900. FAX: (212)754-4293. Chmn. Shoshana S. Cardin; Exec. V.-Chmn. Jay Yoskowitz. Provides funds raised by UJA/Federation campaigns in the U.S. to aid the people of Israel through the programs of the Jewish Agency for Israel, UIA's operating agent. Serves as link between American Jewish community and Jewish Agency for Israel; assists in resettlement and absorption of refugees in Israel, and supervises flow and expenditure of funds for this purpose. *Annual report; newsletters; brochures.*
- UNITED STATES COMMITTEE SPORTS FOR ISRAEL (see Maccabi USA/Sports for Israel)
- VOLUNTEERS FOR ISRAEL (1982). 330 W. 42 St., NYC 10036-6902. (212)643-4848. FAX: (212)643-4855. Pres. Rickey Cherner; Natl. Coord. Arthur W. Stern. Provides aid to Israel through volunteer work, building lasting relationships between Israelis and Americans. Affords persons aged 18 and over the opportunity to participate in various duties currently performed by overburdened Israelis on IDF bases and in other settings, enabling them to meet and work closely with Israelis and to gain an inside view of Israeli life and culture. *Quarterly newsletter; information documents.*
- WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1928). 160 E. 56 St., NYC 10022. (212)838-1997. FAX: (212)888-5972. Pres. Harriet Lainer; Exec. Dir. Dorothy Leffler. Maintains centers in Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Nathanya, Tel Aviv. Projects include Family Therapy and Training Center, Centers for the Prevention of Domestic Violence, Meeting Place (supervised center for non-custodial parents and their children), Central School for Training Social Service Counselors, Meitel-Israeli Center for Treatment of Child Sexual Abuse, and the National Library for Social Work.
- WORLD CONFEDERATION OF UNITED ZIONISTS (1946; reorg. 1958). 130 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)371-1452. FAX: (212)-371-3265. Copres. Bernice S. Tannenbaum, Kalman Sultanik, Melech Topiol. Promotes Zionist education, sponsors non-party youth movements in the Diaspora, and strives for an Israel-oriented creative Jewish survival in the Diaspora. *Zionist Information Views (in English and Spanish).*
- WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION-AMERICAN SECTION (1971). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)339-6000. FAX: (212)826-8959. Chmn. Kalman Sultanik. As the American section of the overall Zionist body throughout the world, it operates primarily in the field of *aliyah* from the free countries, education in the Diaspora, youth and Hechalutz, organization and information, cultural institutions, publications; conducts a worldwide Hebrew cultural program including special seminars and pedagogic manuals; disperses information and assists in research projects concerning Israel; promotes, publishes, and distributes books, periodicals, and pamphlets concerning developments in Israel, Zionism, and Jewish history. *Midstream.*
- , DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE (1948). 110 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)339-6001. FAX: (212)826-8959. Renders educational services to boards and schools: study programs, books, AV aids, instruction, teacher-in-training service. Judaic and Hebrew subjects. Annual National Bible Contest; Israel summer and winter programs for teachers and students.
- , ISRAEL ALIYAH CENTER (1993). 110 E. 59 St., 3rd fl., NYC 10022. (212)-339-6060. FAX: (212)832-2597. Exec. Dir. N. Amer. Aliyah Delegation, Judy Amit. Through 23 offices throughout N. Amer., staffed by *shlichim* (emissaries), works with potential immigrants to plan their future in Israel and processes immigration documents. Through Israel Aliyah Program Center provides support, information, and programming for *olim* and their families; promotes long-term programs and fact-finding trips to Israel. Cooperates with Tnuat Aliyah in Jerusalem and serves as American contact with Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel. *The New Aliyon; Daf Keshet.*
- ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (1897). ZOA House, 4 E. 34 St., NYC 10016. (212)481-1500. FAX: (212)481-1515. Natl. Pres. Morton A. Klein; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Reuben Shechter. Strengthens the relationship between Israel and the U.S. through educational activities that explain Israel's importance to the U.S. and the dangers that Israel faces. Works on behalf of pro-Israel legislation; combats anti-Israel bias in the media, textbooks, travel guides, and on campuses. Maintains both

the ZOA House in Tel Aviv, a cultural center, and the Kfar Silver Agricultural and Technical High School in Ashkelon, which provides vocational training for new immigrants. *ZOA Report; ZOA in the News.*

OVERSEAS AID

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ALLIANCE ISRAËLITE UNIVERSELLE, INC. (1946). 420 Lexington Ave., Suite 1733, NYC 10170. (212)808-5437. FAX: (212)983-0094. Pres. Henriette Beilis; Exec. Dir. Warren Green. Participates in educational and human-rights activities of the AIU and supports the Alliance System of Jewish schools, teachers' colleges, and remedial programs in Israel, North Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and Canada. *Alliance Review.*

AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, INC.—JDC (1914). 711 Third Ave., NYC 10017-4014. (212)687-6200. FAX: (212)370-5467. Pres. Hon. Milton A. Wolf; Exec. V.-Pres. Michael Schneider. Provides assistance to Jewish communities in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Mideast, including welfare programs for Jews in need. Current concerns include rescuing Jews from areas of distress; helping to meet Israel's social-service needs by developing innovative programs that create new opportunities for the country's most disadvantaged populations. Program expansions emphasize community development in the former Soviet Union and youth activities in Eastern Europe and nonsectarian development and disaster assistance. *Annual report; Fast Facts.*

AMERICAN JEWISH PHILANTHROPIC FUND (1955). 122 E. 42 St., 12th fl., NYC 10168-1289. (212)755-5640. Pres. Charles J. Tanenbaum. Provides resettlement assistance to Jewish refugees primarily through programs administered by the International Rescue Committee at its offices in Western Europe and the U.S.

AMERICAN JEWISH WORLD SERVICE (1985). 15 W. 26 St., 9th fl., NYC 10010. (212)683-1161. FAX: (212)683-5187. Chmn. Eric J. Wallach; Pres. Andrew Griffel. Provides assistance on nonsectarian basis to relieve hunger, poverty, and suffering in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Funds international economic development and education projects and disaster relief; promotes awareness of these

issues in the American Jewish community and sends volunteers overseas through newly established Jewish Volunteer Corps.

AMERICAN ORT, INC.—ORGANIZATION FOR REHABILITATION THROUGH TRAINING (1924). 817 Broadway, NYC 10003. (212)-353-5800. FAX: (212)353-5888. Pres. Paul Borman; Bd. Chmn. Murray Koppelman; Exec. V.-Pres. Howard A. Cohen. Supports a network of comprehensive and technical schools in Israel, the U.S., and 60 countries around the world with an enrollment of over 250,000 students. The largest ORT operation is in Israel, where 100,000 students attend 150 ORT schools and training centers. In U.S., Technical Institutes in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles offer courses in word processing, computerized accounting, ESOL, book-keeping, and other vocational and job placement programs; at Jewish day schools, ORT provides computer studies integrated into all aspects of the curriculum. Annual cost of program is approximately \$253 million. *American ORT Bulletin; American ORT Yearbook.*

—, **WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT** (1927). 315 Park Ave. S., NYC 10010. (212)505-7700. FAX: (212)674-3057. Pres. Ruth S. Taffel; Exec. Dir. Tehila Elperin. Advances the programs and self-help ethos of ORT through membership, fund-raising, and educational activities. Supports 140 vocational schools, junior colleges, and technical training centers in Israel; helps meet the educational needs of Jewish communities in 60 countries; spearheads growing ORT-U.S. school operations in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, and associate programs in Miami and Atlanta. Domestic agenda espouses quality public education, combats anti-Semitism, champions women's rights, and promotes a national literacy campaign. *Women's American ORT Reporter; Women's American ORT Annual Report.*

CONFERENCE ON JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY, INC. (1951). 15 E. 26 St., Rm. 906, NYC 10010. (212)-696-4944. FAX: (212)679-2126. Pres. Dr. Israel Miller; Exec. V.-Pres. & Sec. Saul Kagan. Monitors the implementation of restitution and indemnification programs of the German Federal Republic (FRG) arising from its agreements with West Germany and most recently with united Germany, especially with respect to property

lost by Jewish Nazi victims in the territory of the former German Democratic Republic. Administers Hardship and Article 2 Funds for Jewish Nazi victims who received no or only minimal compensation under the original indemnification laws. Also assists needy non-Jews who risked their lives to help Jewish survivors.

HIAS, INC. (HEBREW IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY) (1880; reorg. 1954). 333 Seventh Ave., NYC 10001-5004. (212)967-4100. FAX: (212)967-4442. Pres. Norman D. Tilles; Exec. V.-Pres. Martin A. Wenick. The international migration agency of the organized American Jewish community; assists in the rescue, protection, and movement of Jewish refugees and other Jewish migrants. HIAS also responds to the migration needs of other peoples at risk and represents and advocates on behalf of all these peoples, Jewish and other. *Annual report; Headlines and Highlights (monthly newsletter)*.

INTERNATIONAL COALITION FOR THE REVIVAL OF THE JEWS OF YEMEN (ICROJOY) (1989). 24 Bennett Ave., Apt. 24B, NYC 10033. (212)781-4849 or (212)-923-1406. Chmn. Dr. Hayim Tawil; V.-Chmn. Shlomo Grafi; Sec. Lester Smerka. Seeks to enrich and assist the Jewish community of the Republic of Yemen.

NORTH AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON ETHIOPIAN JEWRY (NACOEJ) (1982). 165 E. 56 St., NYC 10022. (212)752-6340. FAX: (212)980-5294. Pres. Neil Jacobs; Exec. Dir. Barbara Ribakove Gordon. Provides programming for Ethiopian Jews in Israel in the areas of education (preschool through college), vocational training, and cultural preservation. Informs American and other Jewish communities about the situation of Ethiopian Jews; works to increase involvement of world Jewish communities in assisting, visiting, and learning about Ethiopian Jews. *Lifeline (newsletter)*.

RE'UTH WOMEN'S SOCIAL SERVICE, INC. (1937). 130 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)-836-1570. FAX: (212)836-1114. Chmn. Ursula Merkin; Pres. Rosa Strygler. Maintains in Israel subsidized housing for self-reliant elderly; old-age homes for more dependent elderly; Lichtenstadter Hospital for chronically ill and young accident victims not accepted by other hospitals; subsidi-

dized meals; Golden Age clubs. *Annual dinner journal*.

THANKS TO SCANDINAVIA, INC. (1963). 745 Fifth Ave., Rm. 603, NYC 10151. (212)-486-8600. FAX: (212)486-5735. Natl. Chmn. Victor Borge; Pres. Richard Netter; Exec. Dir. Judith S. Goldstein. Provides scholarships and fellowships at American universities and medical centers to students and doctors from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden in appreciation of the rescue of Jews from the Holocaust. Informs current and future generations of Americans and Scandinavians of these singular examples of humanity and bravery; sponsors Danish-American Dialogue on Human Rights program in Denmark for college jrs. and sophomores; instituted fellowship at Hebrew University in honor of Johan Jorgan Holst. *Annual report*.

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC. (1939). 99 Park Ave., Suite 300, NYC 10016. (212)-818-9100. FAX: (212)818-9509. Natl. Chmn. Richard Pearlstone; Pres. Joel D. Tauber; Exec. V. Pres. Rabbi Brian L. Lurie. Through its Annual Campaign with 155 local Jewish federations and 309 independent communities, raises funds for humanitarian causes and social services at home and abroad and serves as the advocate for overseas needs to the American Jewish community. In times of crisis and war, funds rescue operations for endangered Jewish communities. In Israel, through the Jewish Agency, campaign funds help absorb, educate, and settle new immigrants, including Jews from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia; through Israel-Diaspora, people-to-people community partnerships, they promote the development of 28 regions in Israel by creating new jobs and improving the quality of life for the people who live in those regions, thus strengthening the relationship of American Jews and Israelis. Also provides funds for Jews and Jewish communities in 59 countries around the world through the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. *Hotline; Annual Report; UJA Press Service*.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA (1922). 84 William St., NYC 10038. (212)797-9000. Pres. Rabbi Moshe Sherer; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Shmuel Bloom; Exec. Dir. Rabbi

Boruch B. Borchardt. Mobilizes Orthodox Jews to cope with Jewish problems in the spirit of the Torah; speaks out on contemporary issues from an Orthodox viewpoint; sponsors a broad range of projects aimed at enhancing religious living, education, children's welfare, protection of Jewish religious rights, outreach to the assimilated and to arrivals from the former Soviet Union, and social services. *Jewish Observer; Dos Yiddishe Vort; Coalition.*

—, AGUDAH WOMEN OF AMERICA-N'SHEI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1940). 84 William St., NYC 10038. (212)363-8940. Presidium Aliza Grund, Rose Isbee; Exec. Dir. Dvora Stone. Organizes Jewish women for philanthropic work in the U.S. and Israel and for intensive Torah education.

—, BOYS' DIVISION-PIRCHEI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1925). 84 William St., NYC 10038 (212)797-9000. Natl. Coord. Rabbi Avraham Perl. Educates Orthodox Jewish children in Torah; encourages sense of communal responsibility. Branches sponsor weekly youth groups and Jewish welfare projects. National Mishnah contests, rallies, and conventions foster unity on a national level. *Leaders Guides.*

—, GIRLS' DIVISION-BNOS AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 84 William St., NYC 10038. (212)797-9000. Natl. Dir. Leah Zagelbaum. Sponsors regular weekly programs on the local level and unites girls from throughout the Torah world with extensive regional and national activities. *Kol Bnos.*

—, YOUNG MEN'S DIVISION-ZEIREI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 84 William St., NYC 10038. (212)797-9000. Dir. Rabbi Labish Becker. Educates youth to see Torah as source of guidance for all issues facing Jews as individuals and as a people. Inculcates a spirit of activism through projects in religious, Torah-educational, and community-welfare fields. *Am Hatorah; Daf Chizuk.*

AGUDATH ISRAEL WORLD ORGANIZATION (1912). 84 William St., NYC 10038. (212)797-9000. Chmn. Rabbi Moshe Sherer, Rabbi Yehudah Meir Abramowitz. Represents the interests of Orthodox Jewry on the national and international scenes. Sponsors projects to strengthen Torah life worldwide.

ALEPH: ALLIANCE FOR JEWISH RENEWAL (1963; reorg. 1993). 7318 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19119-1720. (215)247-9700. FAX: (215)247-9703. Bd. Chmn. Sheldon Isenberg, PhD; Exec. Dir. Susan Saxe. A multifaceted international organization serving the movement for Jewish renewal, formed out of a merger of P'nai Or Religious Fellowship and the Shalom Center. Activities include creation and dissemination of publications, liturgy, curricula, audio and video tapes; a country retreat center; lay and professional leadership training; spiritual activism on social and environmental issues; and a network of local Jewish renewal communities. *New Menorah (quarterly journal); Pumbedissa (newsletter forum for rabbis and rabbinical students); Ayd L'Ayda (newsletter of congregations and havurot affiliated with ALEPH through the Network of Jewish Renewal Communities).*

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RABBIS (1978). 350 Fifth Ave., Suite 3304, NYC 10118. (212)244-3350, (516)244-7113. FAX: (516)344-0779. Pres. Rabbi Jeffrey Warthenberg; Exec. Dir. Rabbi David L. Dunn. An organization of rabbis serving in pulpits, in areas of education, and in social work. *Quarterly bulletin; monthly newsletter; membership directory; sermon manual.*

AMERICAN STUDENTS TO ACTIVATE PRIDE (1993). 1356 1st Ave., Suite 3C, NYC 10021. (212)472-3500. FAX: (212)472-3505. Pres. Zelda Goldsmith; Natl. Dir. Rabbi David Felsenthal. An organization of students who have returned from a year's study in Israel and want to activate pride among their peers by fostering a renaissance of Jewish values. ASAP students sponsor programs at over 30 campuses involving over 2,000 students nationwide. *Shabbat Shalom! (weekly); Jewish Pride newsletter (twice yearly).*

ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES (1969). MB 0001, Brandeis University, PO Box 9110, Waltham, MA 02254-9110. (617)736-2981. FAX: (617)736-2982. E-mail: AJS@BRANDEIS.EDU. Pres. Robert M. Seltzer; Exec. Sec. Aaron L. Katchen. Seeks to promote, maintain, and improve the teaching of Jewish studies in colleges and universities by sponsoring meetings and conferences, publishing a newsletter and other scholarly materials, aiding in the placement of teachers, coordinating research, and cooperating with other scholarly organizations. *AJS Review; Newsletter.*

- ASSOCIATION FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF JEWRY (1971). University of Connecticut, Dept. of Sociology, Center for Judaic Studies and Contemporary Jewish Life, Storrs, CT 06269-2068. (203)486-2271. FAX: (203)486-6356. Pres. Arnold Dashefsky; V.-Pres. Sherry Israel; Sec.-Treas. Allen Glicksman; Journal Ed. J. Alan Winter; Newsletter Ed. Gail Glickman. Arranges academic sessions and facilitates communication among social scientists studying Jewry through meetings, newsletter, and related materials. *Contemporary Jewry*; *ASSJ Newsletter*.
- ASSOCIATION OF HILLEL/JEWISH CAMPUS PROFESSIONALS (1949). c/o Hillel Foundation, San Diego State University, 5742 Montezuma Rd., San Diego, CA 92115. (619)583-6080. FAX: (619)287-4506. Pres. Jackie Tolley. Seeks to promote professional relationships and exchanges of experience, develop personnel standards and qualifications, safeguard integrity of Hillel profession; represents and advocates before the Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, Council of Jewish Federations. *Handbook for Hillel Professionals*; *Guide to Hillel Personnel Practices*.
- ASSOCIATION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH SCIENTISTS (1948). 27 W. 23 St., NYC 10010. (212)229-2340. FAX: (212)229-2319. Pres. Allen J. Bennett, MD; Bd. Chmn. Neil Maron, PhD; Exec. Dir. Joel Schwartz. Seeks to contribute to the development of science within the framework of Orthodox Jewish tradition; to obtain and disseminate information relating to the interaction between the Jewish traditional way of life and scientific developments—on both an ideological and practical level; to assist in the solution of problems pertaining to Orthodox Jews engaged in scientific teaching or research. Two main conventions are held each year. *Intercom*; *Proceedings*; *Halacha Bulletin*; *newsletter*.
- B'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATIONS (see HILLEL)
- B'NAI B'RITH YOUTH ORGANIZATION (1924). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202)857-6633. FAX: (212)857-6568. Chmn. Youth Comm. Audrey Y. Brooks; Dir. Sam Fisher. Helps Jewish teenagers achieve self-fulfillment and make a maximum contribution to the Jewish community and their country's culture; helps members acquire a greater knowledge and appreciation of Jewish religion and culture. *Shofar*; *Monday Morning*; *BBYO Parents' Line*; *Hakol*; *Kesher*; *The Connector*.
- CANTORS ASSEMBLY (1947). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8834. FAX: (212)662-8989. Pres. Abraham Lubin; Exec. V.-Pres. Samuel Rosenbaum. Seeks to unite all cantors who adhere to traditional Judaism and who serve as full-time cantors in bona fide congregations to conserve and promote the musical traditions of the Jews and to elevate the status of the cantorial profession. *Annual Proceedings*; *Journal of Synagogue Music*.
- CENTER FOR CHRISTIAN-JEWISH UNDERSTANDING (1992). 5151 Park Ave., Fairfield, CT 06432. (203)365-7592. FAX: (203)365-7512. Bd. Chmn. Russ Berrie; Dir. Rabbi Jack Bemporad; Assoc. Dir. Rabbi Joseph H. Ehrenkranz; Exec. Dir. Kristen Wenzel. An educational and research division of Sacred Heart University; brings together clergy, laity, scholars, theologians, and educators with the purpose of promoting interreligious research, education, and dialogue, with particular focus on current religious thinking within Christianity and Judaism. *Highlights (tri-annual newsletter)*.
- CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS (1889). 192 Lexington Ave., NYC 10016. (212)684-4990. FAX: (212)689-6419. Pres. Rabbi Simeon J. Maslin; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Paul J. Menitoff. Seeks to conserve and promote Judaism and to disseminate its teachings in a liberal spirit. The CCAR Press provides liturgy and prayerbooks to the worldwide Reform Jewish community. *CCAR Journal*; *A Reform Jewish Quarterly*; *CCAR Yearbook*.
- CLAL-NATIONAL JEWISH CENTER FOR LEARNING AND LEADERSHIP (1974). 99 Park Ave., Suite C-300, NYC 10016-1599. (212)867-8888. FAX: (212)867-8853. Pres. Rabbi Irving Greenberg; Chmn. Radine Abramson Spier; Exec. V.-Chmn. Donna M. Rosenthal. Provides leadership training for lay leaders, rabbis, educators, and communal professionals. A faculty of rabbis and scholars representing all the denominations of Judaism make Judaism come alive, applying the wisdom of the Jewish heritage to reimagine creatively the Jewish community and its institutions. Offers seminars and courses, retreats, sym-

posia and conferences, lecture bureau. Publishes Sacred Days calendar, books, and educational materials. *Sh'ma*.

COALITION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF JEWISH EDUCATION (CAJE) (1976). 261 W. 35 St., #12A, NYC 10001. (212)268-4210. FAX: (212)268-4214. Chmn. Carol O. Starin; Exec. Dir. Eliot G. Spack. Brings together Jews from all ideologies who are involved in every facet of Jewish education and are committed to transmitting the Jewish heritage. Sponsors annual Conference on Alternatives in Jewish Education and Curriculum Bank; publishes a wide variety of publications; organizes shared-interest networks; offers mini grants for special projects; sponsors Mini-CAJEs (one- or two-day in-service programs) around the country. *Bikurim*; *timely curricular publications*; *Jewish Education News*.

CONGRESS OF SECULAR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1970). 19657 Villa Dr. N., Southfield, MI 48076. (810)569-8127. Chmn. Jack Rosenfeld, Larry Schofer; Exec. Dir. Roberta E. Feinstein. An umbrella organization of schools and adult clubs; facilitates exchange curricula and educational programs for children and adults stressing the Jewish historical and cultural heritage and the continuity of the Jewish people. *Newsletter*; *Holiday Celebration Book*.

COUNCIL FOR INITIATIVES IN JEWISH EDUCATION (1991). 15 E. 26 St., NYC 10010. (212)532-2360. FAX: (212)532-2646. Bd. Chmn. Morton L. Mandel; Exec. Dir. Alan D. Hoffmann. Created to revitalize Jewish education by building the profession of Jewish education and mobilizing community leadership for Jewish education; documents successful models of Jewish education (The Best Practices Project); works on the development of vision within Jewish educational institutions and communities (The Goals Project); and is building a comprehensive research agenda for Jewish education.

COUNCIL FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (1926). 730 Broadway, 2nd fl., NYC 10003. (212)529-2000, ext. 1311. FAX: (212)529-2009. Pres. Joseph Braver; Exec. Sec. Sol Goldman. Fellowship of Jewish education professionals—administrators, supervisors, and teachers in Hebrew high schools and Jewish teachers colleges—of all ideological groupings; conducts annual national and

regional conferences; represents the Jewish education profession before the Jewish community; cosponsors, with the Jewish Education Service of North America, a personnel committee and other projects; cooperates with Jewish Agency Department of Education and Culture in promoting Hebrew culture and studies; conducts lectureship at Hebrew University. *Journal of Jewish Education*.

FEDERATION OF JEWISH MEN'S CLUBS (1929). 475 Riverside Dr., Rm. 244, NYC 10115. (212)749-8100. FAX: (212)316-4271. Internatl. Pres. Sid Katz; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Charles E. Simon. Promotes principles of Conservative Judaism; develops family-education and leadership-training programs; offers the Art of Jewish Living series and Yom Hashoah Home Commemoration; sponsors Hebrew literacy adult-education program; presents awards for service to American Jewry. *Torchlight*.

FEDERATION OF RECONSTRUCTIONIST CONGREGATIONS AND HAVUROT (see Jewish Reconstructionist Federation)

HILLEL: THE FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CAMPUS LIFE (formerly B'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATIONS) (1923). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202)857-6576. FAX: (202)857-6693. Chmn. Internatl. Bd. Govs. Edgar M. Bronfman; Chmn. Foundation for Jewish Campus Life Michael B. Rukin; Chmn. B'nai B'rith Hillel Comm. Bert Brown; Pres. & Internatl. Dir. Richard M. Joel. The largest Jewish campus organization in the world, its network of 500 regional centers, campus-based foundations, and affiliates serves as a catalyst for creating a celebratory community and a rich, diverse Jewish life on the campus. *The Hillel Annual Report*; *On Campus newsletter*; *Calling Home newsletter*; *Hillel Now newsletter*; *The Hillel Guide to Jewish Life on Campus* (published with Princeton Review).

INSTITUTE FOR COMPUTERS IN JEWISH LIFE (1978). 7074 N. Western Ave., Chicago, IL 60645. (312)262-9200. FAX: (312)262-9298. Pres. Thomas Klutznick; Exec. V.-Pres. Dr. Irving J. Rosenbaum. Explores, develops, and disseminates applications of computer technology to appropriate areas of Jewish life, with special emphasis on Jewish education; creates educational software for use in Jewish schools; provides consulting service and assistance

for national Jewish organizations, seminars, and synagogues. *Monitor*.

JEWISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY, INC. (sponsored by NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS) (1893). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)570-0707 or (800)765-6200. FAX: (212)570-0960. Pres. Kenneth Keenan; Chancellor/1st V.-Pres. Jay D. Hirsch; Exec. Dir. Douglas Barden. Works to promote interfaith understanding by sponsoring accredited college courses and one-day lectures on Judaic topics, providing book grants to educational institutions, producing educational videotapes on interfaith topics, and convening interfaith institutes. Also supports extracurricular intergroup programming on college campuses in cooperation with Hillel and is a founding sponsor of the National Black/Jewish Relations Center at Dillard University. *Brotherhood*.

JEWISH EDUCATION IN MEDIA (1978). PO Box 180, Riverdale Sta., NYC 10471. (212)362-7633. FAX: (203)359-1381. Pres. Bernard Samers; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Mark S. Golub. Devoted to producing television, film, and video-cassettes for a popular Jewish audience, in order to inform, entertain, and inspire a greater sense of Jewish identity and Jewish commitment. "L'Chayim," JEM's weekly half-hour program, which is seen nationally in 30 million homes on VISN/FAITH and VAL-UES channel and NJT/National Jewish Television, features outstanding figures in the Jewish world addressing issues and events of importance to the Jewish community.

JEWISH EDUCATION SERVICE OF NORTH AMERICA (JESNA) (1981). 730 Broadway, NYC 10003-9540. (212)529-2000. FAX: (212)529-2009. Pres. Billie Gold; Exec. V.-Pres. Dr. Jonathan S. Woocher. The advocacy, planning, coordinating, and service agency for Jewish education of the federated system in North America. Works with federations, central agencies for Jewish education, and other local, national, and international institutions, and undertakes activities in the areas of research, program and human-resource development, information and resource dissemination, consultation, conferences and publications. *Agenda: Jewish Education; TRENDS; information research reports and bulletins; JESNA Update*.

JEWISH RECONSTRUCTIONIST FEDERATION (formerly FEDERATION OF RECONSTRUCTIONIST CONGREGATIONS AND HAVUROT) (1954). Church Rd. and Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, PA 19095. (215)887-1988. FAX: (215)887-5348. Pres. Jane Susswein. Exec. Dir. Rabbi Mordechai Liebling. Services affiliated congregations and havurot educationally and administratively; fosters the establishment of new Reconstructionist congregations and fellowship groups. Runs the Reconstructionist Press and provides programmatic materials. Maintains regional offices in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. *The Reconstructionist; Reconstructionism TODAY*.

—, **RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL ASSOCIATION** (1974). Church Rd. and Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, PA 19095. (215)576-5210. FAX: (215)887-5348. Pres. Rabbi Michael Cohen; Dir. Yael Shuman. Professional organization for graduates of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and other rabbis who identify with Reconstructionist Judaism; cooperates with Jewish Reconstructionist Federation in furthering Reconstructionism in N. America. *Newsletters; position papers*.

—, **RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE** (see p. 509)

JEWISH TEACHERS ASSOCIATION-MORIM (1931). 45 E. 33 St., Suite 604, NYC 10016. (212)684-0556. Pres. Phyllis L. Pullman; V.-Pres. Joseph Varon; Sec. Helen Parnes; Treas. Mildred Safar. Protects teachers from abuse of seniority rights; fights the encroachment of anti-Semitism in education; offers scholarships to qualified students; encourages teachers to assume active roles in Jewish communal and religious affairs. *Morim JTA Newsletter*.

KULANU, INC. (formerly AMISHAV USA) (1993). 1211 Ballard St., Silver Spring, MD 20910. (301)681-5679. FAX: (301)681-5679. Pres. Jack Zeller; V.-Pres. Bob Lande. Engages in outreach to marginal Jewish communities around the world who wish to return to their Jewish roots. Current projects include the formal conversion of Shinlung-Menashe tribesmen in India currently practicing Judaism, and supplying materials and rabbis for conversos/marranos in Mexico and Brazil. *Newsletter*.

MACHNE ISRAEL, INC. (1940). 770 Eastern Pkwy., Brooklyn, NY 11213. (718)774-

4000. FAX: (718)774-2718. Pres. Menachem M. Schneerson (Lubavitcher Rebbe); Dir. Nissan Mindel; Sec. Yehuda Krinsky. The Lubavitcher movement's organ dedicated to the social, spiritual, and material welfare of Jews throughout the world.

MERKOS L'INYONEI CHINUCH, INC. (THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION) (1940). 770 Eastern Pkwy., Brooklyn, NY 11213. (718)493-9250. Pres. Menachem M. Schneerson (Lubavitcher Rebbe); Dir. Nissan Mindel; Sec. Yehuda Krinsky. The educational arm of the Lubavitcher movement. Seeks to promote Jewish education among Jews, regardless of their background, in the spirit of Torah-true Judaism; to establish contact with alienated Jewish youth; to stimulate concern and active interest in Jewish education on all levels; and to promote religious observance as a daily experience among all Jews. Maintains worldwide network of regional offices, schools, summer camps, and Chabad-Lubavitch Houses; publishes Jewish educational literature in numerous languages and monthly journal in five languages. *Conversaciones con la juventud; Conversations avec les jeunes; Schmuessen mit Kinder un Yugend; Sihot la-No-ar; Talks and Tales.*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FURTHERANCE OF JEWISH EDUCATION (1941). 824 Eastern Pkwy., Brooklyn, NY 11213. (718)735-0200. FAX: (718)735-4455. Pres. Milton E. Kramer; Bd. Chmn. Rabbi Shea Hecht; Chmn. Exec. Com. Rabbi Sholem Ber Hecht. Seeks to disseminate the ideals of Torah-true education among the youth of America; provides education and compassionate care for the poor, sick, and needy in U.S. and Israel; provides aid to Iranian Jewish youth; sponsors camps, family and vocational counseling services, Operation Survival, War on Drugs, TAG family and early intervention after-school and preschool; maintains schools in Brooklyn and Queens: Yeshivas Kol Yaakov Yehuda-Hadar HaTorah, Machon Chana Women's College, and Mesivta Ohr Torah, Chai-Tots preschool; Ivy League Torah Study Program. *Panorama; Passover Handbook; Seder Guide; Cultbusters; Inter-marriage; Brimstone & Fire; Focus; A Life Full of Giving.*

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL (1924). 3 W. 16 St., NYC 10011. (212)929-1525. FAX: (212)727-9526. Pres. Chaim

Kaminetzky; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Pesach Lerner. Maintains a program of spiritual, cultural, social, and communal activity aimed at the advancement and perpetuation of traditional, Torah-true Judaism; seeks to instill in American youth an understanding and appreciation of the ethical and spiritual values of Judaism. Sponsors kosher dining clubs and youth programs. *Viewpoint; Divrei Torah Bulletin.*

—, **AMERICAN FRIENDS OF YOUNG ISRAEL IN ISRAEL-YISRAEL HATZA'IR** (1926). 3 W. 16 St., NYC 10011. (212)929-1525. FAX: (212)727-9526. Pres. Meir Mishkoff. Promotes Young Israel synagogues and youth work in Israel; works to help absorb Russian and Ethiopian immigrants.

—, **YOUNG ISRAEL COLLEGIATES AND YOUNG ADULTS** (1951; reorg. 1982). 3 W. 16 St., NYC 10011. (212)929-1525, (800)-727-8567. FAX: (212)727-9526. Chmn. Kenneth Block; Dir. Richard M. Stareshefsky. Organizes and operates kosher dining clubs on college and university campuses; provides information and counseling on *kashrut* observance at colleges; gives college-age youth understanding and appreciation of Judaism and information on issues important to Jewish community; arranges seminars and meetings, weekends and trips.

—, **YOUNG ISRAEL YOUTH** (reorg. 1968). 3 W. 16 St., NYC 10011. (800)727-8567, (212)929-1525. FAX: (212)727-9526. Chmn. Kenneth Block; Dir. Richard Stareshefsky. Fosters a program of spiritual, cultural, social, and communal activities for the advancement and perpetuation of traditional Torah-true Judaism; strives to instill an understanding and appreciation of high ethical and spiritual values and to demonstrate compatibility of ancient faith of Israel with good Americanism. Operates Achva East summer program for 8th graders, Achva West summer program for 9th graders, and Achva Israel summer program for 10th graders. *Torah Tidbits; Shabbat Youth Manual.*

NATIONAL HAVURAH COMMITTEE (1979). 7318 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19119-1720. (215)248-9760, (215)248-1335. FAX: (215)247-9703. Chmn. Janet Hollander. A center for Jewish renewal devoted to spreading Jewish ideas, ethics, and religious practices through *havurot*, par-

ticipatory and inclusive religious mini-communities. Maintains a directory of N. American *havurot* and sponsors a week-long summer institute, regional weekend retreats, a teachers bureau, and a D'var Torah newspaper column. *Havurah!* (newsletter).

NATIONAL JEWISH CENTER FOR LEARNING AND LEADERSHIP (see CLAL)

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMITTEE ON SCOUTING (Boy Scouts of America) (1926). 1325 West Walnut Hill Lane, PO Box 152079, Irving, TX 75015-2079. (214)580-2119. FAX: (214)580-7870. Chmn. Shelly Weil. Assists Jewish institutions in meeting their needs and concerns through use of the resources of scouting. Works through local Jewish committees on scouting to establish Tiger Cub groups (1st grade), Cub Scout packs, Boy Scout troops, and coed Explorer posts in synagogues, Jewish community centers, day schools, and other Jewish organizations wishing to draw Jewish youth. Support materials and resources on request.

NATIONAL JEWISH GIRL SCOUT COMMITTEE (1972). 33 Central Dr., Bronxville, NY 10708. (914)738-3986, (718)252-6072. FAX: (914)738-6752. Chmn. Rabbi Herbert W. Bomzer; Field Chmn. Adele Wasko. Serves to further Jewish education by promoting Jewish award programs, encouraging religious services, promoting cultural exchanges with the Israel Boy and Girl Scouts Federation, and extending membership in the Jewish community by assisting councils in organizing Girl Scout troops and local Jewish Girl Scout committees. *Newsletter*.

NATIONAL JEWISH HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE (1973; reorg. 1993). PO Box 15832, Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215)546-8293. Pres. Rabbi Allen S. Maller; Exec. Dir. Steven S. Jacobs. Assists persons interested in Judaism—for intermarriage, conversion, general information, or to respond to missionaries. *Special reports*.

OZAR HATORAH, INC. (1946). 1350 Ave. of the Americas, 32nd fl., NYC 10019. (212)-582-2050. FAX: (212) 307-0044. Pres. Joseph Shalom; Sec. Sam Sutton; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Biniamine Amoyelle. An international educational network which builds Sephardic communities worldwide through Jewish education.

PARDES PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION OF REFORM DAY SCHOOLS (1990). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021-7064. (212)249-0100. FAX: (212)734-2857. Pres. Lenore Kipper; Chmn. Roberta Krolick. An affiliate of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; brings together day schools and professional and lay leaders committed to advancing the cause of full-time Reform Jewish education; advocates for the continuing development of day schools within the Reform movement as a means to foster Jewish identity, literacy, and continuity; promotes cooperation among our member schools and with other Jewish organizations that share similar goals. *Visions of Excellence; In Progress*.

P'EYLIM-AMERICAN YESHIVA STUDENT UNION (1951). 805 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY 11223. (718)437-1392. Pres. Jacob Y. Weisberg; Exec. V.-Pres. Avraham Hirsch. Aids and sponsors pioneer work by American graduate teachers and rabbis in new villages and towns in Israel; engages in relief as well as religious and educational work among immigrants from various countries, assisting them to relocate and reestablish a strong Jewish community life; engages actively in Kiruv; maintains summer camps for poor immigrant youth in Israel; belongs to worldwide P'eylim movement.

RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA (IGUD HARABONIM) (1942). 3 W. 16 St., 4th fl., NYC 10011. (212)242-6420. FAX: (212)-255-8313. Pres. Rabbi Abraham B. Hecht; Admin. Judge of Beth Din (Rabbinical Court) Rabbi Herschel Kurzrock. Seeks to promulgate the cause of Torah-true Judaism through an organized rabbinate that is consistently Orthodox; seeks to elevate the position of Orthodox rabbis nationally and to defend the welfare of Jews the world over. Also has Beth Din Rabbinical Court for Jewish divorces, litigation, marriage counseling, and family problems. *Perspective; Nahalim; Torah Message of the Week; Registry*.

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY (1900). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8060. Pres. Rabbi David L. Lieber; Exec. V.-Pres. Joel H. Meyers. The internatl. assoc. of Conservative rabbis; actively promotes the cause of Conservative Judaism and works to benefit *klal yisrael*; publishes learned texts, prayer books, and works of Jewish interest; administers the work of the Com-

mittee on Jewish Law and Standards for the Conservative movement; serves the professional and personal needs of its members through publications, conferences, and benefit programs and administers the movement's Joint Placement Commission. *Conservative Judaism; Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly; Rabbinical Assembly Newsletter*.

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INC. (1923; reorg. 1935). 305 Seventh Ave., NYC 10001-6008. Pres. Rabbi Rafael G. Grossman; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Steven M. Dworken. Promotes Orthodox Judaism in the community; supports institutions for study of Torah; stimulates creation of new traditional agencies. *Hadorom; RCA Record; Sermon Manual; Tradition*.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS JEWRY, INC. (1941; reorg. 1964). 471 W. End Ave., NYC 10024. (212)222-6839. Pres. Rabbi Oswald Besser; Hon. Sec. Marcus Retter. Engages in research and publishes studies concerning the situation of religious Jewry and its history in various countries.

SHOMREI ADAMAH/KEEPERS OF THE EARTH (1988). c/o Surprise Lake Camp, 50 W. 17 St., NYC 10011. (212)807-6376. FAX: (212)924-5112. Exec. Dir. Ellen Bernstein; Act. Dir. Jordan Dale. Promotes understanding that love of nature and protection of the environment are values deeply embedded in Jewish tradition and texts. Publishes groundbreaking research and educational materials; develops leaders, teachers, and programs to build Jewish ecological awareness; works with congregations and groups across N. Amer.; provides speakers, workshops, wilderness trips, and other educational opportunities. *A Garden of Choice Fruit; Let the Earth Teach You Torah; Greening the Holidays*.

SOCIETY FOR HUMANISTIC JUDAISM (1969). 28611 W. Twelve Mile Rd., Farmington Hills, MI 48334. (810)478-7610. FAX: (810)478-3159. Pres. Dana Wolfe Naimark; Exec. Dir. M. Bonnie Cousens; Community Development Dir. Stacie Fine. Serves as a voice for Jews who value their Jewish identity and who seek an alternative to conventional Judaism, who reject supernatural authority and affirm the right of individuals to be the masters of their own lives. Publishes educational and cere-

monial materials; organizes congregations and groups. *Humanistic Judaism (quarterly journal); Humanorah (quarterly newsletter)*.

TORAH SCHOOLS FOR ISRAEL-CHINUCH ATZMAI (1953). 40 Exchange Pl., NYC 10005. (212)248-6200. FAX: (212)248-6202. Pres. Rabbi Abraham Pam; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Henach Cohen. Conducts information programs for the American Jewish community on activities of the independent Torah schools educational network in Israel; coordinates role of American members of international board of governors; funds special programs of Mercaz Hachinuch Ha-Atzmai B'Eretz Yisroel.

TORAH UMESORAH-NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HEBREW DAY SCHOOLS (1944). 160 Broadway, NYC 10038. (212)227-1000. Pres. Sheldon Beren; Bd. Chmn. David Singer; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Joshua Fishman. Establishes Hebrew day schools in U.S. and Canada and provides a full gamut of services, including placement and curriculum guidance, teacher-training on campuses of major yeshivas, an annual intensive teacher institute in July, and regional seminars and workshops. Parent Enrichment Program established in 1991 provides enhanced educational experience for students from less Jewishly educated and marginally affiliated homes through parent-education programs, curriculum, training of parent-education coordinators, and a monthly magazine, *The Jewish Parent Connection*. Publishes textbooks; runs Shabbatonim, extracurricular activities. National PTA groups; national and regional teacher conventions. *Olomeinu-Our World; Parshah Sheets*.

—, **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEBREW DAY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS** (1960). 1114 Ave. J, Brooklyn, NY 11230. (718)258-7767. Pres. David H. Schwartz. Coordinates the work of the fiscal directors of Hebrew day schools throughout the country. *NAHDSA Review*.

—, **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEBREW DAY SCHOOL PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS** (1948). 160 Broadway, NYC 10038. (212)227-1000. Natl. PTA Coord. Bernice Brand. Acts as a clearinghouse and service agency to PTAs of Hebrew day schools; organizes parent education courses and sets up programs for individual PTAs. *Fundraising with a Flair*;

Monthly Sidrah Series Program; PTA with a Purpose for the Hebrew Day School.

———, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YESHIVA PRINCIPALS (1956). 160 Broadway, NYC 10038. (212)227-1000. Pres. Rabbi Raphael Skaist; Bd. Chmn. Rabbi Dov Leibenstein; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi A. Moshe Possick. Professional organization of elementary and secondary yeshivah/day-school principals providing yeshivah/day schools with school evaluation and guidance, teacher and principal conferences—including a Mid-Winter Curriculum Conference and a National Educators Convention. *Directory of Elementary Schools and High Schools.*

———, NATIONAL LAY LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE (LLC) (1991). Chmn. Barry Ray; Dir. Rabbi Nate Segal. Provides a lay leaders' executive report-professional journal; national lay leadership convention; national policy-setting committees.

———, NATIONAL YESHIVA TEACHERS BOARD OF LICENSE (1953). 160 Broadway, NYC 10038. (212)227-1000. Exec. V.-Pres. & Dir. Rabbi Joshua Fishman. Issues licenses to qualified instructors for all grades of the Hebrew day school and the general field of Torah education.

UNION FOR TRADITIONAL JUDAISM (1984). 241 Cedar Lane, Teaneck, NJ 07666. (201)801-0707. FAX: (201)801-0449. Pres. Burton G. Greenblatt; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Ronald D. Price. Through innovative outreach programs, seeks to bring the greatest possible number of Jews closer to an open-minded observant Jewish lifestyle. Activities include Operation Pesah, the Panel of Halakhic Inquiry, Speakers Bureau, adult and youth conferences, congregational services, and UTJ Internet Education Program. Includes, since 1992, the MORASHAH rabbinic educational fellowship. *Hagahaleit* (quarterly newsletter); *Kosher Nexus* (bimonthly newsletter); *Cornerstone* (journal); *Tomeikh Kahalakhah* (Jewish legal responsa).

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (1873). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021-7064. (212)249-0100. FAX: (212)734-2857. Pres. Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie; V.-Pres. Rabbi Lennard R. Thal; Bd. Chmn. Jerome H. Somers; Sr. V.-Pres. Rabbi Daniel B. Syme. Serves as the central congregational body of Reform Judaism in the Western Hemisphere; serves its approxi-

mately 850 affiliated temples and membership with religious, educational, cultural, and administrative programs. *Reform Judaism.*

———, AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS (1953). 170 W. 74 St., NYC 10023. (212)874-4762. FAX: (212)874-3527. Pres. Judith K. Rowland; Exec. V.-Pres. Howard M. Stahl; Dir. of Placement Richard Botton; Admin. Asst. Karyn Turner. Members receive investiture and commissioning as cantors at recognized seminaries, i.e., Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, School of Sacred Music, or Jewish Theological Seminary, as well as full certification through HUC-JIR-SSM. Through the Joint Cantorial Placement Commission, the ACC serves Reform congregations seeking cantors and music directors. Dedicated to creative Judaism, preserving the best of the past, and encouraging new and vital approaches to religious ritual, music, and ceremonies. *Koleinu.*

———, COMMISSION ON REFORM JEWISH EDUCATION OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)650-4110. FAX: (212)650-4119. Chmn. Rabbi Robert Orkand; V.-Chmn. Joe Kleiman, Robin L. Eisenberg; Dir. Seymour Rossel. Long-range planning and policy development for congregational programs of lifelong education; network projects with affiliates and associate groups including: special-needs education, Reform Jewish outreach, and Reform Day Schools; activities administered by the UAHC Department for Education. *Compass Magazine.*

———, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (see p. 468)

———, COMMISSION ON SYNAGOGUE MANAGEMENT (UAHC-CCAR) (1962). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)650-4040. FAX: (212)650-4239. Chmn. James Jonas; Dir. Joseph C. Bernstein. Assists congregations in management, finance, building maintenance, design, construction, and art aspects of synagogues; maintains the Synagogue Architectural Library.

———, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS (NATA) (1941).

c/o Wilshire Boulevard Temple, 3663 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010. (213)-388-2401. FAX: (213)388-2595. Pres. Stephen E. Breuer. Prepares and disseminates administrative information and procedures to member synagogues of UAHC; provides training of professional synagogue executives; formulates and establishes professional standards for the synagogue executive; provides placement services. *NATA Journal; Temple Management Manual.*

—, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS (NATE) (1955). 707 Summery Dr., Nashville, TN 37209-4253. (615)352-6800. FAX: (615)352-7800. Pres. Marlene Myerson; Exec. Dir. Richard M. Morin. Represents the temple educator within the general body of Reform Judaism; fosters the full-time profession of the temple educator; encourages the growth and development of Jewish religious education consistent with the aims of Reform Judaism; stimulates communal interest in and responsibility for Jewish religious education. *NATE NEWS; Compass.*

—, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)570-0707. Pres. Kenneth Keenan; 1st V.-Pres./JCS Chancellor Jay D. Hirsch; Exec. Dir. Douglas Barden. Dedicated to enhancing the world through the ideal of brotherhood, NFTB and its 300 affiliated clubs are actively involved in education, social action, youth activities, and other programs that contribute to temple and community life. Supports the Jewish Chautauqua Society, an interfaith educational project. *Brotherhood.*

—, WOMEN OF REFORM JUDAISM—THE FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS (1913). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021-7064. (212)249-0100. FAX: (212)861-0831. Pres. Judith O. Rosenkranz; Exec. Dir. Ellen Y. Rosenberg. Serves more than 600 sisterhoods of Reform Judaism; promotes interreligious understanding and social justice; provides funding for scholarships for rabbinic students; founded the Jewish Braille Institute, which provides braille and large-type Judaic materials for Jewish blind; supports projects for Israel, Soviet Jewry; is the women's agency of Reform Judaism, an affiliate of the UAHC; works in behalf of the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion and the World

Union for Progressive Judaism. *Notes for Now; Art Calendar.*

—, YOUTH DIVISION AND NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH (1939). PO Box 443, Bowen Rd., Warwick, NY 10990. (914)987-6300. FAX: (914)986-7185. Dir. Rabbi Allan L. Smith. Seeks to train Reform Jewish youth in the values of the synagogue and their application to daily life through service to the community and congregation; runs department of summer camps and national leadership-training institute; arranges overseas academic tours, work-study programs, international student-exchange programs, and college-student programs in the U.S. and Israel, including accredited study programs in Israel. *Ani V'Atah; The Jewish Connection.*

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (1898). 333 Seventh Ave., NYC 10001. (212)563-4000. FAX: (212)564-9058. E-mail: ou@ou.org. Pres. Mandell I. Ganchrow; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Raphael Butler. Serves as the national central body of Orthodox synagogues; sponsors Institute for Public Affairs; National Conference of Synagogue Youth; LAVE—Learning and Values Experiences; Israel Center in Jerusalem; *aliyah* department; national OU *kashrut* supervision and certification service; Marriage Commission; "Taste of Torah" radio program; provides educational, religious, and organizational programs, events, and guidance to synagogues and groups; represents the Orthodox Jewish community to governmental and civic bodies and the general Jewish community. *Jewish Action* magazine; *OU Kosher Directory*; *OU Passover Directory*; *OU News Reporter*; *Synagogue Spotlight*; *Our Way* magazine; *Yachad* magazine; *Luach Limud Torah Diary Home Study Program.*

—, INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS (1989). 333 Seventh Ave., NYC 10001. (212)563-4000. FAX: (212)564-9058. E-mail: ipa@ou.org. Pres. Mandell I. Ganchrow; Chmn. Richard Stone; Exec. Dir. Betty Ehrenberg. Serves as the policy analysis, advocacy, mobilization, and programming department responsible for representing Orthodox/traditional American Jewry. *IPA Currents* (quarterly newsletter); *Briefing* (monthly updates).

—, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SYNAGOGUE YOUTH (1954). 333 Seventh Ave.,

NYC 10001. (212)563-4000. E-mail: ncsy@ou.org. Dir. Rabbi Pinchas Stolper. Central body for youth groups of Orthodox congregations; provides educational guidance, Torah study groups, community service, program consultation, Torah library, Torah fund scholarships, Ben Zakai Honor Society, Friends of NCSY, weeklong seminars, Israel Summer Seminar for teens and Camp NCSY East, Teen Torah Center. Divisions include Senior NCSY in 13 regions and 400 chapters, Junior NCSY for preteens, Our Way for the Jewish deaf, Yachad for the developmentally disabled, Israel Center in Jerusalem, and NCSY in Israel. *Keeping Posted with NCSY; Face the Nation—President's Newsletter; Mitzvah of the Month.*

———, WOMEN'S BRANCH (1923). 156 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010. (212)929-8857. Pres. Sophie Ebert. Umbrella organization of Orthodox sisterhoods in U.S. and Canada, educating women in Jewish learning and observance; provides programming, leadership, and organizational guidance, conferences and conventions. Works with Orthodox Union Marriage Commission and outreach programs; supports Stern and Touro College scholarship funds and Jewish braille publications; supplies Shabbat candelabra for hospital patients; has NGO representative at UN. *Hachodesh; Hakol.*

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (1902). 235 E. Broadway, NYC 10002. (212)964-6337(8). Dir. Rabbi Hersh M. Ginsberg. Seeks to foster and promote Torah-true Judaism in the U.S. and Canada; assists in the establishment and maintenance of yeshivot in the U.S.; maintains committee on marriage and divorce and aids individuals with marital difficulties; disseminates knowledge of traditional Jewish rites and practices and publishes regulations on synagogal structure; maintains rabbinical court for resolving individual and communal conflicts. *HaPardes.*

UNION OF SEPHARDIC CONGREGATIONS, INC. (1929). 8 W. 70 St., NYC 10023. (212)873-0300. FAX: (212)724-6165. Pres. Rabbi Marc D. Angel; Bd. Chmn. Alvin Deutsch. Promotes the religious interests of Sephardic Jews; prints and distributes Sephardic prayer books. *Annual International Directory of Sephardic Congregations.*

UNITED LUBAVITCHER YESHIVOTH (1940). 841-853 Ocean Pkwy., Brooklyn, NY 11230. (718)859-7600. Supports and organizes Jewish day schools and rabbinical seminaries in the U.S. and abroad.

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (1913). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010-6802. (212)533-7800. FAX: (212)-353-9439. Pres. Alan Ades; Exec. V.-Pres./CEO Rabbi Jerome M. Epstein. International organization of 800 Conservative congregations. Maintains 12 departments and 20 regional offices to assist its affiliates with religious, educational, youth, community, and administrative programming and guidance; aims to enhance the cause of Conservative Judaism, further religious observance, encourage establishment of Jewish religious schools, draw youth closer to Jewish tradition. Extensive Israel programs. *United Synagogue Review; Art/Engagement Calendar; Program Suggestions; Directory & Resource Guide; Book Service Catalogue of Publications.*

———, COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION (1930). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010. (212)533-7800. FAX: (212)353-9439. Chmn. Dr. Jack Porter; Cochmn. Rabbi Marim Charry; Dir. Rabbi Robert Abramson. Develops educational policy for the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism and sets the educational direction for Conservative congregations, their schools, and the Solomon Schechter Day Schools. Seeks to enhance the educational effectiveness of congregations through the publication of materials and in-service programs. *Tov L'Horot; Your Child; Shibley Schechter; Advisories.*

———, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION AND PUBLIC POLICY (1958). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010. (212)533-7800. FAX: (212)353-9439. Cochmn. Scott Kaplan, Marc Gary; Dir. Sarrae Crane. Develops and implements positions and programs on issues of social action and public policy for the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism; represents these positions to other Jewish and civic organizations, the media, and government; and provides guidance, both informational and programmatic, to its affiliated congregations in these areas.

———, JEWISH EDUCATORS ASSEMBLY (1951). 106-06 Queens Blvd., Forest Hills, NY 11375-4248. (718)268-9452. FAX: (718)520-4369. Pres. Sheila C. Adler;

Exec. Dir. Bernard Dov Troy. Promotes the vitality of the Conservative movement by encouraging professional growth and development, maintaining professional standards, acting as an advocate for Jewish education, and supporting educators' well-being. Services offered: annual convention, placement service, career services, research grants, and personal benefits. *V'Aleh Ha-Chadashot newsletter.*

—, KADIMA (formerly PRE-USY; reorg. 1968). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010-6802. (212)533-7800. Dir. Robert Gamer. Involves Jewish preteens in a meaningful religious, educational, and social environment; fosters a sense of identity and commitment to the Jewish community and the Conservative movement; conducts synagogue-based chapter programs and regional Kadima days and weekends. *Mitzvah of the Month; Kadima Keshet; Chagim; Advisors Aid; Games; quarterly Kol Kadima magazine.*

—, NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SYNAGOGUE EXECUTIVES (1948). 10500 Hillside Lane W., Minnetonka, MN 55305. (612)545-2424. FAX: (612)545-2913. Pres. Ralph B. Kirshbaum; Hon. Pres. Lawrence H. Trope. Aids congregations affiliated with the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism to further the aims of Conservative Judaism through more effective administration (Program for Assistance by Liaisons to Synagogues—PALS); advances professional standards and promotes new methods in administration; cooperates in United Synagogue placement services and administrative surveys. *NAASE Connections Newsletter; NAASE Journal.*

—, UNITED SYNAGOGUE YOUTH OF (1951). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010. (212)533-7800. FAX: (212)353-9439. Pres. Eitan Gutin; Exec. Dir. Jules A. Gutin. Seeks to strengthen identification with Conservative Judaism, based on the personality development, needs, and interests of the adolescent, in a mitzvah framework. *Achshav; Tikun Olam; A.J. Heschel Honor Society Newsletter; SATO Newsletter; USY Alumni Assn. Newsletter; USY Program Bank; Hakesher Newsletter for Advisors.*

VAAD MISHMERETH STAM (1976). 4902 16th Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11204. (718)438-4963. FAX: (718)854-5948. Pres. Rabbi David L. Greenfeld. A nonprofit

consumer-protection agency dedicated to preserving and protecting the halakhic integrity of Torah scrolls, tefillin, phylacteries, and *mezuzot*. Publishes material for laymen and scholars in the field of scribal arts; makes presentations and conducts examination campaigns in schools and synagogues; created an optical software system to detect possible textual errors in *stam*. Offices in Israel, Strasbourg, Chicago, London, Manchester, Montreal, and Zurich. Publishes *Guide to Mezuzah* and *Encyclopedia of the Secret Aleph Beth. The Jewish Quill.*

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (1918). 48 E. 74 St., NYC 10021. (212)628-1600. FAX: (212)772-3507. Pres. Evelyn Seelig; Exec. Dir. Bernice Balter. Parent body of Conservative (Masorti) women's synagogue groups in U.S., Canada, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Israel; provides programs and resources in Jewish education, social action, Israel affairs, American and Canadian public affairs, leadership training, community service programs for persons with disabilities, conferences on world affairs, study institutes, publicity techniques; publishes books of Jewish interest; contributes to support of Jewish Theological Seminary of America. *Women's League Outlook magazine; Ba'Olam world affairs newsletter.*

WORLD COUNCIL OF CONSERVATIVE/MASORTI SYNAGOGUES (1957). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010. (212)533-7800, ext. 2014, 2018. FAX: (212)533-9439. Pres. Dr. Henry Sender; Rabbi of Council, Rabbi Benjamin Z. Kreitman; Bd. Chmn. Rabbi Marc Liebhaber. International representative of Conservative organizations and congregations; promotes the growth and development of the Conservative movement in Israel and throughout the world; supports educational institutions overseas; holds biennial international conventions; represents the world Conservative movement on the Executive of the World Zionist Organization. *World Spectrum.*

WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM, LTD. (1926). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC 10021. (212)650-4090. FAX: (212)650-4099. Pres. Austin Beutel; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch; Dir. N. Amer. Operations Allan Eytan; Dir. Internatl. Relations Rabbi Clifford Kulwin. International umbrella organization of Liberal Judaism;

promotes and coordinates efforts of Liberal congregations throughout the world; starts new congregations, recruits rabbis and rabbinical students for all countries; organizes international conferences of Liberal Jews. *Rodnik; News Updates.*

SCHOOLS, INSTITUTIONS

ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RELIGION (1955). 15 W. 86 St., NYC 10024. (212)875-0540. FAX: (212)875-0541. Pres. Rabbi Shohama Wiener; Dean Rabbi Samuel Barth. The only rabbinic and cantorial seminary in the U.S. at which students explore the full range of Jewish spiritual learning and practice. Graduates serve in Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, and Orthodox congregations, chaplaincies, and educational institutions. Programs include rabbinic and cantorial studies in NYC and on/off-campus nonmatriculated studies.

ANNENBERG RESEARCH INSTITUTE (*see* Center for Judaic Studies)

BALTIMORE HEBREW UNIVERSITY (1919). 5800 Park Heights Ave., Baltimore, MD 21215. (410)578-6900. FAX: (410)578-6940. Acting Pres. Dr. Robert O. Freedman; Bd. Chmn. George B. Hess, Jr.. Offers PhD, MA, and BA programs in Jewish studies, Jewish education, biblical and Near Eastern archaeology, philosophy, literature, history, Hebrew language and literature; School of Continuing Education; Joseph Meyerhoff Library; community lectures, film series, seminars. *The Scribe (annual newsletter).*

——, BALTIMORE INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE. (410)578-6932. FAX: (410)578-6940. Dir. Debra S. Weinberg. Trains Jewish communal professionals; offers joint degree program: MA in Jewish studies from BHU; MSW from U. of Maryland; MPS in policy sciences from UMBC.

——, BERNARD MANEKIN SCHOOL OF UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES. Dean Judy Meltzer. BA program; interinstitutional program with Johns Hopkins University; interdisciplinary concentrations: contemporary Middle East, American Jewish culture, and the humanities; Russian/English program for new Americans; assoc. of arts (AA) degree in Jewish studies.

——, LEONARD AND HELEN R. STULMAN SCHOOL OF CONTINUING EDUCA-

TION. Dean Judy Meltzer. Noncredit program open to the community, offering a variety of courses, trips, and events covering a range of Jewish subjects.

——, PEGGY MEYERHOFF PEARLSTONE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES. Acting Dean Dr. Barry M. Gittlen. PhD and MA programs; MA in Jewish studies; MAJE in Jewish education; PhD in Jewish studies; a double master's degree with an MA from BHU and an MSW from the University of Maryland School of Social Work or an MPS in policy sciences from UMBC.

BRAMSON ORT TECHNICAL INSTITUTE (1977). 69-30 Austin St., Forest Hills, NY 11375. (718)261-5800. Dean of Academic Services Barry Glotzer; Asst. to Dir. Lois Shallit-Kelbick. A two-year Jewish technical college offering certificates and associate degrees in technology and business fields, including computer, electronics technology, business management, ophthalmic technology, office technology. Extension sites in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

BRANDEIS-BARDIN INSTITUTE (1941). 1101 Peppertree Lane, Brandeis, CA 93064. (805)582-4450. FAX: (805)526-1398. Pres. Judge Joseph Wapner; Exec. V.-Pres. Dr. Alvin Mars. A Jewish pluralistic, non-denominational educational institution providing programs for people of all ages: BCI (Brandeis Collegiate Institute), a summer leadership program for college-age adults from around the world; Camp Alonim, a summer Jewish experience for children 8-16; Gan Alonim Day Camp for children in kindergarten to 6th grade; House of the Book weekend retreats for adults, with leading contemporary Jewish scholars-in-residence; Jewish music concerts; Family Days, Family Weekends, Grandparents Weekends, Elderhostel, and a variety of Young Adult programs. *Monthly Updates; BBI Newsletter; BCI Alumni News.*

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY (1948). 415 South St., Waltham, MA 02254. (617)736-2000. Pres. Jehuda Reinharz; Provost Irving Epstein; Exec. V.-Pres. for Admin. Stanley Rumbaugh; Sr. V.-Pres. of Devel. Nancy Winship. Founded under Jewish sponsorship as a nonsectarian institution offering to all the highest quality undergraduate and graduate education. The Lown School is the center for all programs of teaching and research in the areas of Judaic studies,

ancient Near Eastern studies, and Islamic and modern Middle Eastern studies. The school includes the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, which offers academic programs in the major areas of its concern; the Hornstein Program in Jewish Communal Service, a professional training program; the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, which conducts research and teaching in contemporary Jewish studies, primarily in the field of American Jewish studies, and the Tauber Institute for the study of European Jewry. *Various newsletters, scholarly publications.*

CENTER FOR JUDAIC STUDIES, School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania. (Merged with University of Pennsylvania, 1993; formerly Annenberg Research Institute, successor of Dropsie College.) 420 Walnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19106. (215)238-1290. FAX: (215)238-1540. Dir. David B. Ruderman. *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

CLEVELAND COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES (1964). 26500 Shaker Blvd., Beachwood, OH 44122. (216)464-4050. Pres. David S. Ariel; Dir. of Student Services Ronald M. Horvat. Provides courses in all areas of Judaic and Hebrew studies to adults and college-age students; offers continuing education for Jewish educators and administrators; serves as a center for Jewish life and culture; expands the availability of courses in Judaic studies by exchanging faculty, students, and credits with neighboring academic institutions; grants bachelor's and master's degrees.

DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING (see Center for Judaic Studies)

FEINBERG GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE (1958). 51 Madison Ave., NYC 10010. (212)779-2500. FAX: (212)779-3209. Chmn. Melvin Schwartz; Pres. Robert Asher; Dean Prof. Shmuel Safran. Situated on the Weizmann campus in Rehovot, Israel, provides the school's faculty and research facilities. Accredited by the Council for Higher Education of Israel and the NY State Board of Regents for the study of natural sciences, leading to MSc and PhD degrees.

GRATZ COLLEGE (1895). Old York Rd. and Melrose Ave., Melrose Park, PA 19027. (215)635-7300. FAX: (215)635-7320. Bd.

Chmn. William L. Landsburg; Pres. Dr. Gary S. Schiff. Offers a wide variety of undergraduate and graduate degrees and continuing education programs in Judaic, Hebrew, and Middle Eastern studies. Grants BA and MA in Jewish studies, MA in Jewish education (joint program in special needs education with La Salle U.), MA in Jewish music, MA in Jewish liberal studies, MA in Jewish communal studies, certificates in Jewish communal studies (joint program with U. of Penna. School of Social Work), Jewish education, Israel studies, Judaica librarianship (joint program with Drexel U.), and other credentials. Joint graduate program in Jewish communal studies with U. of Penna. Netzkay Division of Continuing Education offers courses in Hebrew, Yiddish, Judaica, education, etc. High-school-level programs are offered by the Jewish Community High School of Gratz College. *Various newsletters, annual academic bulletin, scholarly publications, centennial volume and occasional papers.*

HEBREW COLLEGE (1921). 43 Hawes St., Brookline, MA 02146. (617)232-8710. FAX: (617)734-9769. Pres. Dr. David M. Gordis; Bd. Chmn. Theodore H. Teplow. Serves more than 2,000 students in undergraduate and graduate programs, institutes for family and early childhood educators, Jewish music practitioners and other professional educators, and its Center for Adult Jewish Study. Serves youth of Greater Boston through Prozdor high school and overnight Camp Yavneh in Northwood, N.H. Through Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies engages in research, analysis, and strategic planning in areas of Jewish communal interests. *Hebrew College Today.*

HEBREW SEMINARY OF THE DEAF (1992). 4435 Oakton, Skokie, IL 60076. (708)677-3330. FAX: (708)674-0327. Pres. Rabbi Douglas Goldhamer; Bd. Cochmn. Rabbi William Frankel, Alan Crane. Trains deaf and hearing men and women to become rabbis and teachers for Jewish deaf communities across America. All classes in the 5-year program are interpreted in Sign Language. Rabbis teaching in the seminary are Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist.

HEBREW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (1922). 7135 N. Carpenter Rd., Skokie, IL 60077. (312)267-9800. Chancellor Rabbi Dr. Je- rold Isenberg. An institution of higher

Jewish learning which includes a rabbinical school; school of liberal arts and sciences; division of advanced Hebrew studies; Fasman Yeshiva High School; Anne M. Blitstein Teachers Institute for Women. *Or Shmuel; Torah Journal; Likutei P'shatim; Turrets of Silver.*

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION (1875). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45220. (513)221-1875. FAX: (513)221-2810. Pres. Sheldon Zimmerman; Chancellor Dr. Alfred Gottschalk; V.-Pres. Academic Affairs Samuel Greengus; V.-Pres. Paul M. Steinberg; V.-Pres. Devel. John S. Borden; Chmn. Bd. Govs. Stanley P. Gold. Academic centers: 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45220 (1875), Dean Kenneth Ehrlich. 1 W. 4 St., NYC 10012 (1922), Dean Norman J. Cohen; FAX: (212) 388-1720. 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90007 (1954), Dean Lee Bycel; FAX: (213)747-6128. 13 King David St., Jerusalem, Israel 94101 (1963), Dean Michael L. Klein; FAX: (972-2)251478. Prepares students for Reform rabbinate, cantorate, religious-school teaching and administration, communal service, academic careers; promotes Jewish studies; maintains libraries, archives, and museums; offers master's and doctoral degrees; engages in archaeological excavations; publishes scholarly works through Hebrew Union College Press. *American Jewish Archives; Bibliographica Judaica; HUC-JIR Catalogue; Hebrew Union College Annual: Studies in Bibliography and Booklore; The Chronicle; HUC-JIR Annual Report.*

—, AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES (1947). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45220. (513)221-1875. FAX: (513)221-7812. Admin. Dir. Abraham Peck. Promotes the study and preservation of the Western Hemisphere Jewish experience through research, publications, collection of important source materials, and a vigorous public-outreach program. *American Jewish Archives; monographs, publications, and pamphlets.*

—, AMERICAN JEWISH PERIODICAL CENTER (1957). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45220. (513)221-1875. Dir. Herbert C. Zafren. Maintains microfilms of all American Jewish periodicals 1823-1925, selected periodicals since 1925. *Jewish Periodicals and Newspapers on Mi-*

crofilm (1957); First Supplement (1960); Augmented Edition (1984).

—, EDGAR F. MAGNIN SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES (1956). 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90007. (213)-749-3424. FAX: (213)747-6128. Dir. Stanley Chyet. Supervises programs leading to PhD (education), DHS, DHL, and MA degrees; participates in cooperative PhD programs with U. of S. Calif.

—, GRADUATE STUDIES PROGRAM. 1 West 4 St. NYC 10012. (212)674-5300, ext. 228. FAX: (212)388-1720. V.-Pres. and Dean of Faculty Paul M. Steinberg; Dean Norman Cohen; Dir. Kerry M. Olitzky. Offers the DHL (doctor of Hebrew letters) degree in a variety of fields; the MAJS (master of arts in Judaic studies), a multidisciplinary degree; and is the only Jewish seminary to offer the DMin (doctor of ministry) degree in pastoral care and counseling.

—, IRWIN DANIELS SCHOOL OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (1968). 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90007. (213)749-3424. FAX: (213)747-6128. Dir. Steven J. Windmueller. Offers certificate and master's degree to those employed in Jewish communal services, or preparing for such work; offers joint MA in Jewish education and communal service with Rhea Hirsch School; offers dual degrees with the School of Social Work, the School of Public Administration, the Annenberg School for Communication, and the School of Gerontology of the U. of S. Calif. and with other institutions. Single master's degrees can be completed in 15 months and certificates are awarded for the completion of two full-time summer sessions.

—, JEROME H. LOUCHHEIM SCHOOL OF JUDAIC STUDIES (1969). 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90007. (213)749-3424. FAX: (213)747-6128. Dir. David Elenson. Offers programs leading to MA, BS, BA, and AA degrees; offers courses as part of the undergraduate program of the U. of S. Calif.

—, NELSON GLUECK SCHOOL OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY (1963). 13 King David St., Jerusalem, Israel 94101. (972)2-203333. FAX: (972)2-251478. Dir. Avraham Biran. Offers graduate-level research programs in Bible and archaeology. Summer excavations are carried out by scholars and students. University credit

may be earned by participants in excavations. Consortium of colleges, universities, and seminaries is affiliated with the school. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology (artifacts from Tel Dan, Tel Gezer, and Aroer).

—, RHEA HIRSCH SCHOOL OF EDUCATION (1967). 3077 University Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90007. (213)749-3424. FAX: (213)747-6128. Dir. Sara Lee. Offers PhD and MA programs in Jewish and Hebrew education; conducts joint degree programs with U. of S. Calif.; offers courses for Jewish teachers, librarians, and early educators on a nonmatriculating basis; conducts summer institutes for professional Jewish educators.

—, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION (1947). 1 W. 4 St., NYC 10012. (212)674-5300, ext. 228. FAX: (212)388-1720. V.-Pres. and Dean of Faculty Paul M. Steinberg; Dean Norman J. Cohen; Dir. Kerry M. Olitzky. Trains teachers and principals for Reform religious schools; offers MA degree with specialization in religious education.

—, SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES (1949). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45220. (513)221-1875. FAX: (513)221-0321. Dir. Alan Cooper. Offers programs leading to MA and PhD degrees; offers program leading to DHL degree for rabbinic graduates of the college.

—, SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES (1963). 13 King David St., Jerusalem, Israel, 94101. (972)2-203333. FAX: (972)2-251-478. Dean Michael L. Klein; Assoc. Dean Rabbi Shaul R. Feinberg. Offers first year of graduate rabbinic, cantorial, and Jewish education studies (required) for American students; program leading to ordination for Israeli rabbinic students; undergraduate one-year work/study program on a kibbutz and in Jerusalem in cooperation with Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Hebrew Ulpan for Olim; Abramov Library of Judaica, Hebraica, Ancient Near East and American Jewish Experience; Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology; public outreach programs (lectures, courses, concerts, exhibits).

—, SCHOOL OF SACRED MUSIC (1947). 1 W. 4 St., NYC 10012. (212)674-5300, ext. 225. FAX: (212)388-1720. Dir. Israel Goldstein. Trains cantors for congregations; offers MSM degree. *Sacred Music Press*.

—, SKIRBALL CULTURAL CENTER AND SKIRBALL MUSEUM (see p. 477)

INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL JUDAISM (1990). 241 Cedar Lane, Teaneck, NJ 07666. (201)801-9898. FAX: (201)801-0449. Rector (*Reish Metivta*) Rabbi David Weiss Halivni; Dean Rabbi Ronald D. Price. A nondenominational halakhic rabbinical school dedicated to genuine faith combined with intellectual honesty and the love of Israel. Graduates receive "yoreh yoreh" *smikhah*.

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA (1886; reorg. 1902). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027-4649. (212)678-8000. FAX: (212)678-8947. Chancellor Dr. Ismar Schorsch; Bd. Chmn. Gershon Kekst. Operates undergraduate and graduate programs in Judaic studies; professional schools for training Conservative rabbis and cantors; Melton Research Center for Jewish Education; the Jewish Museum; and such youth programs as the Ramah Camps and the Prozdor high-school division. Produces network television programs in cooperation with interfaith broadcasting commission. *Academic Bulletin; Masoret; The Melton Journal; Seminary Update*.

—, ALBERT A. LIST COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES (formerly SEMINARY COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES-TEACHERS INSTITUTE) (1909). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8826. Dean Dr. Shuly Rubin Schwartz. Offers complete undergraduate program in Judaica leading to BA degree; conducts joint programs with Columbia University and Barnard College enabling students to receive two BA degrees.

—, CANTORS INSTITUTE AND SEMINARY COLLEGE OF JEWISH MUSIC (1952). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8036. FAX: (212)678-8947. Dean Rabbi Morton M. Leifman. Trains cantors, music teachers, and choral directors for congregations. Offers full-time programs in sacred music leading to degrees of MSM and DSM, and diploma of *Hazzan*.

—, DEPARTMENT OF RADIO AND TELEVISION (1944). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8020. Produces radio and TV programs expressing the Jewish tradition in its broadest sense, including hour-long documentaries on NBC and ABC. Distributes cassettes of programs at minimum charge.

- , GRADUATE SCHOOL (formerly INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE HUMANITIES) (1968). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8024. Dean Dr. Stephen P. Garfinkel. Programs leading to MA, MPhil, DHL, and PhD degrees in Jewish studies, Bible, Jewish education, history, literature, ancient Judaism, philosophy, rabbinics, medieval Jewish studies, art and material culture, women's studies, Midrash, and modern Jewish studies; dual degree with Columbia University School of Social Work.
- , JEWISH MUSEUM (see p. 475)
- , LIBRARY OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8075. FAX: (212)678-8998. Librarian Dr. Mayer E. Rabinowitz. Contains one of the largest collections of Hebraica and Judaica in the world, including manuscripts, incunabula, rare books, and Cairo Geniza material. The 300,000-volume collection is housed in a state-of-the-art building and is open to the public. *Between the Lines*.
- , LOUIS FINKELSTEIN INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES (1938). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8020. FAX: (212)678-8947. Dir. Dr. Burton Visotzky. A scholarly interreligious forum for clergy and seminarians to study and discuss important social and moral issues.
- , MELTON RESEARCH CENTER FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (1960). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8031. Dir. Dr. Steven M. Brown; Admin. Pauline Rotmil. Develops new curricula and materials for Jewish education; prepares educators through seminars and in-service programs; maintains consultant and supervisory relationships with a limited number of pilot schools; develops and implements research initiatives; sponsors "renewal" retreats. *The Melton Journal*.
- , NATIONAL RAMAH COMMISSION (1947). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8881. FAX: (212)749-8251. Pres. Alan H. Silberman; Natl. Dir. Sheldon Dorph. Sponsors an international network of 14 summer camps located in the US, Canada, South America, Russia, and Israel, emphasizing Jewish education, living, and culture; offers opportunities for qualified college students and older to serve as counselors, administrators, specialists, etc., and programs for children with special needs (Tikvah program); offers special programs in U.S. and Israel, including National Ramah Staff Training Institute, Ramah Israel Seminar, Ulpan Ramah Plus, and Tichon Ramah Yerushalayim. Family and synagogue tours to Israel and summer day camp in Israel for Americans.
- , PROZDOR (1951). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8824. Principal Rabbi Judd Kruger Livingston; Community Advisory Board Chmn. Howard Rubin. The Hebrew high school of JTS, offers a supplementary Jewish education with course work in classical texts, Hebrew, interdisciplinary seminars, training in educational leadership, and classes for college credit. Classes meet one evening a week and on Sundays in Manhattan and at affiliated programs.
- , RABBINICAL SCHOOL (1886). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8817. Dean Rabbi William Lebeau. Offers a program of graduate and professional studies leading to the degree of Master of Arts and ordination; includes one year of study in Jerusalem and an extensive field-work program.
- , SAUL LIEBERMAN INSTITUTE OF JEWISH RESEARCH (1985). 3080 Broadway, NYC 10027. (212)678-8994. Engaged in preparing for publication a series of scholarly editions of selected chapters of the Talmud. The following projects support and help disseminate the research: Talmud Text Database; Bibliography of Talmudic Literature; Catalogue of Geniza Fragments.
- , SCHOCKEN INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH (1961). 6 Balfour St., Jerusalem, Israel 92102. (972)2-631288. Dir. Shmuel Glick. Comprises the Schocken collection of rare books and manuscripts and a research institute dedicated to the exploration of Hebrew religious poetry (*piyyut*). *Schocken Institute Yearbook (Praqim)*.
- MESIVTA YESHIVA RABBI CHAIM BERLIN RABBINICAL ACADEMY (1905). 1605 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11230. (718)377-0777. Exec. Dir. Y. Mayer Lasker. Maintains fully accredited elementary and high schools; collegiate and post-graduate school for advanced Jewish studies, both in America and Israel; Camp

Morris, a summer study retreat; Prof. Nathan Isaacs Memorial Library; Gur Aryeh Publications.

NER ISRAEL RABBINICAL COLLEGE (1933). 400 Mt. Wilson Lane, Baltimore, MD 21208. (410)484-7200. FAX: (410)484-3060. Rabbi Yaakov S. Weinberg, Rosh Hayeshiva; Pres. Rabbi Herman N. Neuberger. Trains rabbis and educators for Jewish communities in America and worldwide. Offers bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in talmudic law, as well as teacher's diploma. College has four divisions: Mechina High School, Rabbinical College, Teachers Training Institute, Graduate School. Maintains an active community-service division. Operates special programs for Iranian and Russian Jewish students. *Ner Israel Update; Alumni Bulletin; Ohr Hanair Talmudic Journal; Iranian B'nei Torah Bulletin.*

RABBINICAL COLLEGE OF TELSHE, INC. (1941). 28400 Euclid Ave., Wickliffe, OH 44092. (216)943-5300. Pres. Rabbi Mordecai Gifter; V.-Pres. Rabbi Abba Zalka Gewirtz. College for higher Jewish learning specializing in talmudic studies and rabbinics; maintains a preparatory academy including a secular high school, postgraduate department, teacher-training school, and teachers' seminary for women. *Pri Etz Chaim; Peer Mordechai; Alumni Bulletin.*

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL COLLEGE (1968). Church Rd. and Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, PA 19095. (215)576-0800. FAX: (215)576-6143. Pres. David Teutsch; Bd. Chmn. Jacques G. Pomeranz; Genl. Chmn. Aaron Ziegelman. Coeducational. Trains rabbis for all areas of Jewish communal life: synagogues, academic and educational positions, Hillel centers, federation agencies, and chaplaincy for hospitals, hospices, and geriatric centers; confers title of rabbi and grants degrees of Master and Doctor of Hebrew Letters. *RRC Report; Reconstructionist.*

SPERTUS INSTITUTE OF JEWISH STUDIES (1924). 618 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60605. (312)922-9012. FAX: (312)922-6406. Pres. Howard A. Sulkin; Bd. Chmn. Arnold S. Levy; V.-Pres. for Academic Affairs Byron L. Sherwin; Dir. Asher Library Michael Terry. An accredited institution of higher learning offering doctor of Jewish studies degree, five master's degree programs in Jewish studies, Jewish educa-

tion, Jewish communal service, and human-services administration, plus an extensive program of continuing education. Major resources of the college encompass Spertus Museum, Asher Library, Chicago Jewish Archives, and Spertus College of Judaica Press.

—, SPERTUS MUSEUM (see p. 478)

TOURO COLLEGE (1970). Executive Offices: Empire State Bldg., 350 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700, NYC 10118. (212)643-0700. FAX: (212)643-0759. Pres. Dr. Bernard Lander; Bd. Chmn. Mark Hasten. Chartered by NY State Board of Regents as a nonprofit four-year college with Judaic studies, health sciences, business, and liberal arts programs leading to BA, BS, and MA degrees; emphasizes relevance of Jewish heritage to general culture of Western civilization. Also offers JD degree and a biomedical program leading to the MD degree from Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa.

—, COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES. 27-33 W. 23 St., NYC 10010. (212)463-0400. FAX: (212)627-9144. Exec. Dean Stanley Boylan. Offers comprehensive Jewish studies along with studies in the arts, sciences, humanities, and preprofessional studies in health sciences, law, accounting, business, computer science, education, and finance. Women's Division, 160 Lexington Ave., NYC 10016. (212)213-2230. FAX: (212)683-3281. Dean Sara E. Freifeld.

—, JACOB D. FUCHSBERG LAW CENTER (1980). Long Island Campus, 300 Nassau Rd., Huntington, NY 11743. (516)421-2244. Dean Howard A. Glickstein. Offers studies leading to JD degree.

—, BARRY Z. LEVINE SCHOOL OF HEALTH SCIENCES AND CENTER FOR BIOMEDICAL EDUCATION (1970). 135 Common Rd., Bldg. #10, Dix Hills, NY 11746. (516)673-3200. Dean Dr. Joseph Weisberg. Along with the Manhattan campus, offers 5 programs: 5-year program leading to MA from Touro and MD from Faculty of Medicine of Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa; BS/MA—physical therapy and occupational therapy programs; BS—physician assistant and health-information management programs.

—, SCHOOL OF GENERAL STUDIES. 240 E. 123 St., NYC 10021. (212)722-1575.

Dean Stephen Adolphus. Offers educational opportunities to minority groups and older people; courses in the arts, sciences, humanities, and special programs of career studies.

——, TOURO COLLEGE FLATBUSH CENTER (1979). 1277 E. 14 St., Brooklyn, NY 11230. (718)253-7538. Dean Robert Goldschmidt. A division of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences; options offered in accounting and business, education, mathematics, political science, psychology, and speech. Classes are given on weeknights and during the day on Sunday.

——, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JEWISH STUDIES (1981). 160 Lexington Ave., NYC 10016. (212)213-2230. FAX: (212)-683-3281. Pres. Bernard Lander; Dean Michael A. Shmidman. Offers courses leading to an MA in Jewish studies, with concentrations in Jewish history or Jewish education. Students may complete part of their program in Israel, through MA courses offered by Touro faculty at Touro's Jerusalem center.

——, INSTITUTE OF JEWISH LAW. (516)-421-2244. Based at Fuchsberg Law Center, serves as a center and clearinghouse for study and teaching of Jewish law. Coedits *Dinei Israel* (Jewish Law Journal) with Tel Aviv University Law School.

——, TOURO COLLEGE ISRAEL CENTER. 23 Rehov Shivtei Yisrael, Jerusalem. 2-894-086/088. Assoc. Dean Carmi Horowitz; Resident Dir. Chana Sosevsky. Offers undergraduate courses in business, computer science, and education. Houses the MA degree program in Jewish studies. The Touro Year Abroad Option for American students is coordinated from this center.

——, MOSCOW BRANCH. Oztzhenka #38, Moscow, Russia 119837. Offers BS program in business and BA program in Jewish studies.

UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM (1947). 15600 Mulholland Dr., Los Angeles, CA 90077. (310)476-9777. FAX: (310)471-1278. Pres. Dr. Robert D. Wexler; V.-Pres. Academic Affairs Dr. Hanan Alexander; Dean of Students Mary Raz. The undergraduate school, Lee College, is an accredited liberal arts college offering a core curriculum of Jewish and Western studies, with majors including psychology, business, bioethics,

literature, political science, and Jewish studies. Accredited graduate programs in nonprofit business management (MBA), Jewish education, Jewish studies, plus a rabbinic ordination program for the Conservative rabbinate. The Whizin Center for the Jewish Future is a research and programming institute. Offers a broad range of continuing-education courses, cultural-arts programs, and a variety of outreach services for West Coast Jewish communities. *University of Judaism Magazine* (bi-yearly); *Bulletin of General Information*.

WEST COAST TALMUDICAL SEMINARY (Yeshiva Ohr Elchonon Chabad) (1953). 7215 Waring Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90046. (213)937-3763. FAX: (213)937-9456. Dean Rabbi Ezra Schochet. Provides facilities for intensive Torah education as well as Orthodox rabbinical training on the West Coast; conducts an accredited college preparatory high school combined with a full program of Torah-talmudic training and a graduate talmudical division on the college level. *Torah Quiz*; *Kovetz Migdal Ohr*; *Kovetz Ohr HaMigdal*.

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY (1886). Main Campus, 500 W. 185 St., NYC 10033-3201. (212)960-5400. FAX: (212)960-0055. Pres. Dr. Norman Lamm; Chmn. Bd. of Trustees David S. Gottesman. In its second century, the nation's oldest and most comprehensive independent university founded under Jewish auspices, with 17 undergraduate and graduate schools, divisions, and affiliates; widespread programs of research and community outreach; publications; and a museum. A broad range of curricula lead to bachelor's, master's, doctoral, and professional degrees. Undergraduate schools provide general studies curricula supplemented by courses in Jewish learning; graduate schools prepare for careers in medicine, law, social work, Jewish education, psychology, Jewish studies, and other fields. It has six undergraduate schools, seven graduate and professional schools, and three affiliates. *Yeshiva University Review*; *Yeshiva University Today*.

Yeshiva University has four campuses in Manhattan and the Bronx: Main Campus, 500 W. 185 St., NYC 10033-3201; Midtown Center, 245 Lexington Ave., NYC 10016-4699; Brookdale Center, 55 Fifth Ave., NYC 10003-4391; Jack and Pearl Resnick Campus, Eastchester Rd. & Morris Pk. Ave., Bronx, NY 10461-1602.

Undergraduate schools for men at Main Campus (212)960-5400: Yeshiva College (Bd. Chmn. Jay Schottenstein; Dean Dr. Norman T. Adler) provides liberal arts and sciences curricula; grants BA degree. Isaac Breuer College of Hebraic Studies (Dean Dr. Michael D. Shmidman) awards Hebrew teacher's diploma, AA, BA, and BS. James Striar School of General Jewish Studies (Dean Dr. Michael D. Shmidman) grants AA degree. Yeshiva Program/Mazer School of Talmudic Studies (Dean Rabbi Zevulun Charlop) offers advanced course of study in talmudic texts and commentaries. Beit Midrash Program (Dean Dr. Michael D. Shmidman) offers diversified curriculum combining Talmud with Jewish studies.

Undergraduate school for women at Midtown Center (212)340-7700: Stern College for Women (Bd. Chmn. David Yagoda; Dean Dr. Karen Bacon) offers liberal arts and sciences curricula supplemented by Jewish studies programs; awards BA, AA, and Hebrew teacher's diploma.

Sy Syms School of Business at Main Campus and Midtown Center (Bd. Chmn. Josh S. Weston; Dean Dr. Harold Nierenberg) offers undergraduate business curricula in conjunction with study at Yeshiva College or Stern College; grants BS degree.

ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE (1955). Eastchester Rd. & Morris Pk. Ave., Bronx, NY 10461-1602. (718)430-2000. Pres. Dr. Norman Lamm; Chmn. Bd. of Overseers Burton P. Resnick; Dean Dr. Dominick P. Purpura. Prepares physicians and conducts research in the health sciences; awards MD degree; includes Sue Golding Graduate Division of Medical Sciences (Dir. Dr. Michael D. Brenowitz), which grants PhD degree. Einstein's clinical facilities and affiliates encompass Jack D. Weiler Hospital of Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Jacobi Medical Center, Montefiore Medical Center, Long Island Jewish Medical Center, Beth Israel Medical Center, Catholic Medical Center of Brooklyn and Queens, Bronx-Lebanon Hospital Center, Flushing Hospital Medical Center, Wyckoff Heights Medical Center, and Rose F. Kennedy Center for Research in Mental Retardation and Human Development. *Einstein; Einstein Today; Einstein Quarterly Journal of Biology and Medicine*.

ALUMNI OFFICE, 500 W. 185 St., NYC 10033-3201. (212)960-5373. Dir. University Alumni Relations Sherry Friedman; Dir. Undergraduate Alumni Relations Toby Hilsenrad Weiss. Seeks to foster a close allegiance of alumni to their alma mater by maintaining ties with all alumni and servicing the following associations: Yeshiva College Alumni (Pres. Harry Peters); Stern College for Women Alumnae (Pres. Jan Schechter); Sy Syms School of Business Alumni (Pres. RoAnna Bienstock); Albert Einstein College of Medicine Alumni (Pres. Dr. Sally Shaywitz); Ferkauf Graduate School of Psychology Alumni (Com.: Dr. Howard Marcus, Dr. Elana Rauch, Dr. Gregg Ury); Wurzweiler School of Social Work Alumni (Coord. Lori M. Zimmerman); Rabbinic Alumni (Pres. Rabbi Kenneth Hain); Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law Alumni (Cochmn. Karel Turner, Joan Ehrlich-White). *Yeshiva University Review; AECOM Alumni News; Wurzweiler Update; Jewish Social Work Forum*.

AZRIELI GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JEWISH EDUCATION AND ADMINISTRATION (1945). 245 Lexington Ave., NYC 10016-4699. (212)340-7705. Dir. Dr. Yitzchak S. Handel. Offers MS degree in Jewish elementary and secondary education; specialist's certificate and EdD in administration and supervision of Jewish education. Block Education Program, initiated under a grant from the Jewish Agency's L.A. Pincus Fund for the Diaspora, provides summer course work to complement year-round field instruction in local communities.

BELFER INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED BIOMEDICAL STUDIES (1978). Eastchester Rd. & Morris Pk. Ave., Bronx, NY 10461-1602. (718)430-4106. Dir. Dr. Chester M. Edelmann, Jr. Integrates and coordinates the Albert Einstein College of Medicine's postdoctoral research and training-grant programs in the basic and clinical biomedical sciences. Awards certificate as research fellow or research associate on completion of training.

BENJAMIN N. CARDOZO SCHOOL OF LAW (1976). 55 Fifth Ave., NYC 10003-4391. (212)790-0200. Pres. Dr. Norman Lamm; Chmn. Bd. of Dirs. Earle I. Mack; Dean Dr. Frank J. Macchiarola. Provides innovative courses of study within a traditional legal framework; program includes

judicial internships; grants juris doctor (JD) degree. Programs and services include institute for advanced legal studies; center for ethics in the practice of law; legal services clinic; international institute and Israel program; institute of Jewish law; international law and human-rights programs; and other special programs. *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature*; *Cardozo Law Review*; *Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Law Journal*; *Cardozo Women's Law Journal*; *New Europe Law Review*; *Cardozo Law Forum*.

_____, BERNARD REVEL GRADUATE SCHOOL (1935). 500 W. 185 St., NYC 10033-3201. (212)960-5253. Pres. Dr. Norman Lamm; Chmn. Bd. of Dirs. Mordecai D. Katz; Dean Dr. Arthur Hyman. Offers graduate programs in Bible, talmudic studies, Jewish history, and Jewish philosophy; confers MA and PhD degrees. Harry Fischel School for Higher Jewish Studies offers the Revel program during the summer.

_____, FERKAUF GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY (1957). Eastchester Rd. & Morris Pk. Ave., Bronx, NY 10461-1602. (718)430-4201. Pres. Dr. Norman Lamm; Chmn. Bd. of Govs. Samson Bitensky; Dean Dr. Lawrence J. Siegel. Offers MA in general psychology; PsyD in clinical and school psychology; and PhD in school, developmental, and health psychology.

_____, (affiliate) RABBI ISAAC ELCHANAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (1896). 2540 Amsterdam Ave., NYC 10033-9986. (212)960-5344. Chmn. Bd. of Trustees Judah Feinerman; V.-Pres. for Administration & Professional Education Rabbi Robert S. Hirt; Dean Rabbi Zevulun Charlop. Largest center in the Western Hemisphere for higher learning in the Orthodox tradition of Judaism. RIETS complex encompasses 15 educational entities and a major service and outreach center with some 20 programs. Grants *semikhah* (ordination) and the degrees of master of religious education, master of Hebrew literature, doctor of religious education, and doctor of Hebrew literature. Kollelim include Marcos and Adina Katz Kollel (Institute for Advanced Research in Rabbinics) (Dir. Rabbi Hershel Schachter); Kollel l'Horaah (Yadin Yadin) and External Yadin Yadin (Dir. Rabbi J. David Bleich); Ludwig Jesselson Kollel Chaverim (Dir. Rabbi J. David Bleich); Caroline and Jo-

seph S. Gruss Kollel Elyon (Postgraduate Kollel Program) (Dir. Rabbi Aharon Kahn); Caroline and Joseph S. Gruss Institute in Jerusalem (Dir. Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein). The seminary sponsors one high school for boys (Manhattan) and one for girls (Queens). The service arm of the seminary, Max Stern Division of Communal Services (Dir. Rabbi Robert S. Hirt), provides personal and professional service to the rabbinate and related fields, as well as educational, consultative, organizational, and placement services to congregations, schools, and communal organizations around the world; coordinates a broad spectrum of outreach programs, including Stone-Sapirstein Center for Jewish Education, continuing rabbinic education, college outreach, National Commission on Torah Education. Sephardic components are Jacob E. Safran Institute of Sephardic Studies and the Institute of Yemenite Studies; Sephardic Community Program; Dr. Joseph and Rachel Ades Sephardic Outreach Program; Maybaum Sephardic Fellowship Program.

_____, PHILIP AND SARAH BELZ SCHOOL OF JEWISH MUSIC (1954). 560 W. 185 St., NYC 10033-3201. (212)960-5353. Dir. Cantor Bernard Beer. Provides professional training of cantors and courses in Jewish liturgical music; maintains a specialized library and conducts outreach; awards associate cantor's certificate and cantorial diploma.

_____, (affiliate) YESHIVA OF LOS ANGELES (1977). 9760 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90035-4701. (213)553-4478. Dean Rabbi Marvin Hier; Bd. Chmn. Samuel Belzberg; Dir. Academic Programs Rabbi Sholom Tendler. Provides Jewish studies program for beginners. Affiliates are high schools, Jewish Studies Institute for Adult Education, and Simon Wiesenthal Center.

_____, SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER (see p. 477)

_____, WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION (1928). 500 W. 185 St., NYC 10033-3201. (212)960-0855. Natl. Pres. Dinah Pinczower. Supports Yeshiva University's national scholarship program for students training in education, community service, law, medicine, and other professions, and its development program.

_____, WURZWEILER SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK (1957). 500 W. 185 St., NYC

10033-3201. (212)960-0800. Pres. Norman Lamm; Chmn. Bd. of Govs. David I. Schachne; Dean Dr. Sheldon R. Gelman. Offers graduate programs in social work and Jewish communal service; grants MSW and DSW degrees and certificate in Jewish communal service. MSW programs are: Concurrent Plan, 2-year, full-time track, combining classroom study and supervised field instruction; Plan for Employed Persons (PEP), for people working in social agencies; Block Education Plan (Dir. Dr. Adele Weiner), which combines summer course work with regular-year field placement in local agencies; Clergy Plan, training in counseling for clergy of all denominations; Center for Professional Training in the Care of the Elderly. *Jewish Social Work Forum*.

—, YESHIVA UNIVERSITY MUSEUM (see p. 478)

YESHIVA TORAH VODAATH AND MESIVTA TORAH VODAATH RABBINICAL SEMINARY (1918). 425 E. 9 St., Brooklyn, NY 11218. (718)941-8000. Bd. Chmn. Chaim Leshkowitz. Offers Hebrew and secular education from elementary level through rabbinical ordination and postgraduate work; maintains a teachers institute and community-service bureau; maintains a dormitory and a nonprofit camp program for boys. *Chronicle; Mesivta Vanguard; Thought of the Week; Torah Vodaath News; Ha-Mesivta*.

—, YESHIVA TORAH VODAATH ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (1941). 425 E. 9 St., Brooklyn, NY 11218. (718)941-8000. Pres. George Weinberger. Promotes social and cultural ties between the alumni and the schools through classes and lectures and fund-raising; offers vocational guidance to students; operates Camp Torah Vodaath; sponsors research fellowship program for boys. *Annual Journal; Hame-sivta Torah periodical*.

SOCIAL, MUTUAL BENEFIT

ALPHA EPSILON PI FRATERNITY (1913). 8815 Wesleyan Rd., Indianapolis, IN 46268-1171. (317)876-1913. FAX: (317)-876-1057. Internatl. Pres. Stephen R. Bernstein; Exec. V.-Pres. Sidney N. Dunn. International Jewish fraternity active on over 100 campuses in the U.S. and Canada; encourages Jewish students to remain loyal to their heritage and to assume leadership roles in the community; active in behalf of

Soviet Jewry, the State of Israel, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and other Jewish causes. *The Lion of Alpha Epsilon Pi* (quarterly magazine).

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RUSSIAN JEWS, INC. (1989). 45 E. 33 St., Suite 3A, New York, NY 10016. (212)779-0383, (516)-937-3819. FAX: (212)684-0471. Pres. Leonid Stonov; V.-Pres. Inna Arolovich. National mutual-assistance and refugee-advocacy organization, uniting Jews who immigrated to the U.S. from the former Soviet Union. Has chapters in eight states, Anti-Fascist/Anti-Racist chapter, and Council of Refuseniks. Assists newcomers in their resettlement and vocational and cultural adjustment; fosters their Jewish identity and involvement in civic and social affairs; fights anti-Semitism and violation of human rights in the FSU and the U.S.; informs U.S. government and general public about the situation of Jews in the FSU and the Russian-Jewish community in the U.S. *Chronicle of Anti-Semitic Incidents and Inciting of Ethnic Hatred in the Former Soviet Union* (in English, semiannually); *Information Bulletin* (in Russian, bi-monthly).

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JEWS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE, INC. (1938). 570 Seventh Ave., NYC 10018. (212)921-3871. FAX: (212)575-1918. Pres. Robert L. Lehman; Bd. Chmn. Curt C. Silberman; Exec. Asst. Dennis E. Rohrbaugh. Seeks to safeguard the rights and interests of American Jews of German-speaking Central European descent, especially in reference to restitution and indemnification; through its affiliate Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration sponsors research and publications on the history, immigration, and acculturation of Central European émigrés in the U.S. and worldwide; through its affiliate Jewish Philanthropic Fund of 1933 supports social programs for needy Nazi victims in the U.S.; undertakes cultural activities, annual conferences, publications; member, Council of Jews from Germany, London.

AMERICAN VETERANS OF ISRAEL (1949). 136 E. 39 St., NYC 10016. Pres. Sam Alexander; Sec. Sidney Rabinovich. Maintains contact with American and Canadian volunteers who served in Aliyah Bet and/or Israel's War of Independence; promotes Israel's welfare; holds memorial services at

grave of Col. David Marcus; is affiliated with World Mahal. *Newsletter*.

ASSOCIATION OF YUGOSLAV JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, INC. (1941). 130 E. 59 St., Suite 1202, NYC 10022. (212)371-6891. Pres. Mary Levine; Exec. Off. Emanuel Salom; Treas./V.-Pres. Mirko Goldschmidt. Assists all Jews originally from Yugoslavia; raises funds for Israeli agencies and institutions. *Bulletin*.

BNAI ZION—THE AMERICAN FRATERNAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (1908). 136 E. 39 St., NYC 10016. (212)725-1211. FAX: (212)684-6327. Pres. Rabbi Reuben M. Katz; Exec. V.-Pres. Mel Parness. Fosters principles of Americanism, fraternalism, and Zionism; offers life insurance and other benefits to its members. The Bnai Zion Foundation supports various humanitarian projects in Israel and the USA, chiefly the Bnai Zion Medical Center in Haifa and homes for retarded children—Maon Bnai Zion in Rosh Ha'ayin and the Herman Z. Quittman Center in Jerusalem. Also supports building of new central library in Ma'aleh Adumim. In U.S. sponsors program of awards for excellence in Hebrew for high school and college students. Chapters all over U.S. and a new leadership division in Greater N.Y. area. *Bnai Zion Voice*; *Bnai Zion Foundation Newsletter*.

BRITH ABRAHAM (1859; reorg. 1887). 136 E. 39 St., NYC 10016. (212)725-1211. FAX: (914)668-1131. Grand Master Robert Freeman; Grand Sec. Joseph Levin. Protects Jewish rights and combats anti-Semitism; supports Soviet and Ethiopian emigration and the safety and dignity of Jews worldwide; helps to support Bnai Zion Medical Center in Haifa and other Israeli institutions; aids and supports various programs and projects in the U.S.: Hebrew Excellence Program—Gold Medal presentation in high schools and colleges; Camp Loyaltown; Brith Abraham and Bnai Zion Foundations. *Voice*.

BRITH SHOLOM (1905). 3939 Conshohocken Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19131. (215)878-5696. FAX: (215) 878-5699. Pres. Reuben Rochvarg; Exec. Dir. Albert Liss. Fraternal organization devoted to community welfare, protection of rights of Jewish people, and activities that foster Jewish identity and provide support for Israel. Through its philanthropic arm, the Brith

Sholom Foundation (1962), sponsors Brith Sholom House in Philadelphia, nonprofit senior-citizen apartments; and Brith Sholom Beit Halochem in Haifa, Israel, rehabilitation, social, and sports center for disabled Israeli veterans, operated by Zahal. Chmn. Leonard Landau; Exec. Dir. Sandra Laub. *Brith Sholom Digest*; *monthly news bulletin*.

CENTRAL SEPHARDIC JEWISH COMMUNITY OF AMERICA WOMEN'S DIVISION, INC. (1941). 8 W. 70 St., NYC 10023. (212)787-2850. Pres. Irma Lopes Cardozo; Treas. Laura Capelluto; Rec. Sec. Esther Shear. Promotes Sephardic culture by awarding scholarships to qualified needy students in New York and Israel; raises funds for hospital and religious institutions in U.S. and Israel. *Yearly Journal*.

FREE SONS OF ISRAEL (1849). 250 Fifth Ave., Suite 201, NYC 10001. (212)725-3690. FAX: (212)725-5874. Grand Master Charles Mackoff; Grand Sec. Rudolph Gordon. Oldest Jewish fraternal-benefit order in U.S. Supports the State of Israel; fights anti-Semitism; helps Soviet Jewry. Maintains scholarship fund for members and children of members; insurance fund and credit union; social functions. *Free Sons Reporter*.

JEWISH LABOR BUND (Directed by WORLD COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE BUND) (1897; reorg. 1947). 25 E. 21 St., NYC 10010. (212)475-0059. Exec. Sec. Benjamin Nadel. Coordinates activities of Bund organizations throughout the world and represents them in the Socialist International; spreads the ideas of socialism as formulated by the Jewish Labor Bund; publishes books and periodicals on world problems, Jewish life, socialist theory and policy, and on the history, activities, and ideology of the Jewish Labor Bund. *Unser Tsait* (U.S.); *Lebns-Fragn* (Israel); *Unser Gedank* (Australia); *Unser Shtimme* (France).

SEPHARDIC JEWISH BROTHERHOOD OF AMERICA, INC. (1915). 97-45 Queens Blvd., Rm. 610, Rego Park, NY 11374. (718)459-1600. Pres. Bernard Ouziel; Sec. Michael Cohen. A benevolent fraternal organization seeking to promote the industrial, social, educational, and religious welfare of its members. *Sephardic Brother*.

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE/ARBETER RING (1900). 45 E. 33 St., NYC 10016. (212)-

889-6800. FAX: (212)532-7518. Exec. Dir. Robert A. Kaplan. Fosters Jewish identity and participation in Jewish life among its members through Jewish, especially Yiddish, culture and education, friendship, mutual aid, and the pursuit of social and economic justice. Offices are located throughout the U.S. and Canada. Member services include: Jewish cultural seminars, concerts, theater, Jewish schools, children's camp and adult resort, fraternal and singles activities, a Jewish Book Center, public affairs/social action, health insurance plans, medical/dental/legal services, life insurance plans, cemetery/funeral benefits, social services, geriatric homes and centers, and travel services.

ZETA BETA TAU FRATERNITY(1898). 3905 Vincennes Rd., Indianapolis, IN 46268. (317)334-1898. FAX: (317)334-1899. Pres. Irving Chase; Exec. V.-Pres. James Greer. Oldest and historically largest Jewish fraternity; promotes intellectual awareness, social responsibility, integrity, and brotherhood among over 5000 undergrads and 110,000 alumni in the U.S. and Canada. Encourages leadership and diversity through mutual respect of all heritages; nonsectarian since 1954. A brotherhood of Kappa Nu, Phi Alpha, Phi Epsilon Pi, Phi Sigma Delta, Zeta Beta Tau. *The Deltan* (quarterly magazine).

SOCIAL WELFARE

AMC CANCER RESEARCH CENTER (formerly JEWISH CONSUMPTIVES' RELIEF SOCIETY, 1904; incorporated as AMERICAN MEDICAL CENTER AT DENVER, 1954). 1600 Pierce St., Denver, CO 80123. (303)233-6501. FAX: (303)984-8791. Pres./CEO Bob R. Baker; Scientific Dir. Dr. Douglass C. Tormey. A nationally recognized leader in the fight against cancer; employs a three-pronged, interdisciplinary approach that combines laboratory, clinical, and community cancer-control research to advance the prevention, early detection, diagnosis, and treatment of the disease. *The Quest for Answers* (quarterly).

AMCHA FOR TSEDAKAH (1990). 6010 Executive Blvd., Suite 811, Rockville, MD 20852. (301)770-7966. Pres. Rabbi Bruce E. Kahn. Solicits and distributes contributions to Jewish charitable organizations in the U.S. and Israel; accredits organizations which serve an important *tsedakah* pur-

pose, demonstrate efficiency and fiscal integrity, and also support pluralism. Contributors are encouraged to earmark contributions for specific organizations; all contributions to General Fund are forwarded to the charitable institutions, as operating expenses are covered by a separate fund. *Newspaper Supplement*.

AMERICAN JEWISH CORRECTIONAL CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION, INC. (formerly NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH PRISON CHAPLAINS) (1937). 10 E. 73 St., NYC 10021-4194. (212)879-8415. FAX: (212)-772-3977. (Cooperates with the New York Board of Rabbis.) Pres. Rabbi Irving Koslowe; Exec. Off. Rabbi Yacov Rone. Supports spiritual, moral, and social services for Jewish men and women in corrections; stimulates support of correctional chaplaincy; provides spiritual and professional fellowship for Jewish correctional chaplains; promotes sound standards for correctional chaplaincy; schedules workshops and research to aid chaplains in counseling and with religious services for Jewish inmates. Constituent, American Correctional Chaplains Association. *Chaplains Manual*.

AMERICAN JEWISH SOCIETY FOR SERVICE, INC. (1950). 15 E. 26 St., Rm. 1029, NYC 10010. (212)683-6178. Pres. Arthur Lifson; Exec. Dirs. Carl and Audrey Brenner. Conducts voluntary work-service camps each summer to enable high-school juniors and seniors to perform humanitarian service.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CENTER PROFESSIONALS (1918). 15 E. 26 St., NYC 10010-1579. (212)532-4949. FAX: (212)481-4174. Pres. Lew Stolzenberg; Exec. Dir. Marilyn Altman. Seeks to enhance the standards, techniques, practices, scope, and public understanding of Jewish Community Center and kindred agency work. *Kesher*.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PERSONNEL (AJCOP) (1969). PO Box 8947, Chattanooga, TN 37414. (423)894-1317. FAX: (423)894-1319. Pres. Max Kleinman; Exec. Dir. Louis B. Solomon. An organization of professionals engaged in areas of fund-raising, endowments, budgeting, social planning, financing, administration, and coordination of services. Objectives are to develop and enhance professional practices in Jew-

ish communal work; to maintain and improve standards, practices, scope, and public understanding of the field of community organization, as practiced through local federations, national agencies, other organizations, settings, and private practitioners.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S AGENCIES (1972). 3086 State Highway 27, Suite 11, PO Box 248, Kendall Park, NJ 08824-0248. (800)634-7346. FAX: (908)821-0493. Pres. Jane Goldstein; Exec. V.-Pres. Bert J. Goldberg. The national service organization for Jewish family and children's agencies in Canada and the U.S. Reinforces member agencies in their efforts to sustain and enhance the quality of Jewish family and communal life. Operates the Elder Support Network for the National Jewish Community. *Tachlis* (quarterly); *Directory*; *Professional Opportunities Bulletin*; *Executive Digest* (monthly).

BARON DE HIRSCH FUND (1891). 130 E. 59 St., NYC 10022. (212)836-1358. Pres. Dr. George W. Naumburg, Jr.; Mng. Dir. Lauren Katzowitz. Aids Jewish immigrants in the U.S. and Israel by giving grants to agencies active in educational and vocational fields; has limited program for study tours in U.S. by Israeli agriculturists.

B'NAI B'RITH (1843). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202)-857-6600. FAX: (202)857-1099. Pres. Tommy Baer; Exec. V.-Pres. Dr. Sidney Clearfield. International Jewish organization, with affiliates in 55 countries. Offers programs designed to ensure the preservation of Jewry and Judaism: Jewish education, community volunteer service, expansion of human rights, assistance to Israel, housing for the elderly, leadership training, rights of Jews in all countries to study their heritage. *International Jewish Monthly*.

———, **ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF** (see p. 468)

———, **HILLEL** (see p. 495)

———, **KLUTZNICK MUSEUM** (see p. 473)

———, **YOUTH ORGANIZATION** (see p. 494)

CITY OF HOPE NATIONAL MEDICAL CENTER AND BECKMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE (1913). 1500 E. Duarte Rd., Duarte, CA 91010. (818)359-8111. FAX: (818) 301-8115. Pres. and CEO Dr. Sanford M.

Shapero; Bd. Chmn. Gil N. Schwartzberg. Offers care to those with cancer and major diseases, medical consultation service for second opinions, and pilot research programs in genetics, immunology, and the basic life process. *City News*; *City of Hope Cancer Research Center Report*.

CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (see Jewish Communal Service Association of N. America)

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS, INC. (1932). 730 Broadway, NYC 10003. (212)-475-5000. FAX: (212)529-5842. Pres. Maynard I. Wishner; Exec. V.-Pres. Martin Kraar. Provides national and regional services to more than 200 associated federations embracing 800 communities in the U.S. and Canada, aiding in fund-raising, community organization, health and welfare planning, personnel recruitment, and public relations; operates CJF satellite network linking 75 federations throughout North America for conferences, seminars, training, and board meetings; initiated and coordinates the Jewish Online Network, providing E-mail, bulletin board, teleconference, and Internet access services to subscribers. *Directory of Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds and Community Councils*; *Directory of Jewish Health and Welfare Agencies* (biennial); *What's New in Federations*; annual report.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH VOCATIONAL SERVICES (formerly JEWISH OCCUPATIONAL COUNCIL) (1939). 1845 Walnut St., Suite 608, Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215)854-0233. FAX: (215)854-0212. E-mail: IAJVS@CJF.NOLI.COM. Bd. Pres. Norman Zilber; Exec. Dir. Dr. Marvin S. Kivitz; Asst. Dir. Rachel Friedlander. Liaison and coordinating body for 27 vocational and family service agencies in the U.S., Israel, and Canada that provide a broad range of counseling, training, job-placement, and rehabilitation services to the Jewish and general community. These services are available to the public as well as to many refugee populations.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON JEWISH SOCIAL AND WELFARE SERVICES (1961). c/o American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 711 Third Ave., NYC 10017. (NY liaison office with UN headquarters.) (212)687-6200. Chmn. David Cope-Thompson; Exec. Sec. Cheryl Mariner. Provides for exchange of views and infor-

mation among member agencies on problems of Jewish social and welfare services, including medical care, old age, welfare, child care, rehabilitation, technical assistance, vocational training, agricultural and other resettlement, economic assistance, refugees, migration, integration, and related problems; representation of views to governments and international organizations. Members: six national and international organizations.

JEWISH BRAILLE INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, INC. (1931). 110 E. 30 St., NYC 10016. (212)889-2525. FAX: (212)689-3692. Pres. Selma Shavitz; Exec. V.-Pres. Gerald M. Kass. Provides Judaic materials in braille, talking books, and large print for blind, visually impaired, and reading-disabled; offers counseling for full integration into the life of the Jewish community. International program serves clients in more than 40 countries; sponsors special programs in Israel and Eastern Europe to assist the elderly as well as students. *Jewish Braille Review*; *JB I Voice*; *Likutim*, Hebrew-language magazine on blindness issues.

JEWISH CHILDREN'S ADOPTION NETWORK (1990). PO Box 16544, Denver CO 80216-0544. (303)573-8113. FAX: (303) 893-1447. Pres. Stephen Krausz; Exec. Dir. Vicki Krausz. An adoption exchange founded for the primary purpose of locating adoptive families for Jewish infants and children. Works with some 200 children a year, throughout N. Amer., 85-90% of whom have special needs. No fees charged for services, which include birth-parent and adoptive-parent counseling. *Quarterly newsletter*.

JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF N. AMERICA (1899; formerly CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE). 3084 State Hwy. 27, Suite 9, Kendall Park, NJ 08824-1657. (908)821-1871. FAX: (908)821-5335. Pres. Bert J. Goldberg; Exec. Dir. Joel Ollander. Serves as forum for all professional philosophies in community service, for testing new experiences, proposing new ideas, and questioning or reaffirming old concepts; umbrella organization for seven major Jewish communal service groups. Concerned with advancement of professional personnel practices and standards. *Concurrents*; *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*.

JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTERS ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA (formerly JWB) (1917). 15 E. 26 St., NYC 10010-1579. (212)532-4949. FAX: (212)481-4174. Pres. Ann Kaufman; Exec. V.-Pres. Allan Finkelstein. Central leadership agency for 275 Jewish community centers, YM-YWHAs, and camps in the U.S. and Canada, serving over one million Jews. Provides a variety of consulting services and staff training programs to members, including informal Jewish educational and cultural experiences in Israel. U.S. government-accredited agency for the religious, Jewish educational, and recreational needs of Jewish military personnel, their families, and hospitalized VA patients through JWB Jewish Chaplains Council. *Circle*; *Briefing*; *Personnel Reporter*.

—, **JWB JEWISH CHAPLAINS COUNCIL** (formerly COMMISSION ON JEWISH CHAPLAINCY) (1940). 15 E. 26 St., NYC 10010-1579. Chmn. Rabbi Frank W. Waldorf; Dir. Rabbi David Lapp. Recruits, endorses, and serves Jewish military and Veterans Administration chaplains on behalf of the American Jewish community and the major rabbinic bodies; trains and assists Jewish lay leaders where there are no chaplains, for service to Jewish military personnel, their families, and hospitalized veterans. *CHAPLINES newsletter*.

JEWISH CONCILIATION BOARD OF AMERICA, INC. (A Division of the JEWISH BOARD OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES) (1920). 120 W. 57 St., NYC 10019. (212)425-5051, ext. 3310. FAX: (212)632-4795. Pres. Seymour R. Askin, Jr.; Exec. V.-Pres. Dr. Alan B. Siskind. Offers dispute-resolution services to families, individuals, and organizations. Social-work, rabbinic, and legal expertise is available to individuals and families for conciliation.

JEWISH FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S PROFESSIONALS ASSOCIATION (1965). c/o NYANA, 17 Battery Pl., NYC 10004. (212)425-2900. FAX: (212)514-6938. Pres. Mark Handelman. Brings together Jewish caseworkers and related professionals in Jewish family, children's, and health services. Seeks to improve personnel standards, further Jewish continuity and identity, and strengthen Jewish family life; provides forums for professional discussion at national conference of Jewish communal service and regional meetings; takes action on social-policy issues. *Newsletter*.

JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE (1984). 260 Fifth Ave., Suite 701, NYC 10001. (212)213-2113. FAX: (212)213-2233. Bd. Chmn. Lawrence S. Levine; Exec. Dir. Marlene Provizer. A national grant-making foundation supporting efforts to combat the root causes of poverty in the U.S. Provides diverse opportunities for individual, family, and synagogue involvement through memorial, youth endowment, and synagogue challenge funds; works cooperatively with other denominational funders and philanthropies promoting social and economic justice. *Annual Report*.

JEWISH WOMEN INTERNATIONAL (formerly B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN) (1897). 1828 L St., NW, Suite 250, Washington, DC 20036. (202)857-1300. FAX: (202)857-1380. Pres. Donna Perline; Exec. Dir. Dr. Norma Tucker. Supports Jewish women in their families, in their communities, and society. Offers community-based programs dealing with such issues as family-violence awareness, Holocaust education, prejudice reduction, and the well-being of children; supports treatment of emotionally disturbed children at BBW Residential Treatment Center in Israel; advocates for women's and family issues. *Women's World* (quarterly newsletter).

JWB (see Jewish Community Centers Association of North America)

LEVI HOSPITAL (sponsored by B'nai B'rith) (1914). 300 Prospect Ave., Hot Springs, AR 71901. (501)624-1281. FAX: (501)-622-3500. Pres. Dr. Hal Koppel; Admin. Patrick G. McCabe. Offers arthritis treatment, including therapy sessions in large thermal heated pool. Other programs: Levi Life Center, adult inpatient and outpatient psychiatric program, hospice care, home health care, Levi Rehabilitation Unit, a co-operative effort of Levi and St. Joseph's hospitals (inpatient rehab) and TEAM Rehabilitation Center, a joint venture of Levi and St. Joseph's (outpatient rehab). *The Progress Chart*.

MAZON: A JEWISH RESPONSE TO HUNGER (1985). 12401 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 303, Los Angeles, CA 90025. (310)442-0020. FAX: (310)442-0030. Bd. Chmn. Rabbi Mark Loeb; Exec. Dir. Irving Cramer. A grant-making and fund-raising organization that raises funds in the Jewish community and provides grants to nonprofit 501(c)(3) organizations which aim to pre-

vent and alleviate hunger in the United States and abroad. Grantees include food pantries, food banks, multi-service organizations, advocacy, education and research projects, and international relief and development organizations. 1995 grants totaled \$1.65 million. *Mazon Newsletter*.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CHAPLAINS (1988). 901 Route 10, Whippany, NJ 07981. (201)736-9193 (phone & fax). Pres. Rabbi Sidney Goldstein; Natl. Coord. Cecille Asekoff. A professional organization for people functioning as Jewish chaplains in hospitals, nursing homes, geriatric, psychiatric, correctional, and military facilities. Provides collegial support, continuing education, professional certification, and resources for the Jewish community on issues of pastoral and spiritual care. *Journal of Pastoral Care* (cosponsor).

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH FAMILY, CHILDREN'S AND HEALTH PROFESSIONALS (see Association of Jewish Family and Children's Agency Professionals)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH PRISON CHAPLAINS, INC. (see American Jewish Correctional Chaplains Association, Inc.)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN (1893). 53 W. 23 St., NYC 10010. (212)-645-4048. FAX: (212)645-7466. Pres. Susan Katz. Furthers human welfare through program of community service, education, advocacy for children and youth, aging, women's issues, constitutional rights, Jewish life and Israel. Promotes education for the disadvantaged in Israel through the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Promotes welfare of children in U.S. through Center for the Child. *NCJW Journal*; *Washington Newsletter*.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH HOSPICE (1985). 8723 Alden Drive, Suite SSB 168, Los Angeles, CA 90048. (800)446-4448; (213)HOSPICE (Calif. only). Pres. Rabbi Maurice Lamm; Exec. Dir. Levana Lev. Serves as a national Jewish hospice resource center. Through conferences, research, publications, referrals, and counseling services offers guidance, training, and information to patients, family members, clergy of all faiths, professional caregivers, and volunteers who work with the Jewish terminally ill. *Jewish Hospice Times*.

NATIONAL JEWISH CENTER FOR IMMUNOLOGY AND RESPIRATORY MEDICINE (formerly NATIONAL JEWISH HOSPITAL/NATIONAL ASTHMA CENTER) (1899). 1400 Jackson St., Denver, CO 80206. (800)222-LUNG. Pres. & CEO Lynn M. Taussig, MD; Bd. Chmn. Meyer Saltzman. Seeks to discover and disseminate knowledge that will prevent the occurrence of respiratory, allergic, and immunologic disorders and to develop improved clinical programs for those already afflicted. *New Directions* (quarterly); *Lung Line Letter* (twice a year); *Medical Scientific Update*.

NATIONAL JEWISH CHILDREN'S LEUKEMIA FOUNDATION (1990). 1310 48 St., Brooklyn, NY 11219. (718)853-0510. FAX: (718)435-0335. Pres./Founder Tzvi Shor. Dedicated to saving the lives of children: bone marrow donor search and matching; harvesting and freezing cells from a baby's umbilical cord for long-term storage and possible future use to replace the traditional bone marrow transplant, for this child or someone with same genetic makeup; Make-A-Dream-Come-True program, granting the wishes of children with leukemia.

NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH HOMES AND HOUSING FOR THE AGING (1960). 316 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Suite 402, Washington, DC 20003. (202)-543-7500. FAX: (202)542-4090. Pres. Charles Berkowitz; Exec. V.-Pres. Lawrence M. Zippin. Represents a community of not-for-profit charitable homes and housing for the Jewish aging; promotes excellence in performance and quality of service through fostering communication and education and encouraging advocacy for the aging; conducts annual conferences and institutes. *Directory*; *Membership Handbook*.

UNITED ORDER TRUE SISTERS, INC. (UOTS) (1846). 212 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010. (212)679-6790. Pres. Paula Forman; Exec. Admin. Dorothy B. Giuriceo. Charitable, community service, especially home supplies, etc., for indigent cancer victims; supports camps for children with cancer. *Echo*.

WORLD COUNCIL OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (1966; reorg. 1994). 711 Third Ave., 10th fl., NYC 10017. (212)687-6200.

FAX: (212)370-5467. Pres. Stephen D. Solender; Assoc. Pres. Zvi Feine; Exec. V.-Pres. Theodore Comet. Seeks to build Jewish community worldwide by enhancing professional-to-professional connections, improving professional practice through interchange of experience and sharing of expertise, fostering professional training programs, and stimulating research. Conducts quadrennial conferences in Jerusalem and periodic regional meetings. *Proceedings of international conferences*; *newsletters*.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS*

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RABBIS (Religious, Educational)

AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

AMERICAN JEWISH CORRECTIONAL CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION, INC. (Social Welfare)

AMERICAN JEWISH PRESS ASSOCIATION (Cultural)

AMERICAN JEWISH PUBLIC RELATIONS SOCIETY (1957). 45 E. 33 St., NYC 10016. (212)303-8153. FAX: (212)303-4525. Pres. Wendy Hirschhorn; Treas. Henry R. Hecker. Advances professional status of public-relations practitioners employed by Jewish organizations and institutions or who represent Jewish-related clients, services, or products; upholds a professional code of ethics and standards; provides continuing education and networking opportunities at monthly meetings; serves as a clearinghouse for employment opportunities. *AJPRS Reporter*; *AJPRS Membership Directory*.

ASSOCIATION OF HILLEL/JEWISH CAMPUS PROFESSIONALS (Religious, Educational)

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CENTER PROFESSIONALS (Social Welfare)

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PERSONNEL (Social Welfare)

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKERS (Community Relations)

CANTORS ASSEMBLY (Religious, Educational)

*For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS (Religious, Educational)

COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE (Community Relations)

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH MEDIA ASSOCIATION (Cultural)

JEWISH CHAPLAINS COUNCIL, JWB (Social Welfare)

JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF N. AMERICA (Social Welfare)

JEWISH EDUCATORS ASSEMBLY, UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (Religious, Educational)

JEWISH TEACHERS ASSOCIATION—MORIM (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEBREW DAY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, TORAH UMESORAH (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CHAPLAINS (Social Welfare)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YESHIVA PRINCIPALS, TORAH UMESORAH (Religious, Educational)

NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SYNAGOGUE EXECUTIVES, UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (Religious, Educational)

RABBINICAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY (Religious, Educational)

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

RECONSTRUCTIONIST RABBINICAL ASSOCIATION (Religious, Educational)

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE U.S. AND CANADA (Religious, Educational)

WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (Community Relations)

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS*

AMIT WOMEN (Israel-Related)

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE (1948). PO Box 9110, Waltham, MA 02254-9110. (617)-736-4160. FAX: (617)736-4183. Pres. Belle Jurkowitz. A friends-of-the-library organization whose mission is to provide financial support for the Brandeis Libraries; works to enhance the image of Brandeis, a Jewish-sponsored, nonsectarian university. Offers its members opportunity for intellectual pursuit, continuing education, community service, social interaction, personal enrichment, and leadership development. Open to all, regardless of race, religion, nationality, or gender. *Imprint*.

EMUNAH WOMEN OF AMERICA (Israel-Related)

HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (Israel-Related)

JEWISH WOMEN INTERNATIONAL (Social Welfare)

NA'AMAT USA, THE WOMEN'S LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (Israel-Related)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN (Social Welfare)

UOTS (Social Welfare)

WOMEN OF REFORM JUDAISM—FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT, AMERICAN ORT FEDERATION (Overseas Aid)

WOMEN'S BRANCH OF THE UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

WOMEN'S DIVISION OF POALE AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA (Israel-Related)

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (Religious, Educational)

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL, INC. (Israel-Related)

*For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION, YESHIVA UNIVERSITY (Religious, Educational)

YOUTH AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS*

AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH FOUNDATION (Israel-Related)

B'NAI B'RITH YOUTH ORGANIZATION (Religious, Educational)

BNEI AKIVA OF NORTH AMERICA, RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA (Israel-Related)

HABONIM-DROR NORTH AMERICA (Israel-Related)

HASHOMER HATZAIR, SOCIALIST ZIONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT (Israel-Related)

HILLEL (Religious, Educational)

KADIMA, UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SYNAGOGUE YOUTH, UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMITTEE ON SCOUTING (Religious, Educational)

NATIONAL JEWISH GIRL SCOUT COMMITTEE (Religious, Educational)

NOAM-MIZRACHI NEW LEADERSHIP COUNCIL, RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS OF AMERICA (Israel-Related)

NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (Religious, Educational)

NORTH AMERICAN JEWISH STUDENTS APPEAL (1971). 165 Pidgeon Hill Rd., Huntington Station, NY 11746-9998. (516)385-8771. FAX: (516)385-8772. Pres. Robin Fox; Chmn. Dr. S. Hal Horwitz; Exec. Dir. Brenda Gevertz. Serves as central fund-raising mechanism for six national, independent Jewish student organizations; insures accountability of public Jewish communal funds used by these agencies; advises and assists Jewish organizations in

determining student project feasibility and impact; fosters development of Jewish student leadership in the Jewish community. Beneficiaries include local and regional Jewish student projects; current constituents include Jewish Student Press Service, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, *Response Magazine*, Yugntruf Youth for Yiddish, Progressive Zionist Caucus, Project Orchim for outreach on campus, Lights in Action, and the Beneficiary Grants Program.

STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET JEWRY—see CENTER FOR RUSSIAN JEWRY (Community Relations)

YOUNG JUDAEA/HASHACHAR, HADASSAH (Israel-Related)

YUGNTRUF—YOUTH FOR YIDDISH (Cultural)

CANADA

B'NAI BRITH CANADA (1875). 15 Hove St., Downsview, ONT M3H 4Y8. (416)633-6224. FAX: (416)630-2159. Pres. Brian Morris; Exec. V.-Pres. Frank Dimant. Canadian Jewry's major advocacy and service organization; maintains an office of Government Relations in Ottawa and cosponsors the Canada Israel Committee; makes representations to all levels of government on matters of Jewish concern; promotes humanitarian causes and educational programs, community projects, adult Jewish education, and leadership development; dedicated to the preservation and unity of the Jewish community in Canada and to human rights. *The Jewish Tribune*.

—, INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (1987). Natl. Chmn. Dr. Lawrence Hart. Identifies and protests the abuse of human rights throughout the world. Monitors the condition of Jewish communities worldwide and advocates on their behalf when they experience serious violations of their human rights. *Institute Report*.

—, LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (1964). Natl. Chmn. Lyle Smordin; Natl. Dir. Dr. Karen Mock. National volunteer association dedicated to combating racism, bigotry, and anti-Semitism. Educational programs include multicultural antiracist workshops, public speakers, Holocaust ed-

*For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.

ucation, Media Human Rights Awards; legal and legislative activity includes government submissions, court interventions, monitoring hate-group activity, responding to incidents of racism and anti-Semitism; community liaison includes inter-group dialogue and support for aggrieved vulnerable communities and groups. Canadian distributor of ADL material. *Heritage Front Report: 1994; Anti-Semitism on Campus; Skinheads in Canada; Annual Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents; Holocaust and Hope Educators' Newsletter; Combating Hate: Guidelines for Community Action.*

———, NATIONAL FIELD SERVICES DEPARTMENT. Natl. Dir. Pearl Gladman. Services community affordable housing projects, sports leagues, food baskets for the needy; coordinates hands-on national volunteer programming, Tel-Aide Distress Line; responsible for lodge membership; direct-mail campaigns, annual convention and foundation dinners.

CANADIAN FRIENDS OF CALI & AMAL (1944). 7005 Kildare Rd., Suite 14, Cote St. Luc, Quebec, H4W 1C1. (514)484-9430. FAX: (514)484-0968. Pres. Harry J.F. Bloomfield, QC; Natl. Exec. Dir. Marilyn S. Frankel. Incorporates Canadian Association for Labour Israel (Histadrut) and Canadian Friends of Amal; supports comprehensive health care and education in Israel. Our fund-raising helps to provide modern medical and surgical facilities and the finest vocational, technical education to the Israeli people of all ages.

CANADIAN FRIENDS OF THE ALLIANCE ISRAËLITE UNIVERSELLE (1958). PO Box 578, Victoria Station, Montreal, PQ H3Z 2Y6. (514)731-0175. Pres. Joseph Nuss. Supports the educational work of the Alliance.

CANADIAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY (1944). 3080 Yonge St., Suite 5024, Toronto, ONT M4N 3P4. (416)485-8000. FAX: (416)485-8565. Pres. J. Stephen Lipper; Exec. Dir. Mark Gryfe. Represents the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Canada; serves as fund-raising arm for the university in Canada; recruits Canadian students and promotes study programs for foreign students at the university; sponsors social and educational events across Canada. *Dateline Jerusalem.*

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS (1919; reorg. 1934). 1590 Dr. Penfield Ave., Montreal, PQ H3G 1C5. (514)931-7531. FAX: (514)931-0548. Pres. Goldie Hershon; Natl. Exec. Dir. and Genl. Counsel Jack Silverstone. The official voice of Canadian Jewish communities at home and abroad; acts on all matters affecting the status, rights, concerns, and welfare of Canadian Jewry; internationally active on behalf of world Jewry, Holocaust remembrance and restitution; largest Jewish archives in Canada. *National Small Communities Newsletter; Intercom; National Archives Newsletter; regional newsletters.*

CANADIAN ORT ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES & TECHNICAL TRAINING (1942). 5165 Sherbrooke St. W., Suite 208, Montreal, PQ H4A 1T6. (514)481-2787. Pres. Dr. Mel Schwartz; Exec. Dir. Emmanuel Kalles. Carries on fund-raising projects in support of the worldwide vocational-training-school network of ORT. *ORT Reporter.*

———, WOMEN'S CANADIAN ORT (1948). 3101 Bathurst St., Suite 604, Toronto, ONT M6A 2A6. (416)787-0339. Pres. Edie Glazer; Exec. Dir. Diane Uslaner. Chapters in 11 Canadian cities raise funds for ORT's nonprofit global network of schools, where Jewish students learn a wide range of marketable skills, including the most advanced high-tech professions. *Focus Magazine.*

CANADIAN YOUNG JUDAEA (1917). 788 Marlee Ave., Suite 205, Toronto, ONT M6B 3K1. (416)781-5156. FAX: (416)787-3100. Natl. Shaliach Isaac Gelber; Eastern Region Shlichah Tina Ornstein; Natl. Exec. Dir. Risa Epstein. Strives to attract Jewish youth to Zionism, with goal of *aliyah*; educates youth about Jewish history and Zionism; prepares them to provide leadership in Young Judaea camps in Canada and Israel and to be concerned Jews. *The Judaeen.*

CANADIAN ZIONIST FEDERATION (1967). 5250 Decarie Blvd., Suite 550, Montreal, PQ H3X 2H9. (514)486-9526. FAX: (514)483-6392. Pres. Kurt Rothschild. Umbrella organization of distinct constituent member Zionist organizations in Canada; carries on major activities in all areas of Jewish life through its departments of education and culture, *aliyah*, youth and students, public affairs, and small Jewish

communities, for the purpose of strengthening the State of Israel and the Canadian Jewish community. *Canadian Zionist*.

—, BUREAU OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE (1972). Pres. Kurt Rothschild. Provides counseling by pedagogic experts, in-service teacher-training courses and seminars in Canada and Israel; national pedagogic council and research center; distributes educational material and teaching aids; conducts annual Bible contest and Hebrew-language courses for adults; awards scholarships to Canadian high-school graduates studying for one year in Israel.

FRIENDS OF PIONEERING ISRAEL (1950s). 1111 Finch Ave. W., Suite 456, Downsview, ONT M3J 2E5. (416)736-1339. FAX: (416)736-1405. Pres. Joseph Podemsky. Acts as a voice of Socialist and Zionist points of view within the Jewish community and a focal point for progressive Zionist elements in Canada; Canadian representative of Mapam; affiliated with Hashomer-Hatzair and the Givat Haviva Education Foundation.

HADASSAH-WIZO ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1917). 1310 Greene Ave., Suite 900, Montreal, PQ H3Z 2B8. (514)937-9431. FAX: (514)933-6483. Pres. Judy Mandleman; Exec. V.-Pres. Lily Frank. Largest women's volunteer Zionist organization in Canada, located in 43 Canadian cities; dedicated to advancing the quality of life of the women and children in Israel through financial assistance and support of its many projects, day-care centers, schools, institutions, and hospitals. In Canada, the organization promotes Canadian ideals of democracy and is a stalwart advocate of women's issues. *Orah Magazine*.

HASHOMER HATZAIR (1913). 1111 Finch Ave. W., #456, Downsview, ONT M3J 2E5. (416)736-1339. FAX: (416)736-1405. Pres. Yehuda Marle; Exec. Off. Mintzy Clement. Zionist youth movement associated with the Kibbutz Artzi Federation in Israel. Educational activities emphasize Jewish culture and identity as well as the kibbutz lifestyle and values; runs summer camps as well as programs in Israel. *Ken Kronicle*.

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH CORRESPONDENCE (IJC) (1978). c/o Canadian Jewish Congress, 1590 Dr. Penfield Ave., Montreal, PQ H3G 1C5. (514)931-7531.

FAX: (514)931-0548. Founder-Dir. Barry Simon. Aims to encourage contact between Jews of all ages and backgrounds, in all countries, through pen-pal correspondence. Send autobiographical data and SASE to receive information.

JEWISH IMMIGRANT AID SERVICES OF CANADA (JIAS) (1919). 5151 Cote Ste. Catherine Rd., Suite 220, Montreal, PQ H3W 1M6. (514)342-9351. FAX: (514)342-8452. Pres. Leslie Borshy; Exec. Dir. Joel Moss. Serves as a national agency for immigration and immigrant welfare.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF CANADA (KEREN KAYEMETH LE'ISRAEL, INC.) (1901). 1980 Sherbrooke St. W., Suite 500, Montreal, PQ H3H 1E8. (514)934-0313. FAX: (514)934-0382. Pres. Sidney Halpern; Exec. V.-Pres. Avner Regev. Fundraising organization affiliated with the World Zionist Organization; involved in afforestation, soil reclamation, and development of the land of Israel, including the construction of roads and preparation of sites for new settlements; provides educational materials and programs to Jewish schools across Canada.

LABOUR ZIONIST ALLIANCE OF CANADA (1909). 272 Codsell Ave., Downsview, ONT. M3H 3X2. (416)630-9444. FAX: (416)636-5248. Pres. Josef Krystal; City Committee Chmn.: Montreal-Harry Froimovitch. Associated with the World Labor Zionist movement and allied with the Israel Labor party. Provides recreational and cultural programs, mutual aid, and fraternal care to enhance the social welfare of its membership; actively promotes Zionist education, cultural projects, and forums on aspects of Jewish and Canadian concern.

MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1941). 3101 Bathurst St., #503, Toronto, ONT M6A 2A6. (416)789-7576. FAX: (416)789-7733. Pres. Jack Kahn; Exec. V.-Pres. Rabbi Menachem Gopin. Promotes religious Zionism, aimed at making Israel a state based on Torah; maintains Bnei Akiva, a summer camp, adult education program, and touring department; supports Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrachi and other religious Zionist institutions in Israel which strengthen traditional Judaism. *Mizrachi Newsletter; Or Hamizrach Torah Quarterly*.

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS (1936). 4600 Bathurst St., Willowdale, ONT M2R 3V2. (416)635-2883. FAX: (416)635-1408. E-mail: NCRCCJC@-IBM.NET. Natl. Chmn. Hal Joffe; Natl. Pres. Goldie Hershon; Natl. Dir. Bernie M. Farber. Seeks to safeguard the status, rights, and welfare of Jews in Canada; to combat anti-Semitism, and promote understanding and goodwill among all ethnic and religious groups.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN OF CANADA (1897). 118-1588 Main St., Winnipeg, MAN R2V 1Y3. (204)339-9700. FAX: (204)334-3779. Pres. Sharon Wolchock; V.-Pres. Hinda Simkin & Phyllis

Spigelman. Dedicated to furthering human welfare in the Jewish and general communities, locally, nationally, and internationally; through an integrated program of education, service, and social action seeks to fulfill unmet needs and to serve the individual and the community. *National ByLines*.

STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS (CANADA-ISRAEL SECURITIES, LTD.) (1953). 3101 Bathurst St., Suite 400, Toronto, ONT M6A 2A6. (416)789-3351. FAX: (416)789-9436. Pres. Norman Spector; Bd. Chmn. Alex E. Grossman. An international securities organization offering interest-bearing instruments issued by the government of Israel. Invests in every aspect of Israel's economy, including agriculture, commerce, and industry. Israel Bonds are RRSP approved.

Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds, Community Councils

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

BIRMINGHAM

BIRMINGHAM JEWISH FEDERATION (1936; reorg. 1971); PO Box 130219 (35213); (205)-879-0416. FAX: (205)879-0466. Pres. Judy Abrams; Exec. Dir. Richard Friedman.

MOBILE

MOBILE JEWISH WELFARE FUND, INC. (inc. 1966); One Office Park, Suite 219 (36609); (205)343-7197. Pres. Max Mutchnick.

MONTGOMERY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF MONTGOMERY, INC. (1930); PO Box 20058 (36120); (205)-277-5820. Pres. Dr. David Franco; Exec. Dir. Beverly Lipton.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER PHOENIX (1940); 32 W. Coolidge, Suite 200 (85013); (602)274-1800. FAX: (602)266-7875. Pres. Herb Sperber; Exec. Dir. Harold Morgan.

TUCSON

JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN ARIZONA (1946); 3822 East River Rd., Suite 100 (85718); (602)577-9393. FAX: (602)577-0734. Pres. Carole Levi; Exec. V.-Pres. Stuart Mellan.

ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK

JEWISH FEDERATION OF ARKANSAS (1911); 2821 Kavanaugh Blvd., Garden Level (72205); (501)663-3571. FAX: (501)663-7286. Pres. Elaine Weiss; Exec. Dir. Harvey David Lubet.

CALIFORNIA

EAST BAY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF THE GREATER EAST BAY (1917); 401 Grand Ave., Oakland (94610); (510)839-2900. FAX: (510)839-3996. Pres. Mort Friedkin; Exec. V.-Pres. Ami Nahshon.

LONG BEACH

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER LONG BEACH AND W. ORANGE COUNTY (1937; inc. 1946); 3801 E. Willow St. (90815); (310)-426-7601. FAX: (310)424-3915. Pres. Arthur Miller; Exec. Dir. Sandi Goldstein.

LOS ANGELES

JEWISH FEDERATION COUNCIL OF GREATER LOS ANGELES (1912; reorg. 1959); 6505 Wilshire Blvd. (90048); (213)852-1234. FAX: (213)655-4458. Pres. Irwin Field; Exec. V.-Pres. John Fishel.

ORANGE COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF ORANGE COUNTY (1964; inc. 1965); 250 Baker St. E., # A,

This directory is based on information supplied by the Council of Jewish Federations.

Costa Mesa (92626-4505); (714)259-0655. FAX: (714)259-1635. Pres. Blossom Siegel; Exec. Dir. Edward Cushman.

PALM SPRINGS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF PALM SPRINGS (1971); 255 El Cielo N., Suite 430 (92262); (619)325-7281. FAX: (619)325-2188. Pres. Henry Freund; Exec. Dir. Irving Ginsberg.

SACRAMENTO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF THE SACRAMENTO REGION (1948); 2351 Wyda Way. (95825); (916)486-0906. FAX: (916)486-0816. Pres. Lynn Dean; Acting Exec. Dir. Anne Eisenberg.

SAN DIEGO

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF SAN DIEGO COUNTY (1936); 4797 Mercury St. (92111-2102); (619)571-3444. FAX: (619)-571-0701. Pres. Rebecca Newman; Exec. V.-Pres. Stephen M. Abramson.

SAN FRANCISCO

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF SAN FRANCISCO, THE PENINSULA, MARIN, AND SONOMA COUNTIES (1910; reorg. 1955); 121 Steuart St. (94105); (415)777-0411. FAX: (415)495-6635. Pres. Douglas Heller; Exec. Dir. Wayne Feinstein.

SAN JOSE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER SAN JOSE (incl. Santa Clara County except Palo Alto and Los Altos) (1930; reorg. 1950); 14855 Oka Rd., Los Gatos (95030); (408)-358-3033. FAX: (408)356-0733. Pres. Robert Krandel; Acting Exec. Dir. Janet Berg.

SANTA BARBARA

SANTA BARBARA JEWISH FEDERATION (1974); 104 W. Anapamu, Suite A. Mailing Address: PO Box 90110, Santa Barbara (93190); (805)963-0244. FAX: (805)963-1124. Pres. Yale Coggan; Exec. Dir. Barbara Zonen.

COLORADO

DENVER

ALLIED JEWISH FEDERATION OF COLORADO (1936); 300 S. Dahlia St. (80222); (303)321-3399. FAX: (303)322-8328. Pres. Theodore Z. Gelt; Exec. V.-Pres. Steve Gelfand.

CONNECTICUT

BRIDGEPORT

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER BRIDGEPORT, INC. (1936; reorg. 1981); 4200 Park

Ave. (06604-1092); (203)372-6504. FAX: (203)374-0770. Pres. Kurt Hersher; Interim Exec. Dir. Susan Bauchner.

DANBURY

THE JEWISH FEDERATION (1945); 105 Newtown Rd. (06810); (203)792-6353. FAX: (203)748-5099. Pres. Dr. Martin Vigdor; Exec. Dir. Lauren Bernard.

EASTERN CONNECTICUT

JEWISH FEDERATION OF EASTERN CONNECTICUT, INC. (1950; inc. 1970); 28 Channing St., PO Box 1468, New London (06320); (203)442-8062. FAX: (203)443-4175. Pres. Helen Glick; Exec. Dir. Jerome E. Fischer.

GREENWICH

GREENWICH JEWISH FEDERATION (1956); 600 W. Putnam Ave. (06830); (203)622-1434. FAX: (203)622-1237. Pres. Steven Levy; Exec. Dir. Michael Marcus.

HARTFORD

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER HARTFORD (1945); 333 Bloomfield Ave., W. Hartford (06117); (203)232-4483. FAX: (203)-232-5221. Pres. Marvin Catler; Exec. Dir. Cindy Chazan.

NEW HAVEN

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER NEW HAVEN (1928); 360 Amity Rd., Woodbridge (06525); (203)387-2424. FAX: (203)387-1818. Pres. Dr. Alvin Greenberg; Exec. Dir. Jay Rubin.

NORWALK

(See Westport)

STAMFORD

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION (inc. 1973); 1035 Newfield Ave., PO Box 3038 (06905); (203)321-1373. FAX: (203)322-3277. Pres. Candace Caplin; Exec. Dir. Sheila L. Romanowitz.

WATERBURY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER WATERBURY, INC. (1938); 73 Main St. South, Box F, Woodbury (06798); (203)263-5121. FAX: (203)263-5143. Pres. Dr. Michael Blumenthal; Exec. Dir. Robert Zwang.

WESTPORT-WESTON-WILTON-NORWALK

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL/FEDERATION OF WESTPORT-WESTON-WILTON-NORWALK (inc. 1980); 431 Post Road East, Suite 22, Westport (06880); (203)226-8197. FAX:

(203)226-5051. Pres. Lois Block; Exec. Dir. Robert Kessler.

DELAWARE

WILMINGTON

JEWISH FEDERATION OF DELAWARE, INC. (1934); 101 Garden of Eden Rd., PO Box 2193 (19844-2193); (302)478-6200. FAX: (302)478-5374. Pres. Toni Young; Exec. Dir. Judy Wortman.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WASHINGTON

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FEDERATION OF GREATER WASHINGTON, INC. (1935); 6101 Montrose Rd., Rockville, MD 20852; (301)230-7200. FAX: (301)230-2722. Pres. Phyllis Margolius; Exec. V.-Pres. Ted B. Farber.

FLORIDA

BREVARD COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF BREVARD (1974); 108-A Barton Ave., Rockledge (32955); (407)636-1824. FAX: (407)636-0614. Pres. Dr. Steven Podnos; Exec. Dir. Jay Friedberg.

COLLIER COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF COLLIER COUNTY (1974); 1250 Tamiami Trail North, Suite 304C, Naples (33940); (813) 263-4205. FAX: (813)263-3813. Pres. Jerry Flagel; Exec. Dir. Craig Frankel.

DAYTONA BEACH

(See Volusia & Flagler Counties)

FT. LAUDERDALE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER FT. LAUDERDALE (1968); 8358 W. Oakland Park Blvd. (33351); (305)748-8400. FAX: (305)748-6332. Pres. Paul R. Lehrner; Exec. Dir. Kenneth B. Bierman.

JACKSONVILLE

JACKSONVILLE JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1935); 8505 San Jose Blvd. (32217); (904)448-5000. FAX: (904)448-5715. Pres. Richard L. Sisisky; Exec. V.-Pres. Alan Margolies.

LEE COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF LEE COUNTY (1974); 6315 Presidential Court, Suite A, Ft. Myers (33919-3568); (813)481-4449. FAX: (813)481-0139. Pres. Dr. Jonathan Frantz; Exec. Dir. Annette Goodman.

MIAMI

GREATER MIAMI JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1938); 4200 Biscayne Blvd. (33137);

(305)576-4000. FAX: (305)573-2176. Pres. Nedra Oren; Exec. V.-Pres. Jacob Solomon.

ORLANDO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER ORLANDO (1949); 851 N. Maitland Ave. (32751); PO Box 941508, Maitland (32794-1508); (407)645-5933. FAX: (407)645-1172. Pres. Susan Bierman; Exec. Dir. Howard Stone.

PALM BEACH COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF PALM BEACH COUNTY, INC. (1962); 4601 Community Dr., W. Palm Beach (33417-2760); (407)478-0700. FAX: (407)478-9696. Pres. Alan H. Miller; Exec. V.-Pres. Jeffrey L. Klein.

PINELLAS COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF PINELLAS COUNTY, INC. (incl. Clearwater and St. Petersburg) (1950; reincorp. 1974); 13191 Starkey Rd., North Crownpointe, Suite 8, Largo (34643-1438); (813) 530-3223. FAX: (813)531-0221. Pres. Jim Soble; Exec. Dir. Robert F. Tropp.

SARASOTA

SARASOTA-MANATEE JEWISH FEDERATION (1959); 580 S. McIntosh Rd. (34232-1959); (941)371-4546. FAX: (941)378-2947. Pres. Ian Black; Exec. Dir. Norman Olshansky.

SOUTH BROWARD

JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTH BROWARD, INC. (1943); 2719 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood (33020); (305)921-8810. FAX: (305)921-6491. Pres. Dr. Peter Livingston; Exec. Dir. Gary N. Rubin.

SOUTH PALM BEACH COUNTY

SOUTH PALM BEACH COUNTY JEWISH FEDERATION (inc. 1979); 9901 Donna Klein Blvd., Boca Raton (33428-1788); (407) 852-3100. FAX: (407)852-3150. Pres. Richard L. Okonow; Exec. V.-Pres. Spencer H. Gellert.

TAMPA

TAMPA JEWISH FEDERATION (1941); 6617 Gunn Hwy., Suite 118 (33625); (813)960-1840. FAX: (813)265-8450. Pres. Maril Jacobs; Exec. V.-Pres. Howard Borer.

VOLUSIA & FLAGLER COUNTIES

JEWISH FEDERATION OF VOLUSIA & FLAGLER COUNTIES, INC. (1980); 733 South Nova Rd., Ormond Beach (32174); (904)672-0294. FAX: (904)673-1316. Pres. Norma Neufeld; Admin. Gloria Max.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

ATLANTA JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1905; reorg. 1967); 1440 Spring St., NW (30309-2837); (404)873-1661. FAX: (404)874-7043. Pres. David N. Minkin; Exec. Dir. David I. Sarnat.

AUGUSTA

AUGUSTA JEWISH FEDERATION (1937); PO Box 15443 (30919); (706)736-1818. FAX: (706)667-8081. Pres. Dr. Michael Rivner; Exec. Dir. Michael Pousman.

COLUMBUS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF COLUMBUS, INC. (1941); PO Box 6313 (31907); (706)568-6668. Pres. Jack Wilensky; Sec. Irene Rainbow.

SAVANNAH

SAVANNAH JEWISH FEDERATION (1943); PO Box 23527 (31403); (912)355-8111. FAX: (912)355-8116. Pres. Dr. Richard Bodziner; Exec. Dir. Jeffrey D. Feld.

HAWAII

HONOLULU

JEWISH FEDERATION OF HAWAII (1956); 2550 Pali Hwy., (96817); (808)941-2424. FAX: (808)941-5372. Pres. Dr. George Plechety; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Melvin Libman.

ILLINOIS

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA JEWISH FEDERATION (1929); 503 E. John St., Champaign (61820); (217)367-9872. FAX: (217)367-0077. Pres. Cecile Lebonson; Exec. Dir. Robert S. Silverman.

CHICAGO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF METROPOLITAN CHICAGO/JEWISH UNITED FUND OF METROPOLITAN CHICAGO (1900); Ben Gurion Way, 1 S. Franklin St. (60606-4694); (312)346-6700. FAX: (312)855-2474. Pres. Edward A. Fox; Exec. V.-Pres. Steven B. Nasatir; Chmn. Joel Stone.

ELGIN

ELGIN AREA JEWISH WELFARE CHEST (1938); 330 Division St. (60120); (708)741-5656. FAX: (708)741-5679. Pres. Robert C. Levine.

PEORIA

JEWISH FEDERATION OF PEORIA (1933; inc. 1947); 5901 N. Prospect Rd., Suite 203, Town Hall Bldg., Junction City (61614);

(309)689-0063. Pres. Mary Kaneti; Exec. Dir. Eunice Galsky.

QUAD CITIES

JEWISH FEDERATION OF QUAD CITIES (incl. Rock Island, Moline, Davenport, Bettendorf) (1938; comb. 1973); 209 18 St., Rock Island (61201); (309)793-1300. FAX: (309)793-1345. Pres. David Andich; Exec. Dir. Ida Kramer.

ROCKFORD

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER ROCKFORD (1937); 1500 Parkview Ave. (61107); (815)399-5497. Pres. Goldie Pekarsky; Exec. Dir. Deborah Levine.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS, SOUTHEASTERN MISSOURI AND WESTERN KENTUCKY (1941); 6464 W. Main, Suite 7A, Belleville (62223); (618)398-6100. FAX: (618)398-0539. Pres. Elizabeth Linkon; Exec. Dir. Steve Low.

SPRINGFIELD

SPRINGFIELD JEWISH FEDERATION (1941); 730 E. Vine St. (62703); (217)528-3446. FAX: (217)789-7120. Pres. Luda Smikun; Exec. Dir. Gloria Schwartz.

INDIANA

EVANSVILLE

EVANSVILLE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC. (1936; inc. 1964); PO Box 5026 (47716); (812)476-5091. Pres. Jeff Trockman; Exec. Sec. Ernest W. Adler.

FORT WAYNE

FORT WAYNE JEWISH FEDERATION (1921); 227 E. Washington Blvd. (46802-3121); (219)422-8566. FAX: (219)422-8567. Pres. Frances Stein; Exec. Dir. Vivian Lansky.

INDIANAPOLIS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER INDIANAPOLIS, INC. (1905); 615 N. Alabama St., Suite 412 (46204-1430); (317)637-2473. FAX: (317)637-2477. Pres. Estelle Nelson; Exec. V.-Pres. Harry Nadler.

LAFAYETTE

FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES (1924); c/o Hillel, 912 W. State St., W. Lafayette (47906); (317)743-1293. Pres. Leo Weitzman; Finan. Sec. Louis Pearlman, Jr.

MICHIGAN CITY

MICHIGAN CITY UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND; c/o Temple Sinai, 2800 S. Franklin St. (46360); (219)874-4477. Chmn. Iris Ourach.

NORTHWEST INDIANA

THE JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1941; reorg. 1959); 2939 Jewett St., Highland (46322); (219)972-2250. FAX: (219)972-4779. Pres. Dr. Jay Karol; Exec. Dir. Ira Goldberg.

ST. JOSEPH VALLEY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF ST. JOSEPH VALLEY (1946); 105 Jefferson Centre, Suite 804, South Bend (46601); (219)233-1164. FAX: (219)288-4103. Pres. Dr. Harvey Weingarten; Interim Exec. V.-Pres. Marilyn Gardner.

IOWA**DES MOINES**

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER DES MOINES (1914); 910 Polk Blvd. (50312); (515)277-6321. FAX: (515)277-4069. Pres. Shelley Brody; Exec. Dir. Elaine Steinger.

SIOUX CITY

JEWISH FEDERATION (1921); 525 14th St. (51105); (712)258-0618. Pres. Paul Kaiman; Exec. Dir. Doris Rosenthal.

KANSAS**WICHITA**

MID-KANSAS JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (serving South Central Kansas) (1935); 400 N. Woodlawn, Suite 8 (67208); (316)686-4741. FAX: (316)686-6008. Pres. Nancy Zarnow; Exec. Dir. Beverly Jacobson.

KENTUCKY**LEXINGTON**

CENTRAL KENTUCKY JEWISH FEDERATION (1976); 340 Romany Rd. (40502); (606)268-0672. FAX: (606)268-0775. Pres. Elizabeth Goldman; Exec. Dir. Joel H. Eizenstat.

LOUISVILLE

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF LOUISVILLE, INC. (1934); 3630 Dutchman's Lane (40205); (502)451-8840. FAX: (502)-458-0702. Pres. Edward B. Weinberg; Exec. Dir. Alan S. Engel.

LOUISIANA**ALEXANDRIA**

THE JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION AND COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF CENTRAL LOUISIANA (1938); 4307 Whitefield Blvd. (71303); (318)487-9810. Pres. Alvin Mykoff; Sec.-Treas. Judy Task.

BATON ROUGE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER BATON ROUGE (1971); 3354 Kleinert (70806); PO

Box 80827 (70898); (504) 291-5895. FAX: (504)387-9487. Pres. Dale Maas; Exec. Dir. Ralph Bender.

NEW ORLEANS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER NEW ORLEANS (1913; reorg. 1977); 3500 N. Causeway Blvd., Suite 1240, Metairie (70002); (504)828-2125. FAX: (504)828-2827. Pres. Carol Wise; Exec. Dir. Eli Sikora.

SHREVEPORT

SHREVEPORT JEWISH FEDERATION (1941; inc. 1967); 2032 Line Ave. (71104); (318)-221-4129. FAX: (318)221-4144. Pres. Henry Brenner; Exec. Dir. Monty Pomm.

MAINE**LEWISTON-AUBURN**

LEWISTON-AUBURN JEWISH FEDERATION (1947); 74 Bradman St., Auburn (04210); (207)786-4201. Pres. Scott Nussinow.

PORTLAND

JEWISH FEDERATION COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF SOUTHERN MAINE (1942); 57 Ashmont St. (04103); (207)773-7254. FAX: (207)773-6004. Pres. Stephen Schwartz; Exec. Dir. Meyer L. Bodoff.

MARYLAND**BALTIMORE**

THE ASSOCIATED: JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF BALTIMORE (1920; reorg. 1969); 101 W. Mt. Royal Ave. (21201); (410) 727-4828. FAX: (410)783-8991. Chmn. Richard M. Lansburgh; Pres. Darrell D. Friedman.

MASSACHUSETTS**BERKSHIRE COUNTY**

JEWISH FEDERATION OF THE BERKSHIRES (1940); 235 East St., Pittsfield (01201); (413)-442-4360. FAX: (413)443-6070. Pres. Harold Novick; Exec. Dir. Robert N. Kerbel.

BOSTON

COMBINED JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES OF GREATER BOSTON, INC. (1895; inc. 1961); One Lincoln Plaza (02111); (617)330-9500. FAX: (617)330-5197. Chmn. Michael B. Rukin; Pres. Barry Shrage.

CAPE COD

JEWISH FEDERATION OF CAPE COD (1990); 396 Main St., PO Box 2568, Hyannis (02601); (508)778-5588. FAX: (508)778-9727. Pres. Linda G. Kipnes.

FRAMINGHAM (Merged with Boston)
LEOMINSTER

LEOMINSTER JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC. (1939); 268 Washington St. (01453); (617)534-6121. Pres. Dr. Milton Kline; Sec.-Treas. Howard J. Rome.

MERRIMACK VALLEY

MERRIMACK VALLEY JEWISH FEDERATION (Serves Andover, Haverhill, Lawrence, Lowell, Newburyport, and 22 surrounding communities) (1988); 805 Turnpike St., N. Andover (01845-6182); (508)688-0466. FAX: (508)688-1097. Chmn. Jeffrey D. Queen; Interim Exec. Dir. Edward J. Finkel.

NEW BEDFORD

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER NEW BEDFORD, INC. (1938; inc. 1954); 467 Hawthorn St., N. Dartmouth (02747); (508)997-7471. FAX: (508)997-7730. Pres. Louis Gitlin; Exec. Dir. Wil Herrup.

NORTH SHORE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF THE NORTH SHORE, INC. (1938); 4 Community Rd., Marblehead (01945); (617)598-1810. FAX: (617)639-1284. Pres. Edward Braun; Exec. Dir. Neil A. Cooper.

SPRINGFIELD

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER SPRINGFIELD, INC. (1925); 1160 Dickinson St. (01108); (413)737-4313. FAX: (413)737-4348. Pres. Kenneth Abrahams; Exec. Dir. Joel Weiss.

WORCESTER

WORCESTER JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1947; inc. 1957); 633 Salisbury St. (01609); (508)756-1543. FAX: (508)798-0962. Pres. David Persky; Interim Exec. Dir. Debra Feingold.

MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR

JEWISH FEDERATION OF WASHTENAW COUNTY/UNITED JEWISH APPEAL (1986); 2939 Birch Hollow Dr. (48108); (313)677-0100. FAX: (313)677-0109. Pres. Carol S. Smokler; Exec. Dir. Nancy N. Margolis.

DETROIT

JEWISH FEDERATION OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT (1899); 6735 Telegraph Rd., Suite 30, PO Box 2030, Bloomfield Hills (48303-2030); (810)642-4260. FAX: (810)642-4985 (executive offices); (810)642-4941 (all other departments). Pres. Robert Naftaly; Exec. V.-Pres. Robert P. Aronson.

FLINT

FLINT JEWISH FEDERATION (1936); 619 Wallenberg St. (48502); (810)767-5922. FAX: (810)767-9024. Pres. Diane Lindholm; Exec. Dir. Joel B. Kaplan.

GRAND RAPIDS

JEWISH COMMUNITY FUND OF GRAND RAPIDS (1930); 2609 Berwyck SE (49506); (616)956-9365. FAX: (616)956-9365#1. Pres. Morton M. Finkelstein; Admin. Dir. Judy Joseph.

MINNESOTA
DULUTH-SUPERIOR

TWIN PORTS JEWISH FEDERATION (1937); 1602 E. Second St., Duluth (55812); (218)-724-8857. Pres. Abbot Apter; Admin. Sec. Gloria Vitullo.

MINNEAPOLIS

MINNEAPOLIS FEDERATION FOR JEWISH SERVICE (1929; inc. 1930); 5901 S. Cedar Lake Rd., (55416); (612)593-2600. FAX: (612)593-2544. Pres. Robert Barrows; Exec. Dir. Max L. Kleinman.

ST. PAUL

UNITED JEWISH FUND AND COUNCIL (1935); 790 S. Cleveland, Suite 201 (55116); (612)690-1707. FAX: (612)690-0228. Pres. Barry Glaser; Exec. Dir. Samuel Asher.

MISSISSIPPI
JACKSON

JACKSON JEWISH WELFARE FUND, INC. (1945); 5315 Old Canton Rd. (39211-4625); (601)956-6215. FAX: (601)956-6260. Pres. Erik Hearon; V.-Pres. Marcy Cohen.

MISSOURI
KANSAS CITY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER KANSAS CITY MO/KS (1933); 5801 W. 115 St., Overland Park, KS 66211-1824; (913)469-1340. FAX: (913)491-5591. Pres. Robert C. Levy; Exec. Dir. A. Robert Gast.

ST. JOSEPH

UNITED JEWISH FUND OF ST. JOSEPH (1915); c/o Mrs. Judy Chapnick, 2710 N. 39 Terr. (64506); (816)232-7043. Pres. Mrs. Judy Chapnick; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Beryl Shapiro.

ST. LOUIS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF ST. LOUIS (incl. St. Louis County) (1901); 12 Millstone Campus Dr. (63146); (314)432-0020. FAX: (314)-

432-1277. Pres. Michael N. Newmark; Exec. Dir. Barry Rosenberg.

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN

LINCOLN JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION, Inc. (1931; inc. 1961); PO Box 67218 (68506); (402)477-4113. Pres. Herb Friedman; Exec. Dir. Karen Sommer.

OMAHA

JEWISH FEDERATION OF OMAHA (1903); 333 S. 132nd St. (68154-2198); (402)334-8200. FAX: (402)334-1330. Pres. Jerry Slusky; Exec. Dir. Howard Bloom.

NEVADA

LAS VEGAS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF LAS VEGAS (1973); 3909 S. Maryland Pkwy. (89119); (702)732-0556. FAX: (702)732-3228. Pres. Dr. Allan Boruszak; Exec. Dir. Ronni Epstein.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

MANCHESTER

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER MANCHESTER (1974); 698 Beech St. (03104); (603)627-7679. FAX: (603) 627-7963. Pres. Beth Ann Salzman; Exec. Dir. Mark Silverberg.

NEW JERSEY

ATLANTIC AND CAPE MAY COUNTIES

JEWISH FEDERATION OF ATLANTIC AND CAPE MAY COUNTIES (1924); 505-507 Tilton Rd., Northfield (08225); (609)646-7077. FAX: (609)646-8053. Pres. David Schultz; Exec. V.-Pres. Bernard Cohen.

BERGEN COUNTY

UJA FEDERATION OF BERGEN COUNTY AND NORTH HUDSON (inc. 1978); 111 Kinderkamack Rd., PO Box 4176, N. Hackensack Station, River Edge (07661); (201)488-6800. FAX: (201)488-1507. Pres. Daniel Rubin; Exec. V.-Pres. James Young.

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF CENTRAL NEW JERSEY (1940; merged 1973); 843 St. Georges Ave., Roselle (07203); (908)298-8200. FAX: (908)298-8220. Pres. Gerald Cantor; Exec. V.-Pres. Stanley Stone.

CLIFTON-PASSAIC

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER CLIFTON-PASSAIC (1933); 199 Scoles Ave., Clifton (07012). (201)777-7031. FAX: (201)777-6701. Pres. Joseph Bukiet; Exec. Dir. Yosef Y. Muskin.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF CUMBERLAND COUNTY (inc. 1971); 629 Wood St., Suite 204, Vineland (08360); (609)696-4445. FAX: (609)696-3428. Pres. Leonard Wasserman; Exec. Dir. Leon Silver.

MERCER COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF MERCER COUNTY, NJ (1929; reorg. 1982); 999 Lower Ferry Rd., Trenton (08628); (609)883-5000. FAX: (609)883-2563. Pres. Arthur M. Edelman; Exec. V.-Pres. Danny Goldberg.

METROWEST NEW JERSEY

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF METROWEST (1923); 901 Route 10, Whippany (07981-1156); (201)884-4800. FAX: (201)-884-7361. Pres. Stanley Strauss; Exec. V.-Pres. Howard E. Charish.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER MIDDLESEX COUNTY (org. 1948; reorg. 1985); 100 Metroplex Dr., Suite 101, Edison (08817); (908)985-1234. FAX: (908)985-3295. Pres. Ron Grayzel; Exec. V.-Pres. Michael Shapiro.

MONMOUTH COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER MONMOUTH COUNTY (1971); 100 Grant Ave., PO Box 210, Deal (07723-0210); (908)531-6200-1. FAX: (908)531-9518. Pres. William A. Schwartz; Exec. Dir. Bonnie Komito.

MORRIS-SUSSEX COUNTY

(Merged with MetroWest New Jersey)

NORTH JERSEY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF NORTH JERSEY (1933); One Pike Dr., Wayne (07470-2498); (201)595-0555. FAX: (201)595-1532. Branch Office: 17-10 River Rd., Fair Lawn (07410-1250); (201)794-1111. FAX: (201)-794-8399. Pres. Harry F. Immerman; Exec. Dir. Dan Flax.

NORTHERN MIDDLESEX COUNTY

(See Middlesex County)

OCEAN COUNTY

OCEAN COUNTY JEWISH FEDERATION (1977); 301 Madison Ave., Lakewood (08701); (908)363-0530. FAX: (908)363-2097. Pres. Lawrence Simpson; Exec. Dir. Jill C. Dalin.

PRINCETON

PRINCETON AREA UJA-FEDERATION; 15 Roszel Rd., (08540); (609)243-9440. FAX:

(609)243-0090. Pres. Iris G. Brener; Exec. Dir. Jerilyn Zimmerman.

RARITAN VALLEY

(See Middlesex County)

SOMERSET COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOMERSET, HUNTERDON & WARREN COUNTIES (1960); 1011 Rt. 22 West, PO Box 6455, Bridgewater (08807); (908)725-6994. FAX: (908)725-9753. Pres. Len Knauer; Exec. Dir. Alan J. Nydick.

SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY (incl. Camden, Burlington, and Gloucester counties) (1922); 2393 W. Marlton Pike, Cherry Hill (08002); (609)665-6100. FAX: (609)665-0074. Pres. Harvey N. Shapiro; Exec. V.-Pres. Stuart Alperin.

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER ALBUQUERQUE (1938); 5520 Wyoming Blvd., NE (87109); (505)821-3214. FAX: (505)821-3351. Pres. Miriam Efroymsen; Exec. Dir. Andrew Lipman.

NEW YORK

ALBANY

(See Northeastern New York)

BUFFALO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER BUFFALO, INC. (1903); 787 Delaware Ave. (14209); (716)886-7750. FAX: (716)886-1367. Pres. Nathan Benderson; Exec. Dir. Harry Kosansky.

DUTCHESS COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF DUTCHESS COUNTY; 110 S. Grand Ave., Poughkeepsie (12603); (914)471-9811. FAX: (914) 471-0659. Pres. Dr. Irvin Miller; Exec. Dir. Bonnie Meadow.

ELMIRA

ELMIRA-CORNING JEWISH FEDERATION (1942); Grandview Ave. Ext., PO Box 3087, Elmira (14905); (607)734-8122. FAX: (607)734-8123. Pres. Andrew Rothstein; Exec. Dir. Frank Kramerman.

NEW YORK

UJA-FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES OF NEW YORK, INC. (incl. Greater NY, Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk counties) (Fed. org. 1917; UJA 1939; merged

1986); 130 E. 59 St. (10022); (212)980-1000. FAX: (212)888-7538. Pres. Alan S. Jaffe; Chmn. Larry A. Silverstein; Exec. V.-Pres. Stephen D. Solender.

NIAGARA FALLS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF NIAGARA FALLS, NY, INC. (1935); Temple Beth Israel, Rm. #5, College & Madison Aves. (14305); (716)284-4575. Pres. Howard Kushner.

NORTHEASTERN NEW YORK

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF NORTHEASTERN NEW YORK (1986); Latham Circle Mall, 800 New Loudon Rd., Latham (12110); (518)783-7800. FAX: (518)783-1557. Pres. Kenneth Segel.

ORANGE COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER ORANGE COUNTY (1977); 360 Powell Ave., Newburgh (12550); (914)562-7860. FAX: (914)562-5114. Pres. Dr. William Cieplinski; Exec. Dir. Shari Seiner.

ROCHESTER

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF GREATER ROCHESTER, NY, INC. (1939); 441 East Ave. (14607); (716)461-0490. FAX: (716)461-0912. Pres. Rochelle Gutkin; Exec. Dir. Lawrence W. Fine.

ROCKLAND COUNTY

UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITY OF ROCKLAND COUNTY (1985); 24 Highview Ave., Nanuet (10954); (914)267-4100. FAX: (914)267-4115. Pres. Ronald Langus; Exec. Dir. Neal Potash.

SCHENECTADY

(See Northeastern New York)

SYRACUSE

SYRACUSE JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1918); 5700 Commons Park Dr., PO Box 510, DeWitt (13214-0510); (315)445-0161. FAX: (315)445-1559. Pres. David Yaffee; Exec. V.-Pres. Barry Silverberg.

TROY

(See Northeastern New York)

ULSTER COUNTY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF ULSTER COUNTY (1951); 159 Green St., Kingston (12401); (914)338-8131. Pres. Steve Nachimson; Exec. Dir. Bonnie Meadow.

UTICA

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF MOHAWK VALLEY, NY, INC. (1933; inc. 1950;

reorg. 1994); 2310 Oneida St. (13501); (315)-733-2343. Pres. Michael Cominsky; Exec. Dir. Haim Morag.

NORTH CAROLINA

ASHEVILLE

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA JEWISH FEDERATION (1935); 236 Charlotte St. (28801); (704)253-0701. FAX: (704)254-7666. Pres. Stan Greenberg; Exec. Dir. Marlene Breger-Joyce.

CHARLOTTE

THE JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER CHARLOTTE (1938); 5007 Providence Rd. (28226); (704)366-5007. FAX: (704)365-4507. Pres. Harry Lerner; Exec. Dir. Daniel Z. Lepow.

DURHAM-CHAPEL HILL

DURHAM-CHAPEL HILL JEWISH FEDERATION & COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1979); 3700 Lyckan Pkwy., Suite B, Durham (27707); (919)489-5335. FAX: (919)489-5788. Pres. Barry Margolin; Exec. Dir. Elise Light.

GREENSBORO

GREENSBORO JEWISH FEDERATION (1940); 713-A N. Greene St. (27401); (919)272-3189. FAX: (919)272-0214. Pres. Sara Lee Saperstein; Exec. Dir. Marilyn Forman-Chandler.

WAKE COUNTY

WAKE COUNTY JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1987); 3900 Merton Dr., Suite 108, Raleigh (27615); (919)781-5459. FAX: (919)787-0666. Pres. Allan From; Admin. Tobie Kramer.

OHIO

AKRON

AKRON JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION (1935); 750 White Pond Dr. (44320); (216)869-CHAI (2424). FAX: (216)867-8498. Pres. Judge Marvin Shapiro; Exec. Dir. Michael Wise.

CANTON

CANTON JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION (1935; reorg. 1955); 2631 Harvard Ave., NW (44709); (216)452-6444. FAX: (216)-452-4487. Pres. Sharon Fladen; Exec. Dir. Neil Berro.

CINCINNATI

JEWISH FEDERATION OF CINCINNATI (1896; reorg. 1967); 4380 Malsbary Rd., Suite 2000 (45242); (513) 985-1500. FAX: (513)985-1503. Pres. Mel Fisher; Exec. V.-Pres. Aubrey Herman.

CLEVELAND

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND (1903); 1750 Euclid Ave. (44115); (216)566-9200. FAX: (216)861-1230. Pres. Bennett Yanowitz; Exec. V.-Pres. Stephen H. Hoffman.

COLUMBUS

COLUMBUS JEWISH FEDERATION (1926); 1175 College Ave. (43209); (614)237-7686. FAX: (614)237-2221. Pres. Irving Schottenstein; Exec. Dir. Mitchel Orlik.

DAYTON

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER DAYTON (1910); 4501 Denlinger Rd. (45426); (513)854-4150. FAX: (513)854-2850. Pres. Ralph E. Heyman; Exec. V.-Pres. Peter H. Wells.

STEUBENVILLE

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); 300 Lovers Lane (43952); (614)264-5514. Pres. Sidney Brody; Exec. Sec. Jennie Bernstein.

TOLEDO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER TOLEDO (1907; reorg. 1960); 6505 Sylvania Ave., Sylvania (43560); (419)885-4461. FAX: (419)-885-3207. Pres. Michael Berebitsky; Exec. Dir. Steven J. Edelstein.

YOUNGSTOWN

YOUNGSTOWN AREA JEWISH FEDERATION (1935); 505 Gypsy Lane (44504-1314); (216)-746-3251. FAX: (216)746-7926. Pres. James L. Pazol; Exec. V.-Pres. Sam Kooperman.

OKLAHOMA

OKLAHOMA CITY

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER OKLAHOMA CITY (1941); 2800 Quail Plaza Dr. (73120). (405)752-7307. FAX: (405)752-7309. Pres. Louis Price; Exec. Dir. Edie S. Roodman.

TULSA

JEWISH FEDERATION OF TULSA (1938); 2021 E. 71 St. (74136); (918)495-1100. FAX: (918)495-1220. Pres. Steven Zeligson; Exec. Dir. David Bernstein.

OREGON

PORTLAND

JEWISH FEDERATION OF PORTLAND (incl. Northwest Oregon and Southwest Washington communities) (1920; reorg. 1956); 6651 SW Capitol Hwy. (97219); (503)245-6219.

FAX: (503)245-6603. Pres. Elizabeth Menashe; Exec. Dir. Charles Schiffman.

PENNSYLVANIA

ALLENTOWN

JEWISH FEDERATION OF THE LEHIGH VALLEY (serving Allentown, Bethlehem, and Easton) (1948); 702 North 22 St. (18104); (215)821-5500. FAX: (215)821-8946. Pres. Dr. Michael Ufberg; Exec. Dir. Jeanette Eichenwald.

ALTOONA

FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES (1920; reorg. 1940; inc. 1944); 1308 17 St. (16601); (814)944-4072. Pres. William Wallen.

BUCKS COUNTY

(See Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia)

ERIE

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF ERIE (1946); 1611 Peach St., Suite 405, (16501-2123); (814)455-4474. FAX: (814)455-4475. Pres. Judi S. Hines.

HARRISBURG

UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITY OF GREATER HARRISBURG (1941); 100 Vaughn St. (17110); (717)236-9555. FAX: (717)236-8104. Pres. Harvey Fredenberg; Exec. Dir. Jordan Harburger.

JOHNSTOWN

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF JOHNSTOWN (1938); c/o Beth Sholom Cong., 700 Indiana St. (15905); (814)536-6440 (office), (814)539-9891 (home). Pres. Isadore Suchman.

PHILADELPHIA

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER PHILADELPHIA (incl. Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia counties) (1901; reorg. 1956); 226 S. 16 St. (19102); (215)893-5600. FAX: (215)546-0349. Pres. Alan Casnoff; Exec. V.-Pres. Don Cooper.

PITTSBURGH

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER PITTSBURGH (1912; reorg. 1955); 234 McKee Pl. (15213); (412)681-8000. FAX: (412)681-3980. Chmn. Stanley C. Ruskin; Pres. Howard M. Rieger.

READING

JEWISH FEDERATION OF READING, PA., INC. (1935; reorg. 1972); 1700 City Line St.

(19604); (610)921-2766. FAX: (610)929-0886. Pres. Neal Jacobs; Exec. Dir. Daniel Tannenbaum.

SCRANTON

SCRANTON-LACKAWANNA JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Lackawanna County) (1945); 601 Jefferson Ave. (18510); (717)961-2300. FAX: (717)346-6147. Pres. David M. Epstein; Exec. Dir. Seymour Brotman.

RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF RHODE ISLAND (1945); 130 Sessions St. (02906); (401)421-4111. FAX: (401)331-7961. Pres. Harris N. Rosen; Exec. Dir. Steven A. Rakitt.

SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON

CHARLESTON JEWISH FEDERATION (1949); 1645 Raoul Wallenberg Blvd., PO Box 31298 (29407); (803)571-6565. FAX: (803)556-6206. Pres. Jerry Zucker; Interim Exec. Dirs. Eileen Chepenik, Randy Karsh.

COLUMBIA

COLUMBIA JEWISH FEDERATION (1960); 4540 Trenholm Rd., PO Box 6968 (29260); (803)787-2023. FAX: (803)787-0475. Pres. Alan Kahn; Exec. Dir. Steven Turner.

GREENVILLE

FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES OF GREENVILLE, INC.; PO Box 17615 (29606); (803)-244-1261. Pres. Dr. Leonard Greenspoon.

SOUTH DAKOTA

SIOUX FALLS

JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1938); National Reserve Bldg., 513 S. Main Ave. (57102); (605)336-2880. FAX: (605)335-3639. Pres. Laurence Bierman; Exec. Sec. Louis R. Hurwitz.

TENNESSEE

CHATTANOOGA

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF GREATER CHATTANOOGA (1931); 5326 Lynnland Terrace (37411); PO Box 8947 (37414); (615)894-1317. FAX: (615)894-1319. Pres. Pris Siskin; Exec. Dir. Louis B. Solomon.

KNOXVILLE

KNOXVILLE JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1939); 6800 Deane Hill Dr. (37919); PO Box 10882 (37939-0882); (615)693-5837. FAX:

(615)694-4861. Pres. Ianne Kopel; Exec. Dir. Conrad J. Koller.

MEMPHIS

MEMPHIS JEWISH FEDERATION (incl. Shelby County) (1935); 6560 Poplar Ave. (38138-3614); (901)767-7100. FAX: (901)-767-7128. Pres. Diane Mendelson; Exec. Dir. Gary Siepser.

NASHVILLE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF NASHVILLE & MIDDLE TENNESSEE (1936); 801 Percy Warner Blvd. (37205); (615)356-3242. FAX: (615)352-0056. Pres. Sandy Cohen; Exec. Dir. Joshua Fogelson.

TEXAS

AUSTIN

JEWISH FEDERATION OF AUSTIN (1939; reorg. 1956); 11713 Jollyville Rd. (78759); (512)331-1144. FAX: (512)331-7059. Pres. Marilyn Stahl; Exec. Dir. Barry Silverberg.

DALLAS

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER DALLAS (1911); 7800 Northaven Rd., Suite A (75230); (214)369-3313. FAX: (214)369-8943. Pres. Stan Rabin; Exec. Dir. Avrum I. Cohen.

EL PASO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF EL PASO, INC. (1937); 405 Wallenberg Dr. (79912); (915)-584-4437. FAX: (915)584-0243. Pres. Norman Gordon; Exec. Dir. Mark Alan Zober.

FORT WORTH

JEWISH FEDERATION OF FORT WORTH AND TARRANT COUNTY (1936); 6801 Dan Danciger Rd. (76133); (817)292-3081. FAX: (817)292-3214. Pres. Elliott Garsek; Exec. Dir. Naomi Etzkin.

GALVESTON

GALVESTON COUNTY JEWISH WELFARE ASSOCIATION (1936); PO Box 146 (77553); (409)763-5241. Pres. Ben Gelman.

HOUSTON

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER HOUSTON (1936); 5603 S. Braeswood Blvd. (77096-3998); (713)729-7000. FAX: (713)-721-6232. Pres. Arthur Schechter; Exec. Dir. Hans Mayer.

SAN ANTONIO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF SAN ANTONIO (incl. Bexar County) (1922); 8434 Ahern Dr.

(78216); (210)341-8234. FAX: (210)341-2842. Pres. Jimmy Tobin.

WACO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF WACO AND CENTRAL TEXAS (1949); PO Box 8031 (76714-8031); (817)776-3740. Pres. Jeff Wolf; Exec. Sec. Debbie Hersch-Levy.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF UTAH (1936); 2416 E. 1700 South (84108); (801)-581-0102. FAX: (801) 581-1334. Pres. Nano B. Podolsky; Exec. Dir. Roberta Grunauer.

VIRGINIA

RICHMOND

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF RICHMOND (1935); 5403 Monument Ave., PO Box 17128 (23226); (804)288-0045. FAX: (804)282-7507. Pres. Cathy Plotkin; Exec. Dir. Marsha F. Hurwitz.

TIDEWATER

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF TIDEWATER (incl. Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Virginia Beach) (1937); 7300 Newport Ave., Norfolk (23505); (804)489-8040. FAX: (804)489-8230. Pres. Art Sandler; Exec. V.-Pres. Mark L. Goldstein.

VIRGINIA PENINSULA

UNITED JEWISH COMMUNITY OF THE VIRGINIA PENINSULA, INC. (1942); 2700 Spring Rd., Newport News (23606); (804)930-1422. FAX: (804)872-9532. Pres. Gary Nachman.

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER SEATTLE (incl. King County, Everett, and Bremerton) (1926); 2031 Third Ave. (98121); (206)443-5400. FAX: (206)443-0303. Pres. Irwin L. Treiger; Exec. Dir. Michael Novick.

WEST VIRGINIA

CHARLESTON

FEDERATED JEWISH CHARITIES OF CHARLESTON, INC. (1937); PO Box 1613 (25326); (304)345-2320. Pres. Steve Rubin; Exec. Sec. Lee Disnoff.

WISCONSIN

KENOSHA

KENOSHA JEWISH WELFARE FUND (1938); 600 68th Pl. (53143); (414)697-0300. FAX: (414)697-0889. Pres. Edward Block.

MADISON

MADISON JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL, INC. (1940); 310 N. Midvale Blvd., Suite 325 (53705); (608)231-3426. FAX: (608)231-3428. Pres. Evelyn W. Minkoff; Exec. Dir. Steven H. Morrison.

MILWAUKEE

MILWAUKEE JEWISH FEDERATION, INC. (1902); 1360 N. Prospect Ave. (53202); (414)-390-5700. FAX: (414)390-5782. Pres. Gerald Stein; Exec. Dir. Richard H. Meyer.

CANADA

ALBERTA

CALGARY

CALGARY JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1962); 1607 90th Ave. SW (T2V 4V7); (403)253-8600. FAX: (403)253-7915. Pres. Cheryl Shore; Exec. Dir. Joel R. Miller.

EDMONTON

JEWISH FEDERATION OF EDMONTON (1954; reorg. 1982); 7200 156th St. (T5R 1X3); (403)487-5120. FAX: (403)481-1854. Pres. Len Dolgoy; Chief Admin. Off. Miriam Cooper.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER VANCOUVER (1932; reorg. 1987); 950 W. 41 Ave., Suite 200 (V5Z 2N7); (604)257-5100. FAX: (604)257-5110. Pres. Peter Oreck; Exec. Dir. Drew Staffenberg.

MANITOBA

WINNIPEG

WINNIPEG JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938; reorg. 1973); 370 Hargrave St. (R3B 2K1); (204)943-0406. FAX: (204)956-0609. Pres. Donald N. Aronovitch; Exec. Dir. Robert Freedman.

ONTARIO

HAMILTON

JEWISH FEDERATION OF HAMILTON, WENTWORTH & AREA (1932; merged 1971); PO Box 7258, 1030 Lower Lion Club Rd.,

Ancaster (L9G 3N6); (905)648-0605. FAX: (905)648-8388. Pres. David Steinberg; Exec. Dir. Patricia Tolkin Eppel.

LONDON

LONDON JEWISH FEDERATION (1932); 536 Huron St. (N5Y 4J5); (519)673-3310. FAX: (519)673-1161. Pres. Jeffrey Phillips; Exec. Dir. Gerald Enchin.

OTTAWA

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF OTTAWA (1934); 151 Chapel St. (K1N 7Y2); (613)789-7306. FAX: (613)689-4593. Pres. Dr. Bernard Dolansky; Exec. Dir. Stanley A. Urman.

TORONTO

JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER TORONTO (1917); 4600 Bathurst St., Willowdale (M2R 3V2); (416)635-2883. FAX: (416)631-5715. Pres. Bernard Ghert; Exec. Dir. Allan Reitzes.

WINDSOR

JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION (1938); 1641 Ouellette Ave. (N8X 1K9); (519)973-1772. FAX: (519)973-1774. Pres. Ted Hochberg; Exec. Dir. Allen Juris.

QUEBEC

MONTREAL

FEDERATION CJA (formerly Allied Jewish Community Services) (1965); 5151 Cote Ste. Catherine Rd. (H3W 1M6); (514)735-3541. FAX: (514)735-8972. Pres. Lester Lazarus; Exec. Dir. Steven Drysdale.

Jewish Periodicals*

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

SOUTHERN SHOFAR (1990). PO Box 130052, Birmingham, 35213. (205) 870-9255. FAX: (205)870-9255. E-mail: 6858469@mcimail.com. Lawrence M. Brook. Monthly.

ARIZONA

ARIZONA JEWISH POST (1946). 3812 East River Rd., Tucson, 85718. (520)529-1500. FAX: (520)577-0734. Sandra R. Heiman. Fortnightly. Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona.

JEWISH NEWS OF GREATER PHOENIX (1948). 1625 E. Northern Ave., Suite 106, Phoenix, 85020. (602)870-9470. FAX: (602)870-0426. Ed./Pub. Florence Eckstein. Weekly.

CALIFORNIA

B'NAI B'RITH MESSENGER (1897). PO Box 35915, Los Angeles, 90035. (213)962-8014. FAX: (213)962-6458. Joe Bobker. Weekly.

HERITAGE-SOUTHWEST JEWISH PRESS (1914). 2130 S. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, 90007. (213) 737-2122. Dan Brin. Weekly. (Also SAN DIEGO JEWISH HERITAGE, weekly; ORANGE COUNTY JEWISH HERITAGE, weekly; CENTRAL CALIFORNIA JEWISH HERITAGE, monthly.) Heritage Group.

JEWISH BULLETIN OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA (1946). 225 Bush St., Suite 1480, San Francisco, 94104-4281. (415)263-7200. FAX: (415)263-7223. Marc S. Klein. Weekly. San Francisco Jewish Community Publications, Inc.

JEWISH JOURNAL OF GREATER LOS ANGELES (1986). 3660 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 204, Los Angeles, 90010. (213)738-7778. FAX: (213)386-9501. Gene Lichtenstein. Weekly.

JEWISH NEWS (1973). 11071 Ventura Blvd., Studio City, 91604. (818)786-4000. FAX: (818)760-4648. Phil Blazer. Monthly.

JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES: HISTORY, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY (1939). c/o Program in Jewish Studies, Building 60, Stanford University, Stanford, 94305-2165. (415)-725-0829. Steven J. Zipperstein, Aron Rodrigue. Three times a year. Conference on Jewish Social Studies, Inc.

JEWISH SPECTATOR (1935). 4391 Park Milano, Calabasas, 91302. (818)591-7481. FAX: (818)591-7267. Robert Bleiweiss. Quarterly. American Friends of Center for Jewish Living and Values.

JEWISH STAR (1956). PO Box 804, Novato, 94948. (415)834-1192. FAX: (415)884-0229. Nevon Stuckey. Irregular.

SAN DIEGO JEWISH TIMES (1979). 4731 Palm Ave., La Mesa, 91941. (619)463-5515. Carol Rosenberg. Biweekly.

SHALOM L.A. (1988). 15301 Ventura Blvd., Suite 500, Sherman Oaks, 91403. (818)-783-3090. FAX: (818)783-1104. Meir Doron. Weekly. Hebrew.

WESTERN STATES JEWISH HISTORY (1968). 3111 Kelton Ave., Los Angeles, 90034. (310)475-1415. Prof. William M. Kramer. Quarterly. Western States Jewish History Association.

*The information in this directory is based on replies to questionnaires circulated by the editors. For organization bulletins, see the directory of Jewish organizations.

COLORADO

INTERMOUNTAIN JEWISH NEWS (1913). 1275 Sherman St., Suite 214, Denver, 80203-2299. (303)861-2234. FAX: (303)-832-6942. Exec. Ed. Rabbi Hillel Goldberg; Ed./Pub. Miriam Goldberg. Weekly.

CONNECTICUT

CONNECTICUT JEWISH LEDGER; HARTFORD JEWISH LEDGER; NEW HAVEN JEWISH LEDGER; FAIRFIELD COUNTY JEWISH LEDGER; STAMFORD JEWISH LEDGER (1929). 924 Farmington Ave., W. Hartford, 06107. (203)231-2424. FAX: (203)231-2428. Jonathan S. Tobin. Weekly.

CONTEMPORARY JEWRY (1974, under the name JEWISH SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH). Dept. of Sociology, Box 5302, Connecticut College, New London, 06320. (860) 439-2241. FAX: (860) 439-5332. J. Alan Winter. Annually. Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry.

JEWISH LEADER. 28 Channing St., PO Box 1468, New London, 06320. (860)-442-7395. FAX: (860)443-4175. Ed. Izzy Schwartz; Mngr. Sidney Schiller. Bi-weekly. Jewish Federation of Eastern Connecticut.

MITZVAH CONNECTION. PO Box 948, Avon, 06001. (203)675-7763. C. Dianne Zweig. Annually.

DELAWARE

JEWISH VOICE. 100 W. 10th St., Suite 301, Wilmington, 19801-1645. (302) 427-2100. FAX: (302) 427-2438. E-mail: jewish-voice@mcimail.com. Daniel Weintraub. Twice monthly. Jewish Federation of Delaware.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL JEWISH MONTHLY (1886, under the name MENORAH). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Washington, 20036. (202)857-6645. Jeff Rubin. Eight times a year. B'nai B'rith.

CAPITAL COMMUNIQUE (1991). 503 Capital Ct., NE, Suite 300, Washington, 20002. (202)544-7636. FAX: (202)544-7645. Mike Klein. Bimonthly. National Jewish Democratic Council.

JEWISH VETERAN (1896). 1811 R St., NW, Washington, 20009. (202)265-6280. FAX: (202)234-5662. Albert Schlossberg. Five times a year. Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

MOMENT (1975). 4710 41 St., NW, Washington, 20016. (202)364-3300. FAX: (202)-364-2636. Hershel Shanks. Bimonthly. Jewish Educational Ventures, Inc.

MONITOR (1990). 1819 H Street, NW, Suite 230, Washington, 20006. (202)775-9770. FAX: (202)775-9776. David Waksberg. Monthly. Union of Councils for Soviet Jews.

NEAR EAST REPORT (1957). 440 First St., NW, Suite 607, Washington, 20001. (202)-639-5254. FAX: (202) 347-4916. Dr. Raphael Danziger. Fortnightly. Near East Research, Inc.

SECURITY AFFAIRS (1978). 1717 K St., NW, Suite 300, Washington, 20006. (202)833-0020. FAX: (202)296-6452. E-mail: jin-sa@dc.infi.net. Jim Colbert. Bimonthly. Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs.

WASHINGTON JEWISH WEEK. *See under MARYLAND*

FLORIDA

THE CHRONICLE (1971). 580 S. McIntosh Rd., Sarasota, 34232. (813)371-4546. FAX: (813)378-2947. Barry Millman. Fortnightly. Sarasota-Manatee Jewish Federation.

HERITAGE FLORIDA JEWISH NEWS (1976). PO Box 300742, Fern Park, 32730. (407)-834-8787 or 834-8277. FAX: (407)831-0507. Pub. Jeffrey Gaeser; Assoc. Ed. Chris Allen. Weekly.

JEWISH JOURNAL (PALM BEACH-BROWARD-DADE) (1977). 601 Fairway Dr., Deerfield Beach, 33441. (954)698-6397. FAX: (954)429-1207. Andrew Polin. Weekly. South Florida Newspaper Network.

JEWISH LIFE (1994). 8358 W. Oakland Park Blvd., Suite 301, Ft. Lauderdale, 33351. (954)748-8400. FAX: (954) 748-4509. Ed-in-Chief, Rhonda Roseman-Seriani; Mng. Ed. Leslie Rosenberg. Monthly. Jewish Federation of South Broward.

JEWISH PRESS OF PINELLAS COUNTY (CLEARWATER-ST. PETERSBURG) (1985). 13191 Starkey Rd., Suite 8, Clearwater, 34643-1438. Mailing address: PO Box 6970, Clearwater, 34643-1438. (813)535-4400. FAX: (813)530-3039. Karen Wolfson Dawkins. Biweekly. Jewish Press Group of Tampa Bay (FL), Inc.

JEWISH PRESS OF TAMPA (1987). 13191 Starkey Rd., Suite 8, Clearwater, 34643-1438. Mailing address: PO Box 6970, Clearwater 34618-6970. (813)871-2332. FAX: (813)-530-3039. Karen Wolfson Dawkins. Bi-weekly. Jewish Press Group of Tampa Bay (FL), Inc.

Shalom (1993). 8358 W. Oakland Park Blvd., Suite 301, Ft. Lauderdale, 33351. (954) 748-8400. FAX: (954) 748-4509. Ed.-in-Chief, Rhonda Roseman-Seriani; Mng. Ed. Judy Goldstein. Biweekly. Jewish Federation of Greater Fort Lauderdale.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA JEWISH TIMES (1925; formerly SOUTHERN ISRAELITE). 1575 Northside Dr., NW, Atlanta, 30318. (404)352-2400. FAX: (404)355-9388. Ed. Neil Rubin; Ed. Emer. Vida Goldgar. Weekly.

JEWISH CIVIC PRESS (1972). 3500 Piedmont Rd., Suite 612, Atlanta, 30305. (404)231-2194. Abner L. Tritt. Monthly.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO JEWISH NEWS (1994). 2501 W. Peterson, Chicago, 60659. (312)728-3636. FAX: (312)728-3734. Joseph Aaron. Weekly.

CHICAGO JEWISH STAR (1991). PO Box 268, Skokie, 60076-0268. (708)674-7827. FAX: (708)674-0014. E-mail: chicago-jewish-star@mcimail.com. Ed. Douglas Wertheimer; Assoc. Ed. Gila Wertheimer. Fortnightly.

JEWISH COMMUNITY NEWS (1941). 6464 W. Main, Suite 7A, Belleville, 62223. (618)-398-6100. FAX: (618)398-0539. Steve Low. Every other month. Jewish Federation of Southern Illinois.

JUF NEWS (1972). One S. Franklin St., Rm. 701, Chicago, 60606. (312)357-4848. FAX: (312)855-2470. Aaron Cohen. Monthly. Jewish United Fund/Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago.

THE SENTINEL (1911). 150 N. Michigan Ave., Suite 2025, Chicago, 60601. (312)-407-0060. FAX: (312)407-0096. J.I. Fishbein. Weekly.

INDIANA

ILLIANA NEWS (1976). 2939 Jewett St., Highland, 46322. (219)972-2250. FAX: (219)972-4779. Monthly (except July/Aug.). Jewish Federation, Inc./Northwest Indiana.

INDIANA JEWISH POST AND OPINION (1935). 2120 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, 46202. (317)927-7800. FAX: (317)927-7807. Ed. Statmann. Weekly.

NATIONAL JEWISH POST AND OPINION (1932). 2120 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, 46202. (317)927-7800. FAX: (317)927-7807. Gabriel Cohen. Weekly.

KANSAS

KANSAS CITY JEWISH CHRONICLE (1920). 7373 W. 107 St., Overland Park, 66212. (913)648-4620. FAX: (913)381-9889. Rick Hellman. Weekly. Sun Publications.

KENTUCKY

COMMUNITY (1975). 3630 Dutchman's Lane, Louisville, 40205-3200. (502) 451-8840. FAX: (502) 458-0702. E-mail: fed-louky@cjf.noli.com. Shiela Wallace. Bi-weekly. Jewish Community Federation of Louisville.

KENTUCKY JEWISH POST AND OPINION (1931). 1551 Bardstown Rd., Louisville, 40205. (502)459-1914. Tracy Gary. Weekly.

LOUISIANA

JEWISH CIVIC PRESS (1965). 924 Valmont St., New Orleans, 70115. (504)895-8784. FAX: (504) 895-0433. Claire & Abner Tritt, eds. and pubs. Monthly.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE JEWISH TIMES (1919). 2104 N. Charles St., Baltimore, 21218. (410)752-3504. FAX: (410)752-2375. Michael Davis. Weekly.

MODERN JUDAISM (1980). Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 N. Charles St., Baltimore, 21218-4319. (410)516-6987. FAX: (410)516-6968. (Editorial address: 92 Riverside Dr., Binghamton, NY 13905.) Steven Katz. Three times a year.

PROOFTEXTS: A JOURNAL OF JEWISH LITERARY HISTORY (1980). Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 N. Charles St., Baltimore, 21218-4319. (410)516-6987. FAX: (410)516-6968. Editorial address (for contributors): NEJS Dept., Brandeis U., Waltham, MA 02254. Alan Mintz, David G. Roskies. Three times a year.

WASHINGTON JEWISH WEEK (1930, as the NATIONAL JEWISH LEDGER). 12300 Twinbrook Pkwy., Suite 250, Rockville,

20852. (301)230-2222. FAX: (301)881-6362. Eric Rozenman. Weekly.

MASSACHUSETTS

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY (1893). Two Thornton Rd., Waltham, 02154. (617)891-8110. FAX: (617)899-9208. Marc Lee Raphael. Quarterly. American Jewish Historical Society.

BOSTON JEWISH TIMES (1945). 15 School St., Boston, 02108. (617)367-9100. FAX: (617)367-9310. Mng. Ed. Frank Scott. Fortnightly.

JEWISH ADVOCATE (1902). 15 School St., Boston, 02108. (617)367-9100. FAX: (617)367-9310. Mng. Ed. Frank Scott. Weekly.

JEWISH CHRONICLE (1927). 131 Lincoln St., Worcester, 01605. (508)752-2512. FAX: (508)752-9057. Sondra Shapiro. Biweekly.

JEWISH GUIDE TO BOSTON & NEW ENGLAND (1972). 15 School St., Boston, 02108. (617)367-9100. FAX: (617)367-9310. Rosie Rosenzweig. Annually. The Jewish Advocate.

THE JEWISH JOURNAL/NORTH OF BOSTON (1976). 201 Washington St., PO Box 555, Salem, 01970. (508)745-4111. FAX: (508)745-5333. Bette W. Keva. Biweekly. Russian section. North Shore Jewish Press Ltd.

THE JEWISH NEWS OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS (1945). PO Box 269, Northampton, 01061. (413)582-9870. FAX: (413)582-9847. Kenneth G. White. Weekly.

METROWEST JEWISH REPORTER (1970). 76 Salem End Rd., Framingham, 01701. (508)879-3300. FAX: (508)879-5856. Marcia T. Rivin. Monthly. Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston.

DER PAKN-TREGER/THE BOOK PEDDLER (1980). 48 Woodbridge St., S. Hadley, 01075. (413)535-1303. FAX: (413)535-1007. Jeffrey Sharlet. Quarterly. Yiddish & English. National Yiddish Book Center.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT JEWISH NEWS (1942). 27676 Franklin Rd., Southfield, 48034. (810)354-6060. FAX: (810)354-6069. Phil Jacobs. Weekly.

HUMANISTIC JUDAISM (1968). 28611 W. Twelve Mile Rd., Farmington Hills, 48334. (810)478-7610. FAX: (810)478-3159. M. Bonnie Cousens, Ruth D. Feldman. Quarterly. Society for Humanistic Judaism.

MINNESOTA

AMERICAN JEWISH WORLD (1912). 4509 Minnetonka Blvd., Minneapolis, 55416. (612)920-7000. FAX: (612)920-6205. Marshall Hoffman. Weekly.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY JEWISH CHRONICLE. *See under KANSAS*

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JEWISH PRESS (1920). 333 S. 132 St., Omaha, 68154. (402)334-8200. FAX: (402)334-5422. Morris Maline. Weekly. Jewish Federation of Omaha.

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JEWISH REPORTER (1976). 3909 S. Maryland Pkwy., Suite 400, Las Vegas, 89119-7520. (702)732-0556. FAX: (702)732-3228. Rebeca Herren. Bimonthly. Jewish Federation of Las Vegas.

LAS VEGAS ISRAELITE (1965). PO Box 14096, Las Vegas, 89114. (702)876-1255. FAX: (702)364-1009. Michael Tell. Biweekly.

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AVOTAYNU (1985). 155 N. Washington Ave., Bergenfield, 07621. (201)387-7200. FAX: (201)387-2855. Sallyann Amdur Sack. Quarterly.

JEWISH COMMUNITY NEWS. 199 Scoles Ave., Clifton, 07012. (201)777-8313. FAX: (201)777-6701. Edith Sobel. Biweekly. Jewish Federation of North Jersey and Jewish Federation of Greater Clifton-Passaic.

JEWISH COMMUNITY VOICE (1941). 2393 W. Marlton Pike, Cherry Hill, 08002. (609)665-6100. FAX: (609)665-0074. Harriet Kessler. Biweekly. Jewish Federation of Southern NJ.

JEWISH HORIZON (1981). 843 St. Georges Ave., Roselle, 07203. (908)245-5775. FAX: (908)245-5599. Fran Gold. Weekly.

JEWISH RECORD (Atlantic City area) (1939). 1525 S. Main St., Pleasantville, 08232. (609)383-0999. Martin Korik. Weekly.

JEWISH STANDARD (1931). 1086 Teaneck Rd., Teaneck, 07666. (201)837-8818. FAX:

- (201)833-4959. Rebecca Kaplan Boroson. Weekly.
- JEWISH STAR** (1975). 100 Metroplex Dr., Edison, 08817. (908)985-1234. FAX: (908)-985-3295. Marlene A. Heller. Fortnightly. Jewish Federation of Greater Middlesex County.
- JEWISH VOICE** (1971). 100 Grant Ave., Deal Park, 07723. (908)531-6200. FAX: (908)-531-9518. Suzanne G. Michel. Monthly. Jewish Federation of Greater Monmouth County.
- JEWISH VOICE & OPINION** (1987). 73 Dana Place, Englewood, 07631. (201) 569-2845. FAX: (201)569-1739. Susan L. Rosenbluth. Monthly.
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- AFN SHVEL** (1941). 200 W. 72 St., Suite 40, NYC, 10023. (212)787-6675. Mordkhe Schaechter. Quarterly. Yiddish. League for Yiddish, Inc.
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- ALGEMEINER JOURNAL** (1972). 225 E. Broadway, NYC, 10002. (212)267-5561. FAX: (212)267-5624. Gershon Jacobson. Weekly. Yiddish-English.
- AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK** (1899). 165 E. 56 St., NYC, 10022. (212)751-4000. FAX: (212)751-4017. David Singer, Ruth R. Seldin. Annually. American Jewish Committee.
- AMERICAN ZIONIST** (1910). 4 E. 34 St., NYC, 10016. (212)481-1500. FAX: (212)-481-1515. Reuben Shechter. Quarterly. Zionist Organization of America.
- AMIT WOMAN** (1925). 817 Broadway, NYC, 10003. (212)477-4720. FAX: (212)353-2312. Micheline Ratzersdorfer. Quarterly. AMIT Women (formerly American Miz-rachi Women).
- AUFBAU** (1934). 2121 Broadway, NYC, 10023. (212)873-7400. FAX: (212)496-5736. Exec. Ed. Uwe Westphal; Mng. Ed. Monika Ziegler. Fortnightly. German. New World Club, Inc.
- BUFFALO JEWISH REVIEW** (1918). 15 E. Mohawk St., Buffalo, 14203. (716)854-2192. FAX: (716)854-2198. Harlan C. Abbey. Weekly. Kahaal Nahalot Israel.
- THE CALL** (1933). 45 E. 33 St., NYC, 10016. (212)889-6800, ext. 210. FAX: (212)532-7518. Diane H. Merlin. Quarterly. The Workmen's Circle/Arbeter Ring.
- CATSKILL/HUDSON JEWISH STAR** (1991). PO Box 776 (2793 Route 209 South), Wurtsboro, 12790. (914)888-4680. FAX: (914)888-2209. Edith Schapiro. Monthly. Jewish Focus, Inc.
- CCAR JOURNAL: A REFORM JEWISH QUARTERLY** (formerly **JOURNAL OF REFORM JUDAISM**) (1953). 192 Lexington Ave., NYC, 10016. (212)684-4990. FAX: (212)689-1649. Ed. Henry Bamberger; Mng. Ed. Elliot Stevens. Quarterly. Central Conference of American Rabbis.
- CIRCLE** (1943). 15 E. 26 St., NYC, 10010-1579. (212)532-4949. FAX: (212)481-4174. Diane H. Zamansky. Quarterly. Jewish Community Centers Association of North America (formerly JWB).
- COMMENTARY** (1945). 165 E. 56 St., NYC, 10022. (212)751-4000. FAX: (212)751-1174. Ed. Neal Kozodoy; Ed.-at-Large Norman Podhoretz. Monthly. American Jewish Committee.
- CONGRESS MONTHLY** (1933). 15 E. 84 St., NYC, 10028. (212)879-4500. Maier Deshell. Six times a year. American Jewish Congress.
- CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM** (1945). 3080 Broadway, NYC, 10027. (212)678-8049.

- FAX: (212)749-9166. Rabbi Benjamin Edidin Scolnic. Quarterly. Rabbinical Assembly.
- FORVERTS (YIDDISH FORWARD)** (1897). 45 E. 33 St., NYC, 10016. (212)889-8200. FAX: (212)684-3949. Mordechai Strigler. Weekly. Yiddish. Forward Association, Inc.
- FORWARD** (1897). 45 E. 33 St., NYC, 10016. (212)889-8200. FAX: (212)447-6406. Seth Lipsky. Weekly. Forward Newspaper, L.L.C.
- HADAROM** (1957). 305 Seventh Ave., NYC, 10001. (212)807-7888. Rabbi Gedalia Dov Schwartz. Annually. Hebrew. Rabbinical Council of America.
- HADASSAH MAGAZINE** (1914). 50 W. 58 St., NYC, 10019. (212)688-0227. FAX: (212)-446-9521. Alan M. Tigay. Monthly (except for combined issues of June-July and Aug.-Sept.). Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America.
- HADOAR** (1921). 47 W. 34 St., Rm. 609, NYC, 10001. (212)629-9443. FAX: (212)-629-9472. Ed. Shlomo Shamir; Lit. Ed. Dr. Yael Feldman. Biweekly. Hebrew. Hadoar Association, Inc., Organ of the Histruth of America.
- HAMACHNE HACHAREIDI** (1980). PO Box 216, Brooklyn, 11218. (718)438-1263. FAX: (718)438-1263. Rabbi Yisroel Eichler. Weekly. Khal Machzikai Hadas.
- ISRAEL HORIZONS** (1952). 224 W. 35 St., Rm. 403, NYC, 10001. (212)868-0386. Donald Goldstein. Quarterly. Americans for Progressive Israel.
- JB I VOICE** (1978). 110 E. 30 St., NYC, 10016. (212)889-2525. Dr. Jacob Freid. Ten times a year in U.S. (audiocassettes). English. Jewish Braille Institute of America.
- JEWISH ACTION MAGAZINE** (1950). 333 Seventh Ave., 18th fl., NYC, 10008. (212)-563-4000, ext. 147. Charlotte Friedland. Quarterly. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.
- JEWISH BOOK ANNUAL** (1942). 15 E. 26 St., NYC, 10010. (212)532-4949. English-Hebrew-Yiddish. Jewish Book Council.
- JEWISH BOOK WORLD** (1945). 15 E. 26 St., NYC, 10010. (212)532-4949, ext. 297. FAX: (212)481-4174. Esther Nussbaum.
- Three times annually. Jewish Book Council.
- JEWISH BRAILLE REVIEW** (1931). 110 E. 30 St., NYC, 10016. (212)889-2525. Dr. Jacob Freid. 10 times a year in U.S. (braille). English. Jewish Braille Institute of America.
- JEWISH CURRENTS** (1946). 22 E. 17 St., Suite 601, NYC, 10003-1919. (212)924-5740. Morris U. Schappes. Monthly (July/Aug. combined). Association for Promotion of Jewish Secularism, Inc.
- JEWISH EDUCATION NEWS** (1980). 261 W. 35 St., Fl. 12A, NYC 10001. (212) 268-4210. FAX: (212)268-4214. Mng. Ed. Roselyn Bell. Tri-annually. Coalition for the Advancement of Jewish Education.
- JEWISH FRONTIER** (1934). 275 Seventh Ave., 17th fl., NYC, 10001. (212)229-2280. FAX: (212)675-7685. Nahum Guttman. Bi-monthly. Labor Zionist Letters, Inc.
- JEWISH JOURNAL** (1969). 11 Sunrise Plaza, Valley Stream, 11580. (516)561-6900. FAX: (516)561-6971. Harold Singer. Weekly.
- JEWISH LEDGER** (1924). 2535 Brighton-Henrietta Town Line Rd., Rochester, 14623. (716)427-2434. FAX: (716)427-8521. Barbara Morgenstern. Weekly.
- JEWISH OBSERVER** (1963). 84 William St., NYC, 10038. (212)797-9000. FAX: (212)-269-2843. Rabbi Nisson Wolpin. Monthly (except July and Aug.). Agudath Israel of America.
- JEWISH OBSERVER OF CENTRAL NEW YORK** (1978). PO Box 510, DeWitt, 13214. (315)445-0161. FAX: (315)445-1559. Mollie Leitzes. Biweekly. Syracuse Jewish Federation, Inc.
- JEWISH PARENT CONNECTION** (1992). 160 Broadway, 4th fl., NYC, 10038. (212)227-1000. FAX: (212)406-6934. Mng. Ed. Rabbi Eli Gewirtz; Ed. Joyce Lempel. Monthly except for June, July, August and October. Torah Umesorah-National Society for Hebrew Day Schools.
- JEWISH POST OF NY** (1993). 130 W. 29 St., 10th fl., NYC, 10001-5312. (212)967-7313. FAX: (212)967-8321. Ed. Sir Moshe Barr-Nea; Pub. & Ed.-in-Chief Henry J. Levy. Monthly. Link Marketing & Promotion, Inc.
- JEWISH PRESS** (1950). 338 Third Ave., Brooklyn, 11215. (718)330-1100. FAX:

- (718)935-1215. Rabbi Sholom Klass. Weekly.
- JEWISH SPORTS & FITNESS** (1992). PO Box 4549, Old Village Station, Great Neck, 11023. (516)482-5550. FAX: (516)482-5583. Mike Cohen. Quarterly. The Jewish Sports Congress.
- JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY COMMUNITY NEWS REPORTER** (1962). 330 Seventh Ave., 11th fl., NYC, 10001-5010. (212)643-1890. FAX: (212)643-8498. Ed. Lisa Hostein; Mng. Ed. Ken Bandler. Weekly.
- JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY DAILY NEWS BULLETIN** (1917). 330 Seventh Ave., 11th fl., NYC, 10001-5010. (212)643-1890. FAX: (212)643-8498. Exec. Ed. Mark Joffe; Ed. Lisa Hostein. Daily.
- JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST** (1933). 330 Seventh Ave., 11th fl., NYC, 10001-5010. (212)643-1890. FAX: (212)643-8498. Exec. Ed. Mark Joffe; Ed. Lisa Hostein; Mng. Ed. Ken Bandler. Weekly.
- JEWISH TRIBUNE OF ROCKLAND COUNTY**. 119 S. Main St., Spring Valley, 10977. (914)578-5811. FAX: (914)354-7441. Jerome W. Lippman.
- JEWISH WEEK** (1876; reorg. 1970). 1501 Broadway, NYC, 10036-5503. (212)921-7822. FAX: (212)921-8420. Gary Rosenblatt. Weekly.
- JEWISH WORLD** (1965). 1104 Central Ave., Albany, 12205. (518)459-8455. FAX: (518)459-5289. Laurie J. Clevenson. Weekly.
- JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION** (formerly JEWISH EDUCATION) (1929). 730 Broadway, NYC, 10003. (212)529-2000. FAX: (212)529-2009. Dr. Alvin I. Schiff. Three times a year. Council for Jewish Education.
- JOURNAL OF REFORM JUDAISM**. See CCAR JOURNAL
- JUDAISM** (1952). 15 E. 84 St., NYC, 10028. (212)879-4500. FAX: (212)249-3672. Prof. Murray Baumgarten. Quarterly. American Jewish Congress.
- KASHRUS FAXLETTER** (1980). PO Box 204, Brooklyn, 11204. (718)336-8544. FAX: (718)336-8550. Rabbi Yosef Wikler. Monthly. Yeshiva Birkas Reuven.
- KASHRUS MAGAZINE-THE PERIODICAL FOR THE KOSHER CONSUMER** (1980). PO Box 204, Brooklyn, 11204. (718)336-8544. FAX: (718)336-8550. Rabbi Yosef Wikler. Five times a year. Yeshiva Birkas Reuven.
- KOL HAT'NUA (VOICE OF THE MOVEMENT)** (1975). c/o Young Judea, 50 W. 58 St., NYC, 10019. (212)303-4576. FAX: (212)303-4572. Zach Pousman. Quarterly. Haddassah Zionist Youth Commission-Young Judea.
- KULTUR UN LEBN-CULTURE AND LIFE** (1960). 45 E. 33 St., NYC, 10016. (212)889-6800. Joseph Mlotek. Quarterly. Yiddish. The Workmen's Circle.
- LAMISHPAHA** (1963). 47 W. 34 St., Rm. 609, NYC, 10001-3012. (212)629-9443. FAX: (212)629-9472. Dr. Vered Cohen-Raphaeli. Illustrated. Monthly (except July and Aug.). Hebrew. Histadruth Ivrit of America.
- LIKUTIM** (1981). 110 E. 30 St., NYC, 10016. (212)889-2525. Joanne Jahr. Two times a year in Israel (print and audiocassettes). Hebrew. Jewish Braille Institute of America.
- LILITH-THE INDEPENDENT JEWISH WOMEN'S MAGAZINE** (1976). 250 W. 57 St., #2432, NYC, 10107. (212)757-0818. FAX: (212)757-0818. E-mail: lilithmag@aol.com. Susan Weidman Schneider. Quarterly.
- LONG ISLAND JEWISH WORLD** (1971). 115 Middle Neck Rd., Great Neck, 11021. (516)829-4000. FAX: (516)829-4776. Jerome W. Lippman. Weekly.
- MANHATTAN JEWISH SENTINEL** (1993). 307 W. 37 St., NYC, 10018. (212)244-4949. FAX: (212)244-2257. Jerome W. Lippman. Weekly.
- MARTYRDOM AND RESISTANCE** (1974). 48 W. 37 St., 9th fl., NYC, 10018-7408. (212)564-9606. FAX: (212)564-6395. Eli Zborowski. Bimonthly. International Society for Yad Vashem.
- MIDSTREAM** (1954). 110 E. 59 St., NYC, 10022. (212)339-6040. FAX: (212)318-6176. Joel Carmichael. Nine times a year. Theodor Herzl Foundation, Inc.
- NA'AMAT WOMAN** (1926). 200 Madison Ave., Suite 2120, NYC, 10016. (212)725-8010. Judith A. Sokoloff. Five times a year. English-Yiddish-Hebrew. NA'AMAT USA,

- the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America.
- OLAM HADASH (1960). 110 E. 59 St., #4100, NYC, 10022. (212)339-6020. FAX: (212)318-6176. Bina Ofek-Israel; Irene S. Wolk-U.S. Monthly. Hebrew. Hebrew Publications for Children, Inc.
- OLOMEINU-OUR WORLD (1945). 5723 18th Ave., Brooklyn, 11204. (718)259-1223. FAX: (718)259-1795. Rabbi Yaakov Fruchter, Rabbi Nosson Scherman. Monthly. English-Hebrew. Torah Umesorah-National Society for Hebrew Day Schools.
- PASSOVER DIRECTORY (1923). 333 Seventh Ave., NYC, 10001. (212)613-8116. FAX: (212)564-9058. Shelley Scharf. Annually. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.
- PEDAGOGIC REPORTER. *See* AGENDA: JEWISH EDUCATION
- PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH (1920). 3080 Broadway, NYC, 10027. (212)678-8864. FAX: (212)678-8947. Dr. Nahum Sarna. Annually. English-Hebrew-French-Arabic-Persian-Greek. American Academy for Jewish Research.
- PS: THE INTELLIGENT GUIDE TO JEWISH AFFAIRS. PO Box 48, Mineola, 11501-0048. (516)248-1389. FAX: (516)248-5264. Murray Polner, Adam Simms. Fortnightly.
- RCA RECORD (1953). 305 Seventh Ave. NYC, 10001. (212)807-7888. FAX: (212)727-8452. Rabbi Mark Dratch. Quarterly. Rabbinical Council of America.
- REFORM JUDAISM (1972; formerly DIMENSIONS IN AMERICAN JUDAISM). 838 Fifth Ave., NYC, 10021. (212)650-4240. Aron Hirt-Manheimer. Quarterly. Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
- THE REPORTER (1972). 500 Clubhouse Rd., Vestal, 13850. (607)724-2360. FAX: (607)724-2311. Marc S. Goldberg. Weekly. Jewish Federation of Broome County, Inc.
- THE REPORTER (1966; formerly WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT REPORTER). 315 Park Ave. S., NYC, 10010. (212)505-7700. FAX: (212)674-3057. Dana B. Asher. Quarterly. Women's American ORT, Inc.
- RESPONSE: A CONTEMPORARY JEWISH REVIEW (1967). 27 W. 20 St., Suite 901, NYC, 10011-3707. (212)620-0350. FAX: (212)929-3459. Yigal Schleifer, David R. Adler, Michael R. Steinberg. Quarterly. Response Magazine, Inc.
- SH'MA (1970). c/o CLAL, 99 Park Ave., Suite S-300, NYC, 10016. (212)867-8888. FAX: (212)867-8853. Sr. Eds. Eugene B. Borowitz, Irving Greenberg, Harold M. Schulweis; Ed. Nina Beth Cardin. Bi-weekly (except June, July, Aug.). CLAL-The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership.
- SYNAGOGUE LIGHT AND KOSHER LIFE (1933). 47 Beekman St., NYC, 10038. (212)227-7800. Rabbi Meyer Hager. Quarterly. The Kosher Food Institute.
- TIKKUN: A BIMONTHLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE & SOCIETY (1986). 251 W. 100 St., NYC, 10025. (212)864-4110. FAX: (212)864-4137. Michael Lerner. Bimonthly. Institute for Labor & Mental Health.
- TRADITION (1958). 305 Seventh Ave., NYC, 10001. (212)807-7888. FAX: (212)727-8452. Rabbi Emanuel Feldman. Quarterly. Rabbinical Council of America.
- TRENDS (1982). 730 Broadway, NYC, 10003. (212)529-2000. FAX: (212)529-2009. Leora W. Isaacs. Irregularly. Jewish Education Service of North America, Inc.
- UNITED SYNAGOGUE REVIEW (1943). 155 Fifth Ave., NYC, 10010. (212)533-7800. FAX: (212)353-9439. Lois Goldrich. Semiannually. United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism.
- UNSER TSAIT (1941). 25 E. 21 St., 3rd fl., NYC, 10010. (212)475-0055. Mitchell Lokiec. Monthly. Yiddish. Jewish Labor Bund.
- VOICE OF THE DUTCHESS JEWISH COMMUNITY (1989). 110 Grand Ave., Poughkeepsie, 12603. (914)471-9811. Business off.: 500 Clubhouse Rd., Vestal, 13850. (607)724-2360. FAX: (607)724-2311. Marc S. Goldberg, Barbara E. Goodman. Monthly. Jewish Federation of Dutchess County, Inc.
- WOMEN'S LEAGUE OUTLOOK (1930). 48 E. 74 St., NYC, 10021. (212)628-1600. FAX: (212)772-3507. Jessica Gribetz. Quarterly. Women's League for Conservative Judaism.
- WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CALL. *See* THE CALL

THE WYOMING VALLEY JEWISH REPORTER (formerly **WE ARE ONE**) (1995). 500 Clubhouse Rd., Vestal, 13850. (607)724-2360. FAX: (607)724-2311. Marc S. Goldberg. Every other week. Wilkes-Barre Jewish Community Board.

YEARBOOK OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS (1890). 192 Lexington Ave., NYC, 10016. (212)684-4990. FAX: (212)689-1649. Rabbi Elliot L. Stevens. Annually. Central Conference of American Rabbis.

YIDDISH (1973). Queens College, NSF 350, 65-30 Kissena Blvd., Flushing, 11367. (718)997-3622. Joseph C. Landis. Quarterly. Queens College Press.

DI YIDDISHE HEIM (1958). 770 Eastern Pkwy., Brooklyn, 11213. (718)774-5433. Rachel Altein, Tema Gurary. Quarterly. English-Yiddish. Neshei Ub'nos Chabad-Lubavitch Women's Organization.

YIDDISHE KULTUR (1938). 1133 Broadway, Rm. 1019, NYC, 10010. (212)243-1304. FAX: (212)243-1305. Itche Goldberg. Bimonthly. Yiddish. Yiddisher Kultur Farband, Inc.—YKUF.

DOS YIDDISHE VORT (1953). 84 William St., NYC, 10038. (212)797-9000. Joseph Friedenson. Monthly. Yiddish. Agudath Israel of America.

YIDDISHER KEMFER (1900). 275 Seventh Ave., NYC, 10001. (212)675-7808. FAX: (212) 675-7685. Mordechai Strigler. Monthly. Yiddish. Labor Zionist Letters.

DER YIDDISHER VEG (1981). 1274 49th St., Suite 1974, Brooklyn, 11219. (718)435-9474. FAX: (718)438-1263. Meir Dov Grosz. Weekly. Yiddish. Archives of Chasidai Belz.

YIDISHE SHPRAKH (1941). 555 W. 57 St., Suite 1100, NYC, 10019. (212)246-6080. FAX: (212) 292-1892. Dr. Mordkhe Schachter. Irregularly. Yiddish. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Inc.

YIVO ANNUAL (1946). 555 W. 57 St., Suite 1100, NYC, 10019. (212)246-6080. FAX: (212)292-1892. Deborah Dash Moore. Annually. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Inc.

YIVO BLETER (1931). 555 W. 57 St., Suite 1100, NYC, 10019. (212)246-6080. FAX: (212)292-1892. David E. Fishman. Bimonthly. Yiddish. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Inc.

YOUNG ISRAEL VIEWPOINT (1952). 3 W. 16 St., NYC, 10011. (212)929-1525. FAX: (212)727-9526. Chana Chechik. Quarterly. National Council of Young Israel.

YOUNG JUDAEAN (1910). 50 W. 58 St., NYC, 10019. (212)303-4577. FAX: (212)-303-4572. Sharon Schoenfeld. Four times a year. Hadassah Zionist Youth Commission.

YUGNTRUF: YIDDISH YOUTH MAGAZINE (1964). 200 W. 72 St., Suite 40, NYC, 10023. (212)787-6675. FAX: (212)799-1517. Elinor Robinson. Two to four times a year. Yiddish. Yugntruf Youth for Yiddish.

ZUKUNFT (THE FUTURE) (1892). 25 E. 21 St., NYC, 10010. (212)505-8040. Yonia Fain. Quarterly. Yiddish. Congress for Jewish Culture.

NORTH CAROLINA

AMERICAN JEWISH TIMES OUTLOOK (1934; reorg. 1950). PO Box 33218, Charlotte, 28233-3218. (704)372-3296. FAX: (704)-377-9237. Geri Zhiss. Monthly. The Blumenthal Foundation.

CHARLOTTE JEWISH NEWS (1978). 5007 Providence Rd., Charlotte, 28226. (704) 366-5007. FAX: (704) 365-4507. Harvey Cohen. Monthly (except July). Jewish Federation of Greater Charlotte.

OHIO

AKRON JEWISH NEWS (1929). 750 White Pond Drive, Akron, 44320. (216)869-2424. FAX: (216)867-8498. Toby Liberman. Fortnightly. Akron Jewish Community Federation.

AMERICAN ISRAELITE (1854). 906 Main St., Rm. 508, Cincinnati, 45202. (513)621-3145. FAX: (513)621-3744. Phyllis R. Singer. Weekly.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES (1948). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 45220. (513)221-1875. FAX: (513)221-7812. Abraham J. Peck, Mng. Ed. Semiannually. American Jewish Archives of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

CLEVELAND JEWISH NEWS (1964). 3645 Warrensville Center Rd., Suite 230, Cleveland, 44122. (216)991-8300. FAX: (216)-991-2088. Cynthia Dettelbach. Weekly. Cleveland Jewish News Publication Co.

DAYTON JEWISH CHRONICLE (1961). 6929 N. Main St., Dayton, 45415. (513)278-0783. Leslie Cohen Zukowsky. Weekly.

INDEX TO JEWISH PERIODICALS (1963). PO Box 18570, Cleveland Hts., 44118. (216)-381-4846. FAX: (216)381-4321. Lenore Pfeffer Koppel. Annually. Available in book and CD-ROM form.

JEWISH JOURNAL (1987). PO Box 449, Youngstown, 44501. (216)744-7902. FAX: (216)746-7926. Sherry Weinblatt. Bi-weekly (except July/Aug.). Youngstown Area Jewish Federation.

OHIO JEWISH CHRONICLE (1922). 2862 Johnstown Rd., Columbus, 43219. (614)-337-2055. FAX: (614)337-2059. Judith Franklin. Weekly.

STARK JEWISH NEWS (1920). 2631 Harvard Ave. NW, Canton, 44709. (216)452-6444. FAX: (216)452-4487. Adele Gelb. Monthly. Canton Jewish Community Federation.

STUDIES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BOOKLORE (1953). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 45220. (513)221-1875. FAX: (513)221-0519. Herbert C. Zafren. Irregularly. English-Hebrew-etc. Library of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

TOLEDO JEWISH NEWS (1951). 6505 Sylvania Ave., Sylvania, 43560. (419)885-4461. FAX: (419)885-8627. Laurie Cohen. Monthly. Jewish Federation of Greater Toledo.

OKLAHOMA

TULSA JEWISH REVIEW (1930). 2021 E. 71 St., Tulsa, 74136. (918)495-1100. FAX: (918)495-1220. Ed Ulrich. Monthly. Jewish Federation of Tulsa.

OREGON

BRIDGES: A JOURNAL FOR JEWISH FEMINISTS AND OUR FRIENDS (1990). PO Box 24839, Eugene, 97402. (503)935-5720. FAX: (503)935-5720. Mng. Ed. Clare Kinberg. Semiannually.

JEWISH REVIEW (1959). 506 SW Sixth Ave., Suite 606, Portland, 97204. (503) 227-7464 (edit.), (503) 684-2677 (advert.). FAX: (503) 227-7438, (503) 620-3433. Paul Haist. Regular column in Russian. Fortnightly. Jewish Federation of Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA

COMMUNITY REVIEW (1925). 100 Vaughn St., Harrisburg, 17110. (717)236-9555. FAX: (717)236-8104. Carol L. Cohen. Fortnightly. United Jewish Community of Greater Harrisburg.

JEWISH CHRONICLE OF PITTSBURGH (1962). 5600 Baum Blvd., Pittsburgh, 15206. (412)687-1000. FAX: (412)687-5119. Joel Roteman. Weekly. Pittsburgh Jewish Publication and Education Foundation.

JEWISH EXPONENT (1887). 226 S. 16 St., Philadelphia, 19102. (215)893-5700. FAX: (215)546-3957. Bertram Korn, Jr. Weekly. Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia.

JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (1910). 420 Walnut St., Philadelphia, 19106. (215)-238-1290. FAX: (215)238-1540. David M. Goldenberg. Quarterly. Center for Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania.

NEW MENORAH (1978). 7318 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, 19119-1793. (215)-247-9700. FAX: (215)247-9703. Dr. Arthur Waskow. Quarterly. ALEPH: Alliance for Jewish Renewal.

RECONSTRUCTIONISM TODAY (1993). Church Rd. and Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, 19095. (215)887-1988. FAX: (215)-877-5348. Lawrence Bush. Quarterly. Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot.

THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST (1934). Church Rd. and Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, 19095. (215)576-0800. FAX: (215)576-6143. Dr. Herbert Levine. Semiannually. Reconstructionist Rabbinical College.

SCRANTON FEDERATION REPORTER (1994). 500 Clubhouse Rd., Vestal, NY, 13850. (607)724-2360. FAX: (607)724-2311. Marc S. Goldberg. Biweekly. Scranton-Lackawanna Jewish Federation.

RHODE ISLAND

JEWISH HERALD (1930). 99 Webster St., Pawtucket, 02861. (401)724-0200. FAX: (401)726-5820. Alison P. Smith. Weekly. Herald Press Publishing Company.

JEWISH VOICE OF RHODE ISLAND (1973). 130 Sessions St., Providence, 02906. (401)-421-4111. FAX: (401)331-7961. Jane S. Sprague. Monthly. Jewish Federation of Rhode Island.

RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL NOTES (1954). 130 Sessions St., Providence, 02906. (401)331-1360. Judith Weiss Cohen. Annually. Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association.

SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON JEWISH JOURNAL. 1645 Wallenberg Blvd., Charleston, 29407. (803)-571-6565. FAX: (803)556-6206. Eileen Chepenik. Monthly. Charleston Jewish Federation.

TENNESSEE

HEBREW WATCHMAN (1925). 4646 Poplar Ave., Suite 232, Memphis, 38117. (901)-763-2215. Herman I. Goldberger. Weekly.

OBSERVER (1934). 801 Percy Warner Blvd., Nashville, 37205. (615)356-3242, ext. 237. FAX: (615)352-0056. E-mail: nashobserv@aol.com. Judith A. Saks. Biweekly (except July). Jewish Federation of Nashville.

SHOFAR. PO Box 8947, Chattanooga, 37414. (423)894-1317. FAX: (423)894-1319. Marlene Solomon. Monthly. Jewish Community Federation of Greater Chattanooga.

TEXAS

JEWISH HERALD-VOICE (1908). PO Box 153, Houston, 77001-0153. (713)630-0391. FAX: (713)630-0404. Jeanne Samuels. Weekly.

JEWISH JOURNAL OF SAN ANTONIO (1973). 8434 Ahern, San Antonio, 78213. (210)-341-6963. FAX: (210)342-8098. Barbara Richmond. Monthly (11 issues). Jewish Federation of San Antonio.

TEXAS JEWISH POST (1947). 3120 S. Expressway, Suite 213, Fort Worth, 76110. (817)-927-2831. FAX: (817)429-0840. 11333 N.

Central Expressway, Suite 213, Dallas, 75243. (214)692-7283. FAX: (214)692-7285. Jimmy Wisch. Weekly.

VIRGINIA

RENEWAL MAGAZINE (1984). 7300 Newport Ave., Norfolk, 23505. (804)489-8040. FAX: (804)489-8230. Reba Karp. Three times a year. United Jewish Federation of Tidewater.

UJF VIRGINIA NEWS (1959). 7300 Newport Ave., Norfolk, 23505. (804)489-8040. FAX: (804)489-8230. Reba Karp. 22 issues yearly. United Jewish Federation of Tidewater.

WASHINGTON

JEWISH TRANSCRIPT (1924). 2031 Third Ave., Suite 200, Seattle, 98121. (206)441-4553. FAX: (206)441-2736. Craig Degginger. Fortnightly. Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle.

WISCONSIN

WISCONSIN JEWISH CHRONICLE (1921). 1360 N. Prospect Ave., Milwaukee, 53202. (414)390-5888. FAX: (414)271-0487. Andrew Muchin. Weekly. Milwaukee Jewish Federation.

INDEXES

INDEX TO JEWISH PERIODICALS (1963). PO Box 18570, Cleveland Hts., OH 44118. (216)381-4846. FAX: (216)381-4321. Lenore Pfeffer Koppel. Annually.

NEWS SYNDICATES

JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, INC. (1917). 330 Seventh Ave., 11th fl., NYC., 10001-5010. (212)643-1890. FAX: (212)-643-8498. Mark J. Joffe, Lisa Hostein. Daily.

C A N A D A

CANADIAN JEWISH HERALD (1977). 17 Anselme Lavigne, Dollard des Ormeaux, PQ H9A 1N3. (514)684-7667. FAX: (514)684-7667. Dan Nimrod. Irregularly. Dawn Publishing Co., Ltd.

CANADIAN JEWISH NEWS (1971). 10 Gateway Blvd., Don Mills, ONT M3C 3A1. (416)422-2331. FAX: (416)422-3790

(Adv.); (416)424-1886. Weekly. English and French.

CANADIAN JEWISH OUTLOOK (1963). 6184 Ash St., #3, Vancouver, BC V5Z 3G9. (604)324-5101. FAX: (604)325-2470. Henry M. Rosenthal. Eight times per year. Canadian Jewish Outlook Society.

DAIS (formerly INTERCOM) (1985). 1590 Ave. Dr. Penfield, Montreal, PQ H3G 1C5.

- (514)931-7531. FAX: (514)931-0548. Mike Cohen. Three times annually. Canadian Jewish Congress.
- DIALOGUE** (1988). 1590 Ave. Dr. Penfield, Montreal, PQ H3G 1C5. (514)931-7531. FAX: (514)931-3281. Rebecca Rosenberg. Annually. French-English. Canadian Jewish Congress, Quebec Region.
- JEWISH POST & NEWS** (1987). 117 Hutchings St., Winnipeg, MAN R2X 2V4. (204)694-3332. FAX: (204)694-3916. Matt Bellan. Weekly.
- JEWISH STANDARD** (1930). 77 Mowat Ave., Suite 016, Toronto, ONT M6K 3E3. (416)-537-2696. FAX: (416)789-3872. Julius Hayman. Fortnightly.
- THE JEWISH TRIBUNE** (1950). 15 Hove St., North York, ONT M3H 4Y8. (416)633-6224. FAX: (416)630-2159. Len Butcher. Fortnightly.
- JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY AND JUDAISM** (1976). 1747 Featherston Dr., Ottawa, ONT K1H 6P4. (613)731-9119. Reuven P. Bulka. Quarterly. Center for the Study of Psychology and Judaism.
- OTTAWA JEWISH BULLETIN** (1954). 151 Chapel St., Ottawa, ONT K1N 7Y2. (613)-789-7306. FAX: (613)789-4593. Myra Aronson. Biweekly. Jewish Community Council of Ottawa.
- LA VOIX SÉPHARADE** (1976). 4735 Cote St. Catherine Rd., Montreal, PQ H3W 1M1. (514)733-4998, (514)733-8696. FAX: (514)733-3158. Judah Castiel. Five times a year. French. Communauté Sépharade du Québec.
- WESTERN JEWISH BULLETIN** (1930). 873 Beatty St., Suite 203, Vancouver, BC V6B 2M6. (604)689-1520. FAX: (604)689-1525. Ariela Friedman. Weekly. Anglo-Jewish Publishers Ltd.
- WINDSOR JEWISH FEDERATION** (1942). 1641 Ouellette Ave., Windsor, ONT N8X 1K9. (519)973-1772. FAX: (519)973-1774. Exec. Dir. Steven Brownstein. Three times a year. Windsor Jewish Federation.
- THE WORLD OF LUBAVITCH** (1980). 770 Chabad Gate, Thornhill, ONT L4S 3V9. (905)731-7000. FAX: (905)731-7005. Rabbi Moshe Spalter. Bimonthly. English-Hebrew. Chabad Lubavitch of Southern Ont.

Obituaries: United States*

BAER, MAX F., communal professional; b. Frankfurt, Germany, Nov. 10, 1912; d. Washington, D.C., July 11, 1994; in U.S. since 1920s. Educ.: Creighton U. (LLB), Teachers Coll., Columbia U. (MA), George Washington U. (EdD). Long association with B'nai B'rith began 1929, in B'nai B'rith Youth Org. (BBYO). Asst. exec. sec., AZA (boys' division of BBYO), Omaha, Neb., 1934-37; natl. dir., Vocational Service Bureau, Washington, D.C., 1938-44; internatl. dir., BBYO, 1948-77; consult., 1977-94. Credited with building BBYO into largest U.S. Jewish youth group. Vis. lect.: George Washington U., Catholic U. of America, Bucknell U., Marquette U. Consult.: U.S. Dept. Labor, Social Security Admin. Pres., Natl. Vocational Guidance Assoc., 1951-52; mem.: Acad. of Certified Social Workers; APA; Natl. Conf. Jewish Communal Svc.; Council of Natl. Orgs. on Children and Youth (v-pres.); exec. com., World Consultative Comm. on Jewish Youth; Amer. Personnel and Guidance Assoc. Au.: *Dealing in Futures: The Story of a Jewish Youth Movement* (1983); a college textbook on vocational guidance, and other works; co-au.: *Occupation Information: The Dynamics of Its Nature and Use* (1964).

BAYER, ABRAHAM J., communal professional; b. NYC, Apr. 19, 1932; d. NYC, Nov. 9, 1994. Educ.: Brooklyn Coll. (BA), Yeshiva Torah Vodaath, Yeshiva Chaim Berlin, Yavneh Yeshiva (rabbinic ord.), Teachers Inst. of Yeshiva U. Prior to 1966, held various adult educ. and youth activities positions with United Synagogue; dir., New Jersey region, United Synagogue, 1966-68; dir., internatl. concerns, Natl. Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, 1968-94, in which position he was a catalyst for activism on behalf of Jews of former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, Syria, and Yemen, and residents of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Natl. coord., Amer. Jewish Conf. on Soviet Jewry, 1968-71; U.S. organizer, World Conf. on Soviet Jewry, 1971, 1976, 1983; special adv., President's Comm. on the Holocaust under Pres. Jimmy Carter; adv., U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1978-94; mem.: exec. com., World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, 1980-82; exec. com., Amer. Gathering of Holocaust Survivors, 1981-94. Recipient: honored by NJCRAC for efforts on behalf of Ethiopian Jews and by Amer. Jewish Conf. on Soviet Jewry.

*Including American Jews who died between January 1, 1994 and June 30, 1995.

BERNSTEIN, LOUIS J., rabbi, communal worker; b. NYC, Apr. 2, 1927; d. Bayside, N.Y., Mar. 12, 1995. Educ.: Yeshiva U. (BA, rabbinic ord., PhD). Chaplain, U.S. Army, 1952-54. Instr., Yeshiva U. High School, 1954-68; instr., asst. prof., assoc. prof., Jewish studies, Yeshiva U., 1954-95. Rabbi: Glenwood Jewish Ctr., Bklyn., 1950-52; Young Israel of Windsor Park, Queens, N.Y., 1956-95. Pres., Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox), 1972-74, 1984-86, 1994-95; pres., Religious Zionists of Amer., 1975-80 and chmn. bd. 1980-84; mem.: exec. com., World Zionist Org.; bd. govts., Jewish Agency. Active in many orgs., incl. Yeshiva Coll. Alumni Assoc. (pres. 1960-62); Yeshivath Hada-rom; Rabbinical Alumni Yeshiva U. (chaplaincy comm. 1961-62); Hapoel Mizרחי Amer.; Jewish Chaplains Assoc.; World Jewish Congress; Vaad Harabbonim, Queens, N.Y.; chmn. bd. educ., Yeshiva of Central Queens. Writer and columnist in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish press in U.S. and Israel, incl. the *Jewish Press* and *Jerusalem Post*. Ed.: RCA's *Rabbinical Council Record*, RZA's *Jewish Horizon*. Recipient: Jerusalem Prize, World Zionist Org.; Natl. Rabbinic Leadership Award, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congs. of Amer.; Bernard Revel Meml. Award, Yeshiva Coll. Alumni Assoc.; hon. degree, Yeshiva U.

BIENSTOCK, HERBERT, economist, government statistician; b. NYC, Dec. 25, 1922; d. Bayside, N.Y., May 30, 1994. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. (BBA, 1945), NYU (grad. studies, 1945-47). Joined Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1945; regional commissioner for Middle Atlantic region, 1962-79. An authority on human resources and employment, lauded for his ability to make economic figures meaningful for consumers. Prof., urban studies, Queens Coll., City U. of N.Y., 1980-94 and dir. its Center for Labor and Urban Programs, Research and Analysis. Visiting lect. or adj. prof.: Hunter Coll., Yeshiva U., Baruch Coll. of CUNY, New School for Social Research, Pace U., Cornell U. School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Fellow, Amer. Statistical Assoc.; active in N.Y. chap., Amer. Statistical Assoc.; N.Y. Statistical Assoc.; pres. Hebrew Acad. N. Queens; bd. mem., Bayside Hills Jewish Cntr., 1956-59. Mem. bd. dirs.: Natl. Conf. Christians and Jews; Mobilization for Youth. Au.: *Job World of*

1960s (1960); *American Working Woman* (1961); *Career Opportunities in Social Sciences* (1962); study on Jewish jobless in N.Y. (1987). Recipient: Outstanding Performance Award, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Townsend Harris Medal, City Coll. of N.Y.

CARLEBACH, SHLOMO, rabbi, songwriter, singer; b. Berlin, Germany, (?), 1925; d. NYC, Oct. 20, 1994; in U.S. since 1939. Educ.: Yeshiva Torah Vodaath, Bais Medrash Gavohah (Lakewood, N.J.). Rabbi (with twin brother Eli Chaim), Cong. Kehilath Jacob, NYC, 1967-94. Began composing songs and performing in Greenwich Village coffeehouses during early 1950s, while working as a traveling emissary of Lubavitcher Rebbe Menachem Mendel Schneerson. After performing at Berkeley Folk Festival in 1966, remained in the San Francisco Bay Area and founded the House of Love and Prayer in an effort to reach out to Jewish runaways, drug addicts, and other "lost souls." In late 1970s, took the remaining members of the cong. to Israel, where he established Moshav Or Modiin, near Ben-Gurion Airport. A charismatic performer regarded as the foremost composer of contemporary Jewish songs, his lively, inspirational compositions drew on the music of Hassidic *niggunim*, cantorial recitative, klezmer, and other folk music, with texts taken from Bible and Jewish liturgy. One of his most famous songs, "Am Yisroel Chai" ("The People of Israel Live"), became an anthem for Jews in Soviet countries before the fall of Communism. He recorded more than 25 albums of songs in his 30-year career.

COHEN, MAURICE M., retailing executive, communal worker; b. Boston, Mass., Feb. 13, 1915; d. Newton, Mass., Apr. 13, 1995. Educ.: Boston U. Started Lechmere Sales, a discount store in Cambridge, Mass., with brothers, in 1945, which developed into a chain of stores and became a subsidiary of Dayton Hudson Corp. Benefactor, Brandeis U.'s Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies; trustee, Brandeis U.; mem. bd. dirs., Natl. Found. for Jewish Culture; founder, Jewish Hist. Museum, Amsterdam.

COHEN, RICHARD, public relations executive, communal worker; b. Brooklyn, N.Y., July 21, 1923; d. NYC, October 31, 1994. Educ.: City Coll. of New York. Served U.S. Air Force, 1943-45. Paris correspon-

- N.Y. Herald Tribune*, 1942; *N.Y. Times*, 1942-43. Public relations staff, Joint Distribution Com., NYC, 1945-49 and European p.r. dir., Paris, 1949-53; Paris corresp., Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 1951-53; ed., Research Inst. Amer., 1953-55. Joined staff of Amer. J. Cong. as regional dir., St. Louis, 1955-58, natl. p.r. dir. 1958-64, asst. exec. dir. 1964-70, and assoc. exec. dir. 1970-79. Pres., Richard Cohen Assocs., 1979-95, with clients incl. Conf. of Presidents of Major Amer. Jewish Orgs., Union of Amer. Hebrew Congs., Amer. Zionist Movement, Comm. for the Econ. Growth of Israel, and Memorial Found. for Jewish Culture; also Appeal of Conscience Found., medical insts., and commercial clients. Active in presidential campaigns of George McGovern (1972); Jimmy Carter (1976 and 1980); and Walter Mondale (1984), specializing in Jewish issues. Press officer, World Jewish Cong. (plenary assembly, 1975, 1981, 1986); chief press officer, World Conf. Jewish Communities, Brussels, 1971, 1976; Jerusalem, 1983. Mem. and dir.: Amer. Jewish Public Relations. Soc., Religious Public Relations Council, Comm. for Public Educ. and Religious Liberty. Au.: *Let My People Go* (1972) and numerous magazine and newspaper articles. Co-au.: *Ocean Hill-Brownsville: Schools in Crisis* (1969); ed., *Middle East Memo*.
- COSSELL (COHEN), HOWARD, sports broadcaster; b. Winston-Salem, N.C., Mar. 25, 1920; d. NYC, Apr. 23, 1995. Educ.: NYU (BA, LLB). Served U.S. Army Transportation Corps., WWII. Began professional life as lawyer in NYC after war; left law practice in 1956 to become full-time sports commentator for ABC, where he achieved greatest fame as the analyst for *Monday Night Football*, 1970-83; ended career with *SportsBeat*, his own program, which was canceled in 1985 after he harshly criticized ABC colleagues in his autobiography, *I Never Played the Game*. Famous for his staccato delivery, outspokenness ("the mouth that roared"), and contentious opinions. After covering the murder of Israeli athletes at 1972 Munich Olympics, became active on behalf of Hebrew U. and other Israel-related orgs. Mem. and hon. officer, Friars Club; mem. Amer. Friends of Hebrew U. Council of Trustees; mem. adv. council, Jewish Sports Congress. Recipient: hon. fellow, Hebrew U.
- DECTER, AARON, rabbi, communal worker; b. Bessarabia, Russia, July 26, 1912; d. Bound Brook, N. J., Oct. 14, 1994; in U.S. since 1920. Educ.: Yeshiva Coll. (BA), Jewish Theol. Sem. of America (MHL, rabbinic ord.), Dropsie Coll. Chaplain, U.S. Army, 1943-46. Journalist in Israel, 1948; ed. and editl. dir., *Israel Speaks*, 1950-56; natl. dir., community relations, Histadrut. Rabbi: congs. in Albany, N.Y.; Philadelphia; Oklahoma City; Malden, Mass.; Atlantic City; Chicago; the Garment Center Synagogue, NYC.; Sons of Israel, Nyack, N.Y.; Bound Brook, N.J. Jewish Center, 1975-93. Active in interfaith dialogue; adj. faculty: St. Thomas Aquinas Coll., Sparkill, N.Y.; Dominican Coll., Blauvelt, N.Y.; St. Sofia Ukrainian Orthodox Seminary, Bound Brook, N.J. Mem. natl. organizing com., Emergency Conf. to Save the Jewish People of Europe; sec., Amer. J. League for Israel. Recipient: Natl. Conf. Christians and Jews award.
- DUNNER, LASAR, film producer-director; b. Nuremberg, Germany, Feb. 10, 1912; d. (?), March 30, 1994; in U.S. since 1958. Independent producer-director of documentaries about Israel, incl. *Years of Destiny* and *Vision of Chaim Weitzman*. Recipient of various film awards.
- EDELSTEIN, SIDNEY M., chemist, industrialist, philanthropist; b. Chattanooga, Tenn., Jan. 22, 1912; d. Fort Lee, N. J., Sept. 18, 1994. Educ.: Mass. Inst. of Technology (BS). A pioneer in the chemistry of dyeing and textiles, worked for several textile companies, 1932-45; founded Dexter Chemical Co. 1945, which became a major supplier of chemicals for textile and allied industries; chmn., 1986-94. Developed shrink-resistant finish for mosquito netting used widely by Allied forces during World War II. A world authority on ancient dyes, was called on to identify dyes used in textiles unearthed during excavation of the Bar Kochba caves, Israel. Fellow: Soc. Dyers and Colourists; Textile Inst.; Amer. Inst. of Chemists; chmn., Archives Com., Amer. Assoc. of Textile Chemists and Colorists; chmn., history of chemistry div., Amer. Chemical Soc.; ed., *Chymia*, history of chemistry journal. Established Center for the History and Philosophy of Science, Technology and Medicine at Hebrew U., 1976, housing his coll. of rare books and mss. on chemistry and related subjects, and Center for the Analysis of Ancient Textiles

and Related Artifacts, Shenkar Coll. of Textile and Fashion Design, Ramat Gan, Israel, 1991. Mem.: bd. dirs., Amer. Com. Shenkar Coll.; bd. govs., Shenkar Coll.; bd. dirs., Amer. Friends of Hebrew U.; bd. govs., Hebrew U. Au.: more than 50 historical and scientific articles. Recipient: Leonardo DaVinci Medal, Society for History of Teaching; hon. fellowship, Shenkar Coll. of Textile Technology and Fashion, Israel; hon. degrees: Lowell Technological Inst., Hebrew U.

ELKIN, STANLEY, writer, professor; b. Brooklyn, N.Y., Mar. 11, 1930; d. St. Louis, Mo., May 31, 1995. Educ.: U. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (BA, MA, PhD). Served U.S. Army, 1955-57. Joined Washington U. (St. Louis) English dept. in 1960 as instr., rising to full prof. in 1969; named Merle Kling Prof. of Modern Letters, 1983. Known for fiction that combines black humor with farce, pathos, and an acute sense of moralism and suffering, his work often deals with the alienating effects of American mass culture. Au.: *Boswell: A Modern Comedy* (1964); *Criers and Kibitzers*, *Kibitzers and Criers* (1966); *A Bad Man* (1967); *The Dick Gibson Show* (1971); *Searches and Seizures* (1973, collection of three novellas, of which "The Bailbondsman" was made into the 1976 film *Alex and the Gypsy*); *The Franchiser* (1976); *The Living End* (1979); *George Mills* (1982, winner of National Book Critics Circle Award); *The Magic Kingdom* (1985); *The Rabbi of Lud* (1987); *Pieces of Soap* (essays, 1992); *Van Gogh's Room at Arles* (three novellas, 1992); *The MacGuffin* (1993); *Mrs. Ted Bliss* (1995).

ELLENOFF, THEODORE, lawyer, communal worker; b. Bronx, N. Y., Apr. 13, 1924; d. Valhalla, N. Y., Apr. 9, 1995. Educ.: New York U., Harvard U. (JD). Began career in late 1940s as assoc. of William A. Shea; subsequently started own practice with Irving Gartenberg; founded Squadron, Ellenoff, Plesent & Lehrer in 1972, which later became Squadron, Ellenoff, Plesent, Sheinfeld & Sorkin. In 1960s, as chmn. of civil rights com. of N.Y. chapter of Amer. Jewish Com., conducted survey of mutual savings banks in New York and charged that 50 systematically excluded Jews from top management positions. Became pres. of Amer. Jewish Com. in 1985, after serving as chmn. bd. govs.; chmn. natl. exec. council; chmn. bd. trustees; chmn. exec.

com. of bd. govs.; chmn. domestic affairs div.; chmn. community svcs. com.; pres. N.Y. chapter. Mem. bd. overseers, Hebrew Union Coll.; v.-pres., mem. bd. trustees, Central Synagogue, NYC.; sec.-treas., mem. bd. dirs., Metropolitan New York Project Equality; mem. Gov. Rockefeller's Com. on Employment of Minority Groups in the News Media; mem. Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

FELT, IRVING M., sports impresario, business executive; b. NYC, Jan. 25, 1910; d. Los Angeles, Calif., Sept. 22, 1994. Educ.: U. of Pa. (Wharton School). Began career with Wall St. firm of Hayden Stone, later moving to Graham Paige. In 1959, after the firm acquired a controlling interest in the old Madison Square Garden, Felt led the drive to build a new Garden on 33rd St. and oversaw its 9-year construction. As pres. of the Madison Square Garden Corp., bought N.Y. Rangers hockey club, N.Y. Knickerbockers basketball club, Roosevelt Raceway on Long Island, Holiday on Ice Productions, and considerable real estate. Chmn., Felt Foundation; dir., Triarc Companies and more than 15 other companies, incl. Hotel Corp. of Amer. Mem. bd. dirs., Metropolitan Opera Assoc.; founding patron, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts; founder, Los Angeles Music Center; natl. trustee, Joffrey Ballet. Natl. chmn., natl. hon. chmn., Natl. Conf. Christians and Jews; bd. mem.: Greater New York Fund, N.Y. Convention & Visitors Bureau, Navy League of the U.S. Pres. and chmn., Fed. Jewish Philanthropies of N.Y.; mem. bd. govs., Hebrew U. of Jerusalem; pres. and hon. chmn., Jewish Child Care Assoc.; hon. chmn., Associated YM-YWHAs. Recipient: numerous awards, incl. Bronze Medallion, City of N.Y.; Father John La Farge Memorial Award, Catholic Interracial Council; S.Y. Agnon Gold Medal, Hebrew U.; Herbert H. Lehman Human Relations Award, Amer. Jewish Committee.

FISHER, AVERY, entrepreneur, philanthropist; b. Brooklyn, N.Y., Mar. 4, 1906; d. New Milford, Conn., Feb. 26, 1994. Educ.: New York U. (BA). Began his career in advertising in 1929, moving to publishing and book design in 1932. An amateur violinist, during mid-1930s began building radios and designing improved sound equipment; established first company, Philharmonic Radio, 1937; started Fisher Radio, 1945, hiring the best audio techni-

cians from European companies. In 1956, Fisher produced the first transistorized amplifier and two years later began to sell the first stereo, radio, and phonograph combination. After selling his company in 1969 for \$31 million, devoted himself to philanthropy; his most public gift, \$10.5 million to New York City's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, after which Philharmonic Hall was renamed Avery Fisher Hall.

FISHER, GEOFFREY ABRAHAM, journalist; b. Newton, N.J., (?), 1916; d. Burlingame, Calif., May 6, 1994. Educ.: Ohio State U. (BA). Copy boy, reporter, sports columnist, *Cleveland News*, 1930s-1950s; p.r. dir., St. Louis Jewish Fed., late 1950s; ed., *St. Louis Jewish Light*, 1963-69; mng. ed. and exec. ed., *San Francisco Jewish Bulletin*, which became *Northern California Jewish Bulletin*, 1969-83.

FOX, LOUIS, business executive, communal worker; b. Baltimore, Md., June 8, 1911; d. Baltimore, Md., Feb. 24, 1995. Educ.: City Coll. Served U.S. Army, 1944-46. With brother, Robert, founded Fox Chevrolet in 1933; pres., 1933-66; chmn., 1966-95. Active in local community since the 1930s: first pres. Baltimore Jewish Community Center; regional chmn., Natl. Conf. Christians and Jews; fund-raiser for Israel; founder, Jewish Historical Soc. of Maryland; pres., Jewish Welfare Fund (1950s); pres., Associated Jewish Charities (1960s); dir., merged Associated Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore; pres., Baltimore Hebrew Cong. Natl. positions incl. pres., Council of Jewish Federations (1966-68); mem. exec. bd., Union of Amer. Hebrew Congs.; mem. exec. com., United Jewish Appeal Cabinet; mem. natl. exec. bd., Amer. Jewish Com.; treas., Amer. Conf. for Soviet Jewry. Recipient: named to City Coll. Hall of Fame; Brandeis Award, Baltimore Dist. of ZOA; Lester Levy Humanitarian Award, and other honors.

FOX, SAMUEL J., rabbi, educator; b. Cleveland, Ohio, Feb. 25, 1919; d. Boston, Mass., Dec. 26, 1994. Educ.: Yeshiva U. (BA, rabbinic ord.), Butler U. (MA), Harvard U. (PhD). Rabbi: United Hebrew Cong., Indianapolis, Ind.; Anshe Sfard, Lynn, Mass., 1960-64; Chevra Tehillim, Lynn, Mass., 1964-94. Assoc. prof. and head of religion dept., Merrimack Coll., N. Andover, Mass.; also taught philosophy

and humanities at U. of S.E. Mass., Quincy Coll., and Salem State Coll. Syndicated columnist, JTA ("Why? Because") for 40 years, and radio and TV commentator on religious and community concerns. Exec. v.-pres., New England Region Religious Zionists of Amer.; pres.: Mass. Council of Rabbis; Orthodox Rabbinical Council of Greater Boston; mem., Rabbinical Council of America's exec. and publications coms. and ed. its *Sermon Manual*; mem.: Mass. Task Force for Developmentally Disabled; Amer. Assoc. U. Profs.; Mass. Citizens for Life; Near Eastern Studies Council; Amer. Acad. of Religion; Coll. Theol. Soc.; Amer. Acad. Political and Social Science. In 1960s, played key role in successful campaign to overturn Mass. Sunday blue laws. Au.: *Mathematics in the Talmud*; *Hell in Jewish Literature*.

FURST, NORMA FIELDS, professor, college president; b. Brooklyn, N.Y., Feb. 24, 1931; d. Wynnewood, Pa., Mar. 7, 1995. Educ.: Brooklyn Coll. (BS), Temple U. (MED, EdD). Research librarian, N.Y. Public Library, 1951-52; registrar, Pakistan Mission to UN, 1952-54. Prof., Temple U., 1963-83; dean of student affairs, 1974-83; pres., Harcum Jr. Coll., Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1983-92; pres., Baltimore Hebrew U., 1992-95. Active and/or held offices in Internatl. B'nai B'rith/Hillel Comm., Jewish Publication Soc., Amer. Assoc. U. Women, Fed. of Jewish Agencies, United Way of S.E. Pa., Mayor's Comm. Transit Safety, Steering Comm. for Mayor's Cabinet and Comms., Soviet Jewry Council. Honors: Lindback Award for Distinguished College Teaching; Netzkky Award for Distinguished Service to Youth; B'nai B'rith Humanitarian of the Year Award.

GAON, SOLOMON, rabbi, professor ("the Haham"); b. Travnick, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dec. 15, 1912; d. NYC, Dec. 21, 1994; in U.S. since 1960s. Educ.: Yeshiva of Sarajevo; U. of London (BA, PhD); Jews' Coll. London (minister's diploma; rabbinic ord.). Minister, Spanish and Portuguese Syn., London, 1944-46; sr. min., 1946-49; founder and pres., Judith, Lady Montefiore Coll., London, a training coll. for Sephardic rabbis. Haham (chief rabbi): Sephardic Congs. of the British Commonwealth, 1949-82; cong. affiliated with World Sephardi Fed., 1978-94. Associated with Yeshiva U. since 1962: prof., Sephar-

dic studies, 1976-95; founder and dir., Jacob E. Safra Inst. of Sephardic Studies; U. prof. of Sephardic Studies, 1976-94; inaugural occupant of Maxwell R. Maybaum chair in Talmud and Sephardic Codes; Sephardic *rosh yeshiva*, Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Sem. Pres.: Union of Sephardic Congs. of the U.S. and Canada; Amer. Soc. of Sephardic Studies. Hon. gov. for life, Hebrew U.; mem. bd. dirs.: Bar-Ilan U., Ben Gurion U.; v.-pres., Memorial Found. for Jewish Culture; mem.: Conf. of European Rabbis, Rabbinical Council of Amer.; hon. mem., Abravanel Lodge; past master, Halcyon Lodge; past worshipful master, Ajax Lodge; mason, Gaster Lodge. During years in England, served as deputy pres., Jews' Coll.; v.-pres., Anglo-Jewish Assoc.; pres., Jewish-Israel Appeal. Au. or ed.: numerous scholarly articles, books, commentaries and translations, incl. *Minhat Shelomo*, a commentary on the prayerbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews (1994); *The Influence of the Catholic Theologian Alfonso Tostado on the Pentateuch Commentary of Isaac Abravanel* (1993); co-ed., *Sephardim and the Holocaust* (1987, 1995). Recipient: numerous awards incl. Decoration of Alfonso XI of Spain; Prince of Asturias Concord Prize (Spanish Royal Family); Mizug Galuyot (Ingathering of the Diaspora), Mercaz Harav Kook in Israel; hon. degree, Yeshiva U.

GININGER, CHAIM, Yiddish teacher, linguist; b. Zwineacze, E. Galicia, May 5, 1905; d. NYC, May 10, 1994; in U.S. since 1940s. A Yiddish teacher in Czernowicz, Romania (now Ukraine), Gininger became a lecturer in Yiddish studies at Columbia U. after World War II. Beginning in the 1930s, contributed scholarly papers to Yiddish publications; major studies concerned the works of Yiddish linguists Alfred Landau, Zalmen Reyzn, and Lazar Saineanu, as well as fabulist Elyezer Shteynberg.

GLASER, JOSEPH B., rabbi, communal professional; b. Boston, Mass., May 25, 1925; d. Scarsdale, N.Y., Sept. 21, 1994. Educ.: UCLA (BA), U. of San Francisco (JD), HUC-JIR (BHL, MHL, rabbinic ord.), additional studies at Johns Hopkins U. and Stanford U., postgrad. study at Hebrew U. Law Faculty and Oxford U. Served U.S. Army, 1943-46. Rabbi, Temple Beth Torah, Ventura, Calif., 1956-59, and registrar and instr., Calif. School of HUC-JIR; San Francisco regional dir., Union of

Amer. Hebrew Congs., 1959-71; exec. v.-pres., Central Conf. Amer. Rabbis, 1971-94. Mem., Conf. of Pres. Major Amer. Jewish Orgs. (chmn. scope com.); mem. exec. com. and trustee, UAHC; mem. exec. com., Synagogue Council of Amer.; mem., N. Amer. sec. Jewish Law Assoc.; v.-pres., Internatl. Assoc. Jewish Lawyers and Jurists; bd. chmn., Religion in Amer. Life (nonsectarian religious org.), 1978-82; treas., Rabbinical Pension Bd.; mem. bd., Amer. Jewish World Svc., Howard Thurman Educ. Trust, and other orgs. Honors: Purple Heart with oak leaf cluster; hon. degree, HUC-JIR.

GOLDBERG, JOSHUA, rabbi; b. Minsk, Russia, Jan. 6, 1896; d. West Palm Beach, Fla., Dec. 24, 1994; in U.S. since 1916. Educ.: Herzliah Coll., Palestine, Ottoman Empire; U. of Odessa (BS), Jewish Inst. of Religion (MHL, rabbinic ord., DD). Private, Czar's army, 1916 (deserted and escaped across Russia, Siberia, and Japan to U.S.); served U.S. Army, 1917-20. Rabbi, Astoria Center of Israel, Astoria, N.Y., 1926-42, rabbi emer., 1948; natl. sec., Amer. Jewish Cong., 1930s. Chaplain, U.S. Navy, 1942-60; became highest ranking Jewish chaplain in U.S. Navy in 1951, when he was promoted to captain and named district chaplain of the Third Naval District (N.Y., Conn., and part of N.J.). Pres., Jewish War Veterans Natl. Memorial. Feature writer, Newhouse Publications Sunday magazine ("Wisdom of the Heart") for 13 years. Recipient: Four Chaplains Award of B'nai B'rith; Freedom Found. Award; Gold Medal of Merit of Jewish War Veterans, USA; Legion of Merit; Letter of Commendation with Ribbon; Medal for International Cooperation of French Govt.; Medal of Valor, Jewish War Veterans; Frank L. Weill Award, Natl. Jewish Welfare Bd.

GREENBERG, CLEMENT, art critic; b. Bronx, N. Y., Jan. 16, 1909; d. NYC, May 7, 1994. Educ.: Syracuse U. (BA). Free-lance translator and writer, 1930s; clerk: U.S. Civil Svc. Comm., NYC, 1936-37; U.S. Customs Svc., 1937-42; ed., *Partisan Review*, 1940-53; mng. ed., *Contemporary Jewish Record*, 1944-45; art critic, *The Nation*, 1945-50; assoc. ed., *Commentary*, 1945-57. Helped to launch career of Jackson Pollock and to establish Abstract Expressionism as a major artistic movement. Known for brisk, lean writing style. Au.:

- Joan Miro (1948); Matisse (1953); *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (1961); *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism* (1986); *Il luogo dell'arte oggi* (1988); transl., *The Brown Network* (World Committee for the Victims of European Fascism, 1936).
- GUTTMAN, ALEXANDER, rabbi, professor; b. Budapest, Hungary, Nov. 16, 1902; d. Cincinnati, Ohio, Apr. 19, 1994; in U.S. since 1940. Educ.: U. of Budapest, Jewish Theol. Seminary of Budapest, U. of Breslau (PhD), Breslau Jewish Theol. Sem. (rabbinic ord.), U. of Berlin. Faculty, Jacob Freimann Yeshiva, Berlin, 1931-32, lect., hist. and archeol., Jüdisches Lehrhaus, 1931-36; faculty mem., Berlin Jewish Tchrs. Coll., 1932-36; prof., Talmud and rabbinics, Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin, 1935-40; prof., Talmud and rabbinics, Hebrew Union Coll.-Jewish Inst. of Religion, 1940-84. Became the focus of controversy in 1984 over the rightful ownership of books and manuscripts he had rescued from the Berlin seminary and smuggled past Gestapo inspectors. Au.: *Das Redaktionelle und Sachliche Verhältnis zwischen Mischna und Tosephta* (1928); *Enthüllte Talmudzitate* (1930-31); *Dezisionsmotive in Talmud* (1938); *Studies in Rabbinic Judaism* (1976); *Struggle over Reform in Rabbinic Literature of the Last Century and a Half* (1976); and numerous articles on Halakhah.
- HERRNSTEIN, RICHARD, professor; b. NYC, May 20, 1930; d. Belmont, Mass., Sept. 13, 1994. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. (BA), Harvard U. (PhD). Served U.S. Army, 1956-58. Research psychologist, Walter Reed Army Med. Ctr., Bethesda, Md., 1956-58; lect., U. of Md., 1957-58; prof., psych., Harvard U., 1958-94, dir. psych. labs, 1965-67; chmn. psych. dept., 1967-71. Mem., Amer. Acad. Arts and Sciences. A controversial figure for more than 20 years, due to his theory that intelligence is largely inherited, with little influence from environment or learning. Au.: *I.Q. and Meritocracy* (1973), and numerous articles in professional journals; coau.: *A Source Book in the History of Psychology* (1958); *Laboratory Experiments in Psychology* (1965); *Psychology* (1975); *Crime and Human Nature* (1985); *The Bell Curve* (1994); ed., *Psych. Bulletin* (1975-81). Recipient: Guggenheim Fellowship, Sloan Found. Fellowship.
- HIRSCHLER, GERTRUDE, scholar, writer; b. Vienna, Austria, Aug. 11, 1929; d. NYC, Jan. 18, 1994; in U.S. since 1940. Educ.: Baltimore Hebrew Coll. and Teachers Training School; Johns Hopkins U. (BA). Staff mem., Baltimore Jewish Council, 1948-55; asst. ed., Herzl Press, NYC, 1965-76; asst. ed., Ency. Zionism and Israel, 1965-71; freelance writer, ed., transl. (to English from German, Hebrew, Yiddish, and French), 1976-95; lect., Theodor Herzl Inst. Au.: *To Love Mercy: The Story of Chevre Ahavas Chesed of Baltimore* (1972), and numerous encyclopedia articles; co-au.: *I Chose Life* (1978); *Menachem Begin: From Freedom Fighter to Statesman* (1979); *There Is Always Time to Die* (1982); contributing au., *A Palestine Diary: Memoirs of a Bilu Pioneer* (1976); ed., *Briha: Flight to the Homeland* (1973); co-ed., *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, vol. 3 (1984). Transl.: the works of 19th-century religious leader Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, incl. *The Psalms* (2 vols.), the Hirsch Siddur, *Terumath Zvi*, and *Collected Writings of S.R. Hirsch* (1983-94); also Rabbi Joseph Breuer's commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel; Elie Munk's *The World of Prayer*, vol. 2; Selma Stern's *Josel of Rosheim*; and Alexander Zusia Friedman's Hassidic commentaries, *Wellsprings of Torah*. Memorial Found. for Jewish Culture grantee.
- HOLMAN, NAT (NATHANIEL), basketball player, coach; b. NYC, Oct. 19, 1896; d. Bronx, N.Y., Feb. 12, 1995. Educ.: Savage School of Physical Educ. (BPE), NYU (MA). Prof., physical educ., City Coll. of N.Y., 1917-60; head basketball coach, 1918-60. Known for much of his life as "Mr. Basketball," played pro basketball with the Whirlwinds (1917-21) and the Celtics (1921-27). Led City Coll. team to first place in Natl. Collegiate Athletic Assoc. and Natl. Invitation Tournament Championships, 1950. Suspended in 1951 by NYC Bd. of Educ. when several City Coll. players were accused of point-shaving (trying to win a game by fewer points than bookmakers predicted), he contested judgment and won reinstatement. Mem. bd. dirs., U.S. Comm. Sports for Israel; pres., Natl. Collegiate Basketball Coaches Assoc. of Amer., 1941. Au.: *Scientific Basketball* (1920); *Winning Basketball* (1930); *Championship Basketball* (1945); *Holman on Basketball* (1950). Recipient: named to Springfield Hall of Fame, Madison Square

Garden Hall of Fame, Basketball Hall of Fame.

JACOBS, HAROLD M., business executive, communal leader; b. Brooklyn, N.Y., Oct. 25, 1913; d. NYC, May 18, 1995. Educ.: St. John's U. (BS), Columbia U. (MS). Founded Precision Metal Products Co., 1938; sold company in 1948 and founded Precisionware, a kitchenware company; sold firm to Triangle Pacific Forest Products Corp. in 1964, remained as pres. of subsidiary and v.-pres. of parent company until 1968; later founded and headed Precision Equities investment firm. Active in both civic and Jewish affairs, most notably as mem., 1974-95, N.Y. City's Bd. of Higher Educ. and its successor Bd. of Trustees of CUNY (chmn. 1976-80) and as three-term pres. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congs. of Amer., 1979-86. Dir. and/or trustee of numerous businesses and schools, incl. U.S. Naval War College, Mt. Sinai Medical Center, Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, Touro Coll. Pres.: Crown Hts. Yeshiva, 1953-58; Natl. Council of Young Israel, 1987-91; chm.: N.Y. State Small Business Admin. advisory com.; Brooklyn United Jewish Appeal; v-chmn., NYC United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds Drive. Recipient: hon. degree, William Paterson Coll., and other honors.

JOSPE, ALFRED, rabbi, communal professional; b. Berlin, Germany, Mar. 31, 1909; d. Washington, D.C., Nov. 19, 1994; in U.S. since 1939. Educ.: Jewish Theol. Sem. of Breslau (rabbinic ord.), U. of Breslau (PhD). Rabbi: Reform cong. in Schneidemuehl and Berlin, 1934-39; Morgantown, W. Va., 1939-44. Began 35-year career with B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations as Hillel dir., U. of W. Va., 1940, later moving to Indiana U., 1944-49; natl. dir., program and resources, 1949-71; internatl. dir., B'nai B'rith Hillel Found., 1971-75. Part-time faculty, U. of Md., 1977; Amer. U., 1979-80. Mem. bd. dirs., Leo Baeck Inst.; life mem., B'nai B'rith Hillel Comm.; mem.: CCAR; Washington Bd. of Rabbis; Assoc. for Jewish Studies; Zionist Org. of Amer. Au., co-au., transl., ed., a number of works, incl.: *Judaism on the Campus: Essays on Jewish Education in the University Community* (1963); *A College Guide for Jewish Youth* (1968); *Jerusalem and Other Jewish Writings by Moses Mendelssohn* (1969); *Tradition and Contemporary Experience: Essays in Jewish Thought and Life*

(1970); *Studies in Modern Jewish Thought: An Anthology of German Jewish Scholarship* (1981); Hillel Library Series; Hillel Little Books; articles in *Great Jewish Personalities in Modern Times*, *Encyclopedia Judaica*, and other publications. Recipient: Joel Prize in Philosophy, Breslau; hon. degree, HUC-JIR.

KARL, MAX H., business executive, communal worker; b. Milwaukee, Wis., Feb. 2, 1910; d. Miami, Fla., Apr. 19, 1995. Served U.S. Air Force, 1942-45. After working as a lawyer for many years, founded Mortgage Guarantee Insurance Corp. (MGIC), the first private mortgage insurance co. in U.S.; chief exec. officer, 1957-85; founded MGIC Investment Corp. after MGIC went public in 1968; chm., 1968-89. Named by *Milwaukee Magazine* as the city's "most famous Jewish philanthropist." Local activity: mem. bd. dirs., Milwaukee Art Center, Milwaukee Symphony, Milwaukee Ballet Found., United Performing Arts Center, Greater Milwaukee Com., and other civic bodies; trustee: Milwaukee Acad. Med., Mt. Sinai Med. Ctr.; mem., exec. com. and pres., Milwaukee Jewish Fed.; mem. exec. com., Milwaukee Lubavitch House. National: chm. bd. trustees, Touro Coll. (N.Y.); mem. bd. dirs.: AIPAC, Americans for a Safe Israel, Council Jewish Feds., HIAS, Am. Com. for Weizmann Inst., UIA, UJA. Mem.: Israel-U.S. Bus. Council; Nat. Assoc. Home Builders. Recipient: House and Home Award, State of Israel Golda Meir Award, Jabotinsky Prize, Natl. Home Builders Housing Hall of Fame, and other honors. Hon. degrees: U. of Milwaukee, Cardinal Stritch Coll., Marquette U., Touro Coll.

KASSIN, JACOB S., rabbi; b. Jerusalem, Ottoman Empire, (?), 1900; died Brooklyn, N.Y., Dec. 6, 1994; in U. S. since 1932. Educ.: Porat Yosef Yeshivah, Jerusalem (rabbinic ord.). Rabbi, Shaare Zion cong., 1932-92, and chief rabbi, Syrian Sephardic community of Brooklyn, until his death. Descendant of long line of rabbis and Torah scholars who immigrated to Syria during the Spanish Inquisition; an authority on Kabbalah and au. of works on Talmud; rabbinic court chief justice; known for efforts to encourage education and build community institutions.

KATZMAN, JACOB, communal professional, educator; b. Chelsea, Mass., June 21, 1911; d. NYC, Jan. 8, 1995. Active from his

youth in Labor Zionist movement: natl. sec., Young Poale Zion, which he helped transform into Habonim; exec. v.-pres., Farband Labor Zionist Order and its rep., World Jewish Cong.; chmn., Amer. Section, WJC; delegate, World Zionist Congresses; fellow, World Zionist Org.; mem. exec. bd., Jewish Labor Com.; pres., Jewish Teachers Seminary and Peoples U.; creator and producer, "Jewish Peoples University of the Air," broadcast over WEVD and available on cassettes; mem. editl. bd., *The Reconstructionist*; mem., Reconstructionist Havurah, NYC. Au.: *Commitment* (his memoirs) and numerous articles in various publications.

KOHANE, AKIVA, communal professional; b. Krakow, Poland, (?), 1911; d. Brookline, Mass., May 27, 1995; in U.S. since 1983. Educ.: Krakow Hebrew Gymnasium, Jagiellonian U. (LLD). Sec. gen., Polish Zionist Party, Galicia, 1936-41; went to Palestine and organized relief effort for Jews in Poland, 1941-42; joined Amer. Jewish Joint Distrib. Com. 1942; dir. refugee support in Russia, from Tehran, 1943-47; aided resettlement of WWII survivors, from Munich, 1947-54; resettlement work in Sao Paulo, 1953-54; dir., Jewish reconstruction dept., Paris, 1955-58; dir., special programs for Europe, 1960-92, overseeing Rome and Vienna transit centers for Russian and E. Eur. migrants. Recipient: Polish Presidential Gold Order of Merit; hon. degree, Jagiellonian U., for his "extraordinary humanitarian work on behalf of Jews for over 50 years."

KRIM, ARTHUR, lawyer, film industry executive; b. NYC, Apr. 4, 1910; d. NYC, Sept. 21, 1994. Educ.: Columbia U. (BA, LLB). Served U.S. Army, 1942-45. Began legal career with Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin, Krim and Ballon, 1932; partner, 1935-78; counsel, 1978-94. Pres., Eagle Lion Films, 1946-49; chmn., United Artists Corp, 1951-78; founder-chmn., Orion Pictures, 1978-92. Democratic Party activist and fund-raiser (chmn. finance com., 1966-68); adviser to Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter. Also active in such causes as civil rights, gay rights, efforts against AIDS, and opposition to apartheid in South Africa. Mem. bd. dirs. or trustee: African Amer. Inst.; Amer. Com. for Weizmann Inst. of Science and gov. of the Inst.; Lincoln U.; John F. Kennedy Lib.; Lyndon Baines Johnson Found.; trustee,

chmn. bd., Columbia U. Recipient: Alexander Hamilton Medal (Columbia U.); medals from France and Italy, and other honors.

LESSER, ALLEN, writer, editor, government official; b. Brooklyn, N.Y., Sept. 21, 1907; d. Miami, Fla., Jan. 12, 1994. Educ.: New York U. (BA, MA). Staff mem., Amer. Jewish Com., Amer. Zionist Com. for Public Affairs (now AIPAC); ed. and pub., *Cross-Section U.S.A.*; dir., Eur. Intell. Sect. U.S. Office of War Information; mng. ed., *Contemporary Jewish Record* (forerunner of *Commentary*); dir. p.r., B'nai B'rith; Washington rep., Zionist Org. of Amer.; co-founder and first ed., *Near East Report*, 1957; exec. asst., Sen. Jacob K. Javits, 1960-65; admin., Office of Civil Rights and Office of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health, Educ. and Welfare. Played major role in drafting Civil Rights Act of 1964 and legislation establishing Medicare and the Natl. Endowments for Arts and Humanities. Au.: *Weave a Wreath of Laurel* (1938); *Enchanting Rebel* (biog. of 19th-cent. actress Adah Isaacs Menken, 1947); *Israel's Impact, A Personal Record* (1984); ed., *Mark Twain, Female Suffrage and Other Sketches* (1993).

LEVITAN, SAR A., economist; b. Shialiai, Lithuania, Sept. 14, 1914; d. Washington, D.C., May 24, 1994; in U.S. since 1931. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. (BS), Columbia U. (MA, PhD). Served U.S. Army, 1942-46. Faculty mem., State U. of N.Y. at Plattsburgh; aide, Wage Stabilization Bd. during Korean War; researcher, Legislative Research Svc., Lib. of Cong. and adviser to Dem. Sen. Paul Douglas. Joined economics faculty, George Washington U., 1967; dir., its Center for Social Policy Studies, 1967-95. Mem.: Natl. Council Employment Policy, 1967 on, and chmn., 1973-75; Natl. Comm. on Employment and Unemployment Statistics, 1977-79. Mem.: Amer. Econ. Assoc., Amer. Arbitration Assoc. (labor panel), Fed. Mediation and Conciliation Svc. (labor panel), Industrial Labor Relations Research Assoc. Au.: dozens of books, incl. *Federal Aid to Depressed Areas* (1964), *Big Brother's Indian Programs—with Reservations* (1970); *Human Resources and Labor Markets* (1972, 1976, 1981); *Still a Dream: The Changing Status of Blacks Since 1960* (1975); *The Promise of Greatness* (1976); and *Business Lobbies: The Public Good and the Bottom Line* (1983).

- LEVITT, WILLIAM J., housing developer; b. Brooklyn, N.Y., Feb. 11, 1907; d. Manhasset, N.Y., Jan. 28, 1994. Educ.: NYU. Served U.S. Navy, WWII. Founded Levitt & Sons construction company with father, Abraham, and brother, Alfred, in 1929; in late 1940s, created Levittown, N.Y., on 7.3 square miles in Nassau County, with 17,500 mass-produced, affordable one-family homes built from easily transportable prefabricated elements that could be assembled quickly. Created similar Levittowns in Pa. and N.J. during 1950s; was severely criticized for initial refusal to sell houses to black people in 1960s. By his own estimate, had built 140,000 houses by the time he sold Levitt and Sons to ITT in 1968 for \$492 million; later lost most of his fortune in business failures during the 1970s and 1980s.
- LEVY, RAPHAEL, writer, publicist, communal worker; b. Hartford, Conn., Apr. 2, 1909; d. Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y., June 21, 1995. Educ.: NYU (BA). Advertising writer, 1936–39; staff writer, Amer. Jewish Com., 1940–41; publicity dir., Natl. Refugee Svcs., 1941–43; news ed., feature writer, master radio desk, U.S. Office of War Information, 1943–45; public relations dir.: Joint Distribution Com., 1945–50; UJA, 1951–68; dir. special events, UJA, 1968–74; special consult. Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, Cambridge U., from 1976; free-lance writing and communications consult., 1975–95. Mem.: Amer. Jewish Public Relations. Soc. (founding); NYU Heights Honor Soc.; p.r. adv. com., JDC. Writer and producer, three films documenting the migration of Jewish refugees to Israel after WWII; two of them, *A Day of Deliverance* (1948) and *Children of the Exodus* (1967) were shown repeatedly at fund-raising dinners and rallies; created early advertising campaigns for Israel.
- LIPMAN, EUGENE J., rabbi, communal professional; b. Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 13, 1919; d. Bethesda, Md., Jan. 14, 1994. Educ.: U. of Pittsburgh, U. of Cincinnati (BA), HUC-JIR (MHL, rabbinic ord.), U. of Washington, Amer. U., Inst. Individual Psychology (postgrad. studies). Chaplain, U.S. Army, 1950–51. Dir., synagogue activities and Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, Union of Amer. Hebrew Congs., 1951–61; rabbi, Temple Sinai, Washington, D.C., 1961–86; rabbi emer., 1986 on; faculty mem.: Columbia U., Harvard U., Amer. U., Catholic U. of Amer., 1951–79. Pres. and finan. sec., CCAR; pres., Natl. Capital Area chap., ACLU; founder, exec. com. mem., and pres., Interfaith Conference of Metro. D.C., where he helped organize a food bank. Active in numerous social, Jewish, and Zionist causes, spearheaded Reform Judaism's mission to "put the social principles of Judaism to work." Au.: *A Tale of Ten Cities* (1962); *The Mishnah—Oral Teaching of Judaism* (1970); co-au., *Justice and Judaism—The Work of Social Action* (1956). Recipient: George Brussel Meml. Award and other honors.
- LIPMAN, SAMUEL, pianist, critic; b. San Jose, Calif., (?), 1934; d. NYC, Dec. 17, 1994. Educ.: Juilliard School. A musical prodigy, first performed in public at age 8; praised by critics after his Town Hall (N.Y.) debut in 1955, was highly regarded for his interpretation of the romantic and contemporary repertoire; eventually gave up performance for music criticism and work on government arts policy. Music critic, *Commentary*, 1975 on; mem., Natl. Council on the Arts, 1982–88 and contrib., "Toward Civilization," a major report by the Natl. Endowment for the Arts on arts educ.; pub., *New Criterion*, a conservative journal of the arts, 1982 on. Through his writings on cultural and political topics, became a leader of the neo-conservative movement. Artistic dir., Waterloo Music Festival and School, Stanhope, N.J., 1985–93. Au.: *Music After Modernism* (1979); *The House of Music: Art in an Era of Institutions* (1984); *Arguing for Music, Arguing for Culture* (1990); and *Music and More: Essays, 1975–1991* (1992); ed. and contrib., new ed. of Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1994).
- MANOFF, LUCY D., social worker, educational and cultural administrator; b. NYC, Nov. 27, 1913; d. NYC, Jan. 29, 1995. Educ.: Hunter Coll. (BS). U.S. exec. dir., Inst. of Contemporary Jewry of Hebrew U., 1970–93; also held positions with Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism of Hebrew U. and Com. on Manpower Opportunities in Israel, which recruited American volunteer physicians during the Six-Day War. Founding bd. mem., Women's Campaign Fund; exec. dir., Hebrew Arts Society, later co-director of Hebrew Arts School of Music and Dance, NYC (1950s).

MARX, HENRY, journalist, author; b. Brussels, Belgium, Nov. 3, 1911; d. Frutigen, Switzerland, June 22, 1994; in U.S. since 1937. Educ.: Friedrich-Wilhelm U., Berlin. Freelance writer for Berlin newspapers, 1929–35; banking apprenticeship and sales position, Cigar Factory Heinrich Jacobi, 1935–36; music critic, *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung & Herold*, 1937–42, drama and music critic, 1942–45, city ed., 1945–69; dir. cultural programming for U.S. and Canada, Goethe House N.Y. German Cultural Center, 1969–80; ed., *Aufbau*, German lang. newspaper, NYC, 1985–94. Unit chmn., Newspaper Guild of N.Y., 1944–69; cofounder and sec., Deutsches Theater, N.Y., 1954; v.-pres., Kurt Weill Found. for Music, 1981–94; v.-pres., Erwin Piscator Meml. Found.; mem. exec. com., Amer. Fed. Jews from Central Europe. Au: numerous books on German arts and music as well as travel guides, incl. *H3 in the Battle Against Old Age* (1960, 1978); *Deutsche in der Neuen Welt* (1993); *Die Broadway Story* (1986); ed.: *Erwin Piscator. Briefe aus Deutschland 1951–66 an Maria Ley-Piscator* (1983), and contributor to numerous publications. Recipient: Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit (Fed. Republic of Germany), 1978.

MILLMAN, HERBERT, communal professional; b. (?), Russia, Dec. 25, 1909; d. Mamaroneck, N.Y., May 12, 1995; in U.S. since 1914. Educ.: Springfield Coll. (BS), Harvard U. (MED). Exec. dir., Brockton (Mass.) YM-YWHA, 1937–43; joined Jewish Welfare Bd. staff 1943: field sec., N.E. sect., 1943–49; exec. dir., Greater Boston Council of Jewish Community Centers, 1946–49; dir. field svcs., 1949–60; assoc. exec. dir., 1960–70; exec. v.-pres., 1970–76; exec. dir., World Confed. of Jewish Community Ctrs., 1976–79; consult., Jewish Agency for Israel, 1980–84. Pres.: Internatl. Conf. of Jewish Communal Svcs., 1980–83; Natl. Assoc. Jewish Ctr. Workers, 1966–68; v.-pres., Conf. Jewish Communal Svcs.; pres., Community Synagogue, Rye, N.Y., 1956–58; mem., Amer. Acad. Cert. Social Workers; Natl. Assoc. Social Workers. Au.: articles in *American Jewish Year Book*, 1950s and '60s, and Jewish welfare journals. Recipient: JWB Florence G. Heller Award; UJA Award.

NEIDITZ, ANNA CAHANE, communal worker; b. (?), (?), 1901; d. NYC, Jan. 7, 1994. Active in Anti-Nazi League (pre-WWII),

Legal Aid Soc.; UJA of N.Y.; Women's League for Israel (natl. pres., 1957–63); mem.: bd. govts., Hebrew U.; bd. dirs., Amer. Friends of Hebrew U.

NIZER, LOUIS, lawyer, author; b. London, England, Feb. 6, 1902; d. NYC, Nov. 10, 1994; in U.S. since 1905. Educ.: Columbia U. (AB, LLB). Began law practice in 1925; in 1926 formed partnership with Louis Phillips that grew into renowned firm of Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin, Krim & Ballon. A trial lawyer for more than six decades, gained reputation for flamboyance and eloquent speaking style; became authority on contracts, copyright, libel, and other types of law relating to the entertainment industry, the source of many of his clients. His 1962 book, *My Life in Court*, relating court cases he had won, was a best-seller. Active supporter of Amer. Friends of Tel Aviv U.; UJA-Federation; B'nai B'rith Hillel of N.Y.; ALYN Hospital, Israel. Au. (in addition to above): *Thinking on Your Feet* (1940); *What to Do with Germany* (1944); *Between You and Me* (1948); *The Jury Returns* (1966); *The Implosion Conspiracy* (1972); *Reflections Without Mirrors* (1978); *Catspaw* (1992), and other works; regular contrib. to journals on trial strategy and other aspects of litigation.

PAPO, JOSEPH M., communal professional; b. Palestine, Ottoman Empire, (?), 1902; d. San Jose, Calif., Nov. (?), 1994; in U.S. since 1925. Educ.: Schools in Palestine and Egypt; Western Reserve U. (BA, MA), Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. Exec. dir., several Jewish federations on West Coast; dir., Central Sephardic Jewish Community of Amer.; consult., Calif. State Dept. Welfare; Amer. corresp., *L'Aurore*, French-Jewish periodical, Cairo, Egypt; founding mem. and leader, Masada, Young Men's ZOA, 1928–32; life mem., ZOA; charter mem: Natl. Assoc. Social Workers, Acad. Certified Social Workers. Au.: *Sephardim in Twentieth Century America* (1987); articles on Sephardic history and culture.

PAWEL, ERNST, novelist, biographer; b. Breslau, Germany, 1920; d. Great Neck, N.Y., Aug. 16, 1994; in U.S. since 1937. Served U.S. Army Intelligence, WWII. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. Translator and public relations exec., New York Life Insurance Co., 1946–82. Au.: *The Island of Time* (1950), *The Dark Tower* (1957), and *In the Absence of Magic* (1961), novels;

The Nightmare of Reason (1984), biog. of Franz Kafka, winner of the Alfred Harcourt Award and other prizes and transl. into 10 langs.; *The Labyrinth of Exile* (1989), biog. of Theodor Herzl; *The Poet Dying: Heinrich Heine's Last Years in Paris* (1995); *Life in the Dark Ages*, a memoir (1995); and essays and book reviews in *Midstream*, *Commentary*, and other publications.

PETRIE, MILTON, retailer, philanthropist; b. Salt Lake City, Utah, Aug. 5, 1902; d. NYC, Nov. 7, 1994. One of the wealthiest men in the U.S., said to have amassed \$940 million, built his fortune in retailing, personal investments, and investments for Petrie Stores Corp. Gave millions of dollars to organized institutions and charities, incl. New York's Beth Israel Medical Center, Mt. Sinai Medical Center, and Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, Hebrew Union Coll.-Jewish Inst. of Religion, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jerusalem Found., UJA-Fed., and Hebrew U., as well as to people whose troubles he read of in the newspaper. Mem.: Cong. Emanu-El, NYC. Recipient: Charles H. Silver Memorial Award, Beth Israel Hospital.

POLISH, DAVID, rabbi, author; b. Cleveland, Ohio, Jan. 15, 1910; d. Evanston, Ill., Apr. (?), 1995. Educ.: Western Reserve U., U. of Cincinnati (BA), HUC-JIR (rabbinic ord., DHL). Rabbi: Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1934-39; Hillel Found., Cornell U., 1939-42; Waterbury, Conn., 1942-47; founding rabbi, Cong. Beth Emeth Free Synagogue, Evanston, Ill., 1947-95. Pres.: Central Conf. Amer. Rabbis, 1971-73; founding pres., Chicago Bd. of Rabbis, 1958-60; pres., Chicago Zionist Fed., 1975-79; v.-pres., Amer. Reform Zionists of Amer. Au.: *Eternal Dissent* (1959); *Higher Freedom* (1965); *Israel—Nation and People* (1975); *Renew Our Days—The Zionist Issue in Reform Judaism* (1976); co-au., *A Guide for Reform Jews* (1957); editorial writer for *The Sentinel*, Chicago weekly Jewish magazine. Transl., *The Resurrection, Prayerbook of the Progressive Movement*, Israel. Numerous essays in English- and Hebrew-lang. Jewish publications. Recipient: Jewish Book Council Award, 1966; hon. degree, HUC-JIR.

RATNER, MAX, business executive, philanthropist; b. Bialystok, Poland, (?), 1908; d. Cleveland, Ohio, May 29, 1995; in U.S. since 1920. Educ.: Cleveland Marshall Law

School. Began career with Buckeye Material Co., lumber concern, which later became Forest City Enterprises and evolved into a national real estate development co., working as salesman, buyer, mgr., and ultimately pres. and chmn.; partner in Forest City Ratner Companies, N.Y. Trustee, Cleveland Museum of Art; mem. bd. dirs., Greater Cleveland Growth Assoc.; pres., Park Syn., Cleveland. Longtime supporter of Israel: founder and chmn., America-Israel Chamber of Commerce; active in behalf of Israel Bonds; benefactor, Hebrew U. and hon. mem. its bd. of govts. Recipient: Scopus Award, Amer. Friends of Hebrew U.; hon. degree, Hebrew U.

RIESEL, VICTOR, journalist; b. NYC, (?), 1914; d. NYC, Jan. 4, 1995. Educ.: City Coll. N.Y. After working his way through CCNY night classes as a factory worker, worked in Midwest mines and mills and as a reporter for labor publications. Joined *New York Post* 1941; began syndicated labor column in 1942, carried in 350 papers at its height, which regularly denounced gangster infiltration and corruption in labor unions. On Apr. 5, 1956, was blinded by an acid attack, carried out by union thugs. Continued writing his column until retiring in 1990.

ROSE, DAVID A., judge, communal worker; b. Boston, Mass., Mar. 24, 1906; d. Fort Lauderdale, Fla., May 4, 1995. Educ.: Boston U. Coll. of Business Admin. and School of Law (JD), Georgetown U. Grad. School of Law. Assoc. justice, municipal court of Dorchester, Mass., 1936-60; assoc. justice, Mass. Supreme Court, 1960-72; assoc. justice, Mass. Court of Appeals, 1972-76; continued on part-time basis for many years. Lect.: Boston U. School of Law. Chmn., natl. exec. comm., Anti-Defamation League, for many years; v.-pres., Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Boston. Also active in B'nai B'rith, Jewish Big Brother Assoc. of Boston, Judicial Educ. Comm. of Mass., among others. In 1961, issued ruling that assured preservation of Walden Pond. Recipient: Dist. Svc. to Legal Profession Award, Boston U.; Dist. Leadership Award, ADL; Human Rights Award, City of Newton, Mass.; hon. degree, Lowell Tech.

ROSENFELD, HARRY N., lawyer, government official; b. Brooklyn, N. Y., Aug. 17, 1911; d. Washington, D. C., June 2, 1995. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y., Columbia U.

(JD). Sec. to commissioner of NYC Bd. of Educ., 1935–42; counsel to U.S. Federal Security Agency's Office of Educ., mid-1940s; chief asst. to admin. Federal Security Agency (precursor of Dept. of Health and Human Svcs.), mid- to late 1940s; helped draft legislation to create national school lunch program, 1946. As commissioner of Displaced Persons Comm., 1948–52, supervised resettlement of more than 500,000 refugees in the U.S. Entered private legal practice in Washington, D.C., in 1953; became a recognized expert on immigration law and an advocate of liberal immigration policies. Credited by Merriam-Webster with first-known use in print of term "baby boom," in final report on immigration policy to Pres. Harry S Truman. Co-au.: *Immigration Law and Procedure*, a multivolume reference work that continues to be published; many articles in education, legal, and other scholarly publications.

RUBIN, JERRY, political activist; b. Cincinnati, Ohio, July 14, 1938; d. Los Angeles, Calif., Nov. 28, 1994. Educ.: Oberlin Coll., U. of Cincinnati, Hebrew U., U. of Calif., Berkeley. After a stint as a reporter and editor at the *Cincinnati Post*, achieved fame in the 1960s as a founder of the Youth International Party ("Yippies"), anti-Vietnam war protester, and bearded standard-bearer of the counterculture, who advised followers not to trust "anyone over 30." After he and four other defendants in the 1969–70 Chicago Seven trial were found guilty of incitement (later overturned), Rubin lectured, wrote—publishing a best-selling autobiography—and pursued "self-improvement." In early 1980s started new career as entrepreneur, promoting "networking" parties for ambitious young professionals in New York City. In 1991, moved to Los Angeles to pursue a variety of business activities.

SALK, JONAS, physician, medical researcher; b. NYC, Oct. 28, 1914; d. La Jolla, Calif., June 23, 1995. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. (BS), NYU (MD). While still in medical school, began research on the influenza virus with Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr.; in 1942 worked under Francis at U. of Michigan, where the two scientists developed commercial vaccines against the virus. Dir., virus research laboratory, U. of Pittsburgh medical school, 1947–63, where his first and major efforts were dedicated to formulating a vaccine against polio, a crip-

pling disease that caused 25,000 cases a year. The injectable killed-virus polio vaccine he developed in the early 1950s (along with Albert Sabin's oral live-virus vaccine introduced in the early 1960s) virtually wiped out the disease worldwide. Went on to found and direct Salk Institute for Biological Studies in San Diego, Calif., in 1963, where he researched immunological aspects of multiple sclerosis and cancer and, more recently, of HIV infection. Au.: more than 100 scientific publications; books incl. *Man Unfolding* (1972), *The Survival of the Wisest* (1973), and *Anatomy of Reality: Merging of Intuition and Reason* (1983). Recipient: numerous awards, incl. Albert Lasker Award, Robert Koch Medal, Mellon Inst. Award, U.S. Presidential Citation, Congressional Gold Medal, Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor, and hon. degrees from universities in the U.S., Great Britain, Israel, Italy, and the Philippines.

SCHNEERSON, MENACHEM MENDEL, the Lubavitcher Rebbe; b. Nikolaev, Ukraine, Apr. 14, 1902; d. NYC, June 12, 1994; in U.S. since 1941. Hailed as a prodigy, received private tutoring in Talmud and rabbinic and mystical texts in Yekaterinoslav, where his father was chief rabbi. In 1928, in Warsaw, married Chaya Moussia, daughter of the 6th Lubavitch Grand Rabbi, to whom he was related. Studied mathematics and science at U. of Berlin, 1930–34, and the Sorbonne, 1935–39. Spent two years in hiding from the Nazis in France before receiving U.S. visa. Arriving in New York in 1941, where the incumbent rebbe, his father-in-law, had arrived a year earlier, Menachem Mendel was appointed to head key Lubavitch organizations, Merkos L'inyonei Chinuch (education) and Machne Israel (social services), as well as the publications arm. In 1951, a year after the death of his father-in-law, was named to lead the movement. As the 7th Grand Rabbi, devoted himself not only to rebuilding the Holocaust-decimated community but to spreading the teachings of Chabad (the philosophy of Lubavitch Hassidism) beyond the circle of his followers, creating over the next 40 years the most successful outreach program in modern Jewish life. Established a worldwide network of institutions: schools and summer camps and hundreds of Chabad Houses (centers of prayer, study, and sociability) headed by emissaries (*shluchim*),

in places as far-flung as Melbourne, Kiev, Tulsa, and Hong Kong; an all-Lubavitch town in Israel, Kfar Chabad, with a trade school and agricultural school; an international women's organization; a children's "army of God," Tzivos HaShem, in which rank is earned by good deeds; and a publishing arm. He moved Lubavitch from an anti-Zionist stance to acceptance of the State of Israel and leadership of the right-wing nationalist camp, along the way arousing resentment over his intervention in the "Who is a Jew?" controversy and other affairs of the state (which he never visited).

Based on his central teaching that Jews could hasten the coming of Messiah through study and ritual observance, Lubavitch sought to reach non-practicing Jews through "mitzvah-mobiles," newspaper ads encouraging religious practices, and use of modern technology, such as toll-free telephone numbers, satellite TV broadcasts, and faxes of Talmud lessons. After 1990, a campaign to "bring the Messiah" became a pressing Lubavitch concern, with the Rebbe urging Jews and non-Jews alike to practice charity as a way to hasten the event. After the Rebbe had a stroke in March 1992, a split developed between those in Lubavitch who proclaimed publicly that the Rebbe was the Messiah and those who took a more cautious approach, even as the Rebbe denied (some said weakly) being the redeemer. Credited by his followers with prophetic gifts and performance of miracles, he was criticized for allowing a cult of personality to develop. He maintained the movement's center in Crown Heights, Brooklyn (headquartered at 770 Eastern Parkway), despite tensions with surrounding black community. The movement claimed some 200,000 followers around the world, and raised an estimated \$100 million a year to support its activities, much of it from non-Orthodox Jews. The Rebbe was honored posthumously with a Congressional Gold Medal (1995).

SCHWARTZMAN, SYLVAN D., rabbi, professor; b. Baltimore, Md., Dec. 8, 1913; d. Albuquerque, N.M., Jan. 1, 1994. Educ.: U. of Cincinnati (BA), Hebrew Union Coll. (MHL, rabbinic ord.), Vanderbilt U. (PhD). Dir., relig. educ., Temple Israel, Boston, Mass., 1939-40; rabbi, Cong. Children of Israel, Augusta, Ga., 1941-47; dir., field activities, Union of Amer. Hebrew Congs., NYC, 1947-48; rabbi, Vine St.

Temple, Nashville, Tenn., 1948-50; prof., Jewish relig. educ. and rabbinics, HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, 1950-81; upon retirement, moved to Albuquerque, where he taught at the U. of New Mexico and other local colleges. Mem.: CCAR; Relig. Educ. Assoc.; Comm. on Jewish Educ.; exec. com., Natl. Assoc. Temple Educators. Au.: *Rocket to Mars* (a Hebrew-reading method) and books on Reform Judaism, teaching, educ. admin.; co-au.: *Our Religion and Our Neighbors* (1959); *The Living Bible* (1962); *Reform Judaism—Then and Now* (1970); and numerous articles.

SCHWINGER, JULIAN, theoretical physicist, b. NYC, Feb. 12, 1918; d. Los Angeles, Calif., July 16, 1994. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y., Columbia U. (PhD), U. of Calif., Berkeley (postgrad. studies). Staff member, U. of Chicago Metallurgical Laboratory, 1943; researcher, microwave problems and radar, MIT Radiation Laboratory, 1943-45, as part of Allied war effort; joined Harvard U. faculty, 1945; prof., 1948-1972; prof., U. of Calif., L.A., 1972-80; U. prof., 1980-95. In 1948 announced formulation of quantum electrodynamic theory refined from research done by others in 1920s; eventually developed equations that harmonized quantum mechanics with Einstein's special theory of relativity. Credited (along with Richard Feynman) with breaking ground for a revolution in theoretical physics and quantum field theory that helped propel developments in physics for the next 40 years. Recipient: co-winner, Nobel Prize (1965) in physics; National Medal of Science (1964); co-winner, first Albert Einstein Prize (1951).

SEIDENMAN, LEONARD, communal professional; b. NYC, Aug. 5, 1914; d. NYC, Apr. 20, 1995. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. Dir., N. Calif., Natl. Youth Admin. under War Manpower Comm., 1930s and 1940s; vocational training specialist, Joint Distribution Com. and ORT, resettling displaced persons in France, 1947-56; dir., JDC office, Italy, 1956-58; JDC dir., Benelux countries, 1958-64, and program analyst, Conf. of Material Claims Against Germany; joined HIAS in 1967; dir., European and N. African Operations, 1967-81; exec. v.-pres., 1981-84, leading efforts to resettle Jews fleeing the Soviet Union. Chmn., Com. on Refugees and Migration, Internatl. Council of Voluntary Agencies, 1967-81; mem., Com. to Award the Nan-

sen Medal for Outstanding Svc. on Behalf of Refugees; sec., Internatl. Council of Jewish Social and Welfare Services.

SHAPP, MILTON J., industrialist, politician; b. Cleveland, Ohio, June 25, 1912; d. Wynnewood, Pa., Nov. 24, 1994. Educ.: Case Inst. of Technology (BS). Served U.S. Army Signal Corps, WWII. Founder, Jerrold Electronics Corp., 1948, manufac. and distrib. of television cable, master antennae, signal boosters; led way for installation of community-antenna TV. Early supporter of, and generous contributor to, presidential candidacy of John F. Kennedy; credited with developing the idea that led to the Peace Corps; consult. to Peace Corps and Dept. of Commerce in Kennedy admin. Elected governor of Pa., 1970; reelected 1974. During two terms as governor, instituted first state income tax and various progressive programs, incl. consumer protection, reducing property taxes of poorer older citizens, programs for handicapped and elderly, strict ethics code for all state employees. First Jew to run for Democratic nomination for president of U.S., 1976.

SHORE, DINAH, singer, entertainer; b. Winchester, Tenn., Mar. 1, 1917; d. Beverly Hills, Calif., Feb. 24, 1994. Educ.: Vanderbilt U. (BA). Born to the only Jewish family in a southeastern Tennessee town where her father was part-owner of a department store, Frances Rose ("Fanny") Shore became one of the most popular entertainers in the U.S. for more than 50 years—as a singer, movie actress, and, later in her career, a TV talk-show host. A supporter of Jewish causes, gave benefit performances for UJA, established a scholarship fund in the humanities at Hebrew U., led numerous missions to Israel over a 15-year period with other entertainment personalities; and contributed generously to the United Jewish Fund of the Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles and other charities. Au.: three popular cookbooks, incl. *Someone's in the Kitchen with Dinah*. Recipient: Ben-Gurion U. Lifetime Achievement Award; Scopus Award, L.A. chap., Amer. Friends of the Hebrew U.

SILVERMAN, MORRIS, professor, university administrator; b. Bronx, N.Y., Mar. 20, 1924; d. Brooklyn, N.Y., July 28, 1994. Educ.: Yeshiva U. (BA, BRE, MS); Brooklyn Coll. (MA). Started career at Yeshiva U. as grad. asst. in history, 1945; began

teaching in 1947; prof., 1966–89; prof. emer., 1989–94; registrar, 1948–81; special asst. to exec. v.-pres., 1981–89. Active in Yeshiva Coll. Alumni Assoc. for over 40 years and named hon. v.-pres., 1982; Mem., Amer. and Middle States Associations of Collegiate Registrars and chmn. several of their coms.; mem.: B'nai Zion; Religious Zionists Amer.; AAUP; Amer. Assoc. U. Administrators.; founder, Flatbush Bible Soc.; Bible tchr., Young Israel of Flatbush. Au.: numerous articles and reviews in professional journals. Recipient: Bernard Revel Memorial Award, Yeshiva U.

SOLOLOW, WALTER, lawyer, communal worker; b. NYC, Feb. 4, 1907; d. NYC, Dec. (?), 1994. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. (BS), Harvard U. (JD). Engaged in general legal practice, 1930 on, incl. trial and appellate work, general litigation, intellectual property and copyrights, radio broadcasting, TV, and music law. Dir. of several closed corps. Trustee, mem. exec. com., Fed. of J. Philanthropies; chmn., Soc. for the Advancement of Judaism, 1946–49; dir., Jewish Reconstructionist Found.; trustee, Reconstructionist Rabbinical Coll.; trustee: Manhattan Reconstructionist Havurah; mem., bd. dirs. and pres., Bd. of Jewish Educ. of Greater N.Y.; v.-pres., Natl. Found. for Jewish Culture; pres., Jewish Teachers Retirement Fund; mem., govt. council, Amer. Assoc. for Jewish Educ.; mem., com. on prof. ethics, N.Y. County Lawyers Assoc. Au.: *The Law of Radio Broadcasting* (1939). Recipient: Mordecai M. Kaplan Medal, Reconstructionist Rabbinical Coll. and Jewish Reconstructionist Found.

STARK, IRWIN, professor, writer; b. Passaic, N.J., (?), 1913; d. Hillsdale, N.Y., June 4, 1994. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. (BA, MA). Teacher, English, N.Y. City high schools; prof., CCNY, 1952–75, where he taught a famous narrative writing course. Au.: *Invisible Island* (1948) and *Subpoena* (1966), novels; articles and short stories in many publications; co-ed., *Breakthrough: A Treasury of Contemporary American-Jewish Literature* (1964). Mem., Academic Freedom Com., ACLU; violinist, Stockbridge Symphonia.

STERN, MALCOLM, rabbi, historian; b. Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 29, 1915; d. NYC, Jan. 5, 1994. Educ.: U. of Pa. (BA), HUC (BHL, MHL, DHL, rabbinic ord.), Ecole La Villa, Lausanne. Chaplain, Army Air

Force, WWII. Asst. rabbi, Cong. Keneseth Israel, Philadelphia, 1941-43, 1946-47; rabbi, Cong. Ohef Shalom, Norfolk, Va., 1947-64; first dir., Rabbinic Placement Comm., CCAR, 1964-80; staff genealogist, Amer. Jewish Archives, 1949-94; adj. prof., Amer. Jewish history, and student field-work counselor, HUC-JIR, NYC, 1981-94. Fellow: Amer. Soc. Genealogists (past pres.); Natl. Geneal. Soc.; mem.: CCAR, Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc., Jewish Geneal. Soc. (pres. emer.), Jewish Hist. Soc. N.Y., Fed. Geneal. Soc. (v.-pres.), Jewish Hist. Soc. Eng., So. Jewish Hist. Soc., HUC Alumni Assoc., N.Y. Geneal. and Biog. Soc.; adv. council, U.S. Natl. Archives; past pres.: Tidewater Rabbinical Assoc., Mid-Atlantic Conf. Reform Rabbis. His seminal work, *Americans of Jewish Descent* (1960), updated as *First American Jewish Families* (1991), which traces the genealogy of Jewish families who settled in the U.S. between 1654 and 1840, is regarded as one of the most valuable research tools in Amer. Jewish history. Co-au.: *American Airlines Guide to Jewish History in the Caribbean* (1972); ed.-in-chief, *Union Songster*; coord. revision, *Union Hymnal*; chmn. pub. com., *Shaarei Shira*/Gates of Song. Recipient: B'nai B'rith Man of Year, Norfolk, Va.; Lee M. Friedman Award, Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc.; hon. degree, HUC.

SUSSKIND, NATHAN, professor; b. Stropkov, Slovakia, Sept. 10, 1906; d. Summit, N.J., July 14, 1994; in U.S. since early 1920s. Educ.: City Coll. of N.Y. (BA, MS); U. of Marburg, U. of Vienna, U. of Berlin, U. of Debreezen (postgrad. studies); New York U. (PhD); Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes (postdoctoral studies). Prin.: Jewish religious schools, 1926-29, 1936-37. Faculty mem., City Coll. of N.Y., German and Jewish studies, 1932-74; dir., Inst. for Yiddish Lexicology, City U. of N.Y., which was founded to create the *Great Dictionary of the Yiddish Language*, of which he was co-ed. (with Marvin Herzog of Columbia). Mem.: Young Israel, Histadrut Ivrit, YIVO-Inst. Jewish Social Research, Zionist-Revisionists, Amer. Yiddish Profs., Marlow Soc., World Cong. Jewish Studies. Au: numerous scholarly articles. Recipient: service plaques, CCNY; Man of the Year, Yeshiva U.

TAPER, S. MARK, banker, philanthropist; b. (?), Poland, Dec. 25, 1901; d. Beverly Hills,

Calif., Dec. 15, 1994; in U.S. since 1939. A real estate developer and home builder in northern and southern Calif.; founder, chmn., and CEO, First Charter Financial/American Savings, one of the nation's largest savings and loan associations, from which he retired in 1983. Through Mark Taper Found., contributed the Mark Taper Forum at L.A. Music Center, as well as district hdqtrs. of the Amer. Red Cross, the Hall of Economics and Finance at the Calif. Museum of Science and Industry, galleries at the L.A. County Museum of Arts, an auditorium in the new L.A. Library, and grants to various health and arts institutions in Los Angeles, where Taper resided for over 50 years. Other benefactions: an endowed chair in Jewish studies at Yale U., the Hadassah bldg. in L.A., a bldg. at the L.A. Jewish Home for the Aging, and the Skirball Cultural Center.

TEMIN, HOWARD M., cancer researcher; b. Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 10, 1934; d. Madison, Wis., Feb. 9, 1994. Educ.: Swarthmore Coll. (BA), Calif. Inst. Tech. (PhD). Postdoctoral fellow, Calif. Inst. Tech., 1959-60; asst. prof. oncology, U. of Wisconsin, 1960-64, assoc. prof., 1964-69, prof., 1969-94. Discovered an enzyme, reverse transcriptase, that helps certain viruses alter the genetic material of the cells they infect, and is crucial to the biotechnology industry and genetic engineering. Mem.: Natl. Acad. Science, Amer. Acad. Arts and Sciences, Amer. Philos. Soc., Amer. Assoc. Cancer Research, Amer. Soc. Microbiology, Amer. Soc. Virology. Recipient: co-winner, Nobel Prize for Medicine (1975); Warren Triennial Prize, Mass. Genl. Hosp.; Pap Award, Papanicolaou Inst.; Bertner Award, M.D. Anderson Hospital; Griffuel Prize, Assoc. Developpement Recherche Cancer; Albert Lasker Award, and many others; hon. degrees from N.Y. Medical Coll., Swarthmore Coll., U. of Pa., Medical Coll. of Wis.

TUMIN, MELVIN M., professor; b. Newark, N.J., Feb. 10, 1919; d. Princeton, N.J., Mar. 3, 1994. Educ.: U. of Newark, U. of Wisconsin (BA, MA), Northwestern U. (PhD). Assoc. prof., sociology and anthropology, Wayne State U., 1944-47; asst. prof., eventually prof., sociology and anthropology, Princeton U., 1947-89; prof. emer., 1989-94; visiting prof., Teachers Coll., Columbia U., 1960s; vis. research. sociologist, Educl. Testing Svc., 1969-70.

Dir., Mayor's Comm. on Race Relations, Detroit, mid-1940s. Consult.: US Dept. HEW (curriculum devel. dept. and regional labor adv. panel); Agency for Internatl. Dev.; coroner, Mercer Co., N.J., 1961-66. Research on segregation and desegregation in early 1950s was published in 1957 by Anti-Defamation League, for which he later worked as research consult. Spoke out against discrimination against Jews in Princeton U. eating clubs in 1950s. Mem. bd. govts., Lenberg Ctr. for the Study of Violence, Brandeis U.; dir., Task Force on Individual Violence, Natl. Comm. on Causes, Prevention of Violence, 1968-69; mem.: steering com., Longitudinal Evaluation of Head Start Programs, Educl. Testing Svc.; Com. on Healthcare for the Urban Poor, Amer. Hosp. Assoc.; mem. exec. council, Amer. Sociol. Assoc.; pres.: Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Eastern Sociol. Assoc.; Soc. for the Study of Social Problems. Mem.: Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, Sociol. Research Assoc.; mem. editorial bd., *Public Opinion Quarterly* and other scholarly journals; au.: more than 100 articles and nearly 20 books, incl. *Caste in a Peasant Society* (1952); *Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness* (1958); *An Inventory and Evaluation of Research and Theory in Anti-Semitism* (1960); *Quality and Equality in American Education* (1966); and *Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequality* (1967, 1985). Co-au.: *Social Life: Structure and Function* (1948); *Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Educational Systems* (1969); three volumes in *Crimes of Violence*, a series by the Natl. Comm. on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1970). Ed., *Race and Intelligence* (1963). Recipient: Senior Fellow, Council of the Humanities, Prince-

ton U.; Fulbright Sr. Research Scholar; Guggenheim Found. Fellow.

UNGERLEIDER-MAYERSON, JOY; museum director, philanthropist; b. Lawrence, N.Y., June 30, 1920; d. Larchmont, N.Y., Sept. 7, 1994. Educ.: New York U. (BA, MA). Curator, Jewish Museum, N.Y., 1967-69; dir., 1972-80, credited with revitalizing the museum's Jewish program; life trustee and donor, Jewish Museum; chmn., bd. dirs., W.F. Albright Inst. of Archaeological Research; bd. mem.: Jerusalem Foundation; Pardes Inst.; pres., Dorot Foundation, supporting biblical archaeology, Jewish educ., and other causes. Au.: *Jewish Folk Art from the Biblical Period to Modern Times* (1986); preface to *Danzig 1939: Treasures of a Destroyed Community* (1980).

WIESNER, JEROME B., professor, university president; b. Dearborn, Mich., May 30, 1915; d. Watertown, Mass., Oct. 21, 1994. Educ.: U. of Michigan (BS, MSc, PhD). Staff mem.: MIT Radiation Laboratory, 1942-45; staff mem., U. of California's Los Alamos Laboratory, N.M., 1945; asst. prof., electrical eng., MIT, 1946; assoc. prof., 1947; prof., 1950; assoc. dir., MIT's Research Laboratory of Electronics, 1949; dir., 1952-61; special asst. to Pres. John F. Kennedy for science and technology, 1961-64; dean, MIT's School of Science, 1964-65; provost, 1966; and pres., 1966-75. Mem., Natl. Acad. of Sciences; founding mem., Internatl. Found. for the Survival and Development of Humanity; life mem., MIT Corp.; dir. or trustee of numerous companies and orgs. Au.: numerous articles in professional journals, as well as *Where Science and Politics Meet* (1961).

Calendars

SUMMARY JEWISH CALENDAR, 5756-5760 (Sept. 1995-Aug. 2000)	568

HOLIDAY		5756	5757	5758	5759	5760
Rosh Ha-shanah, 1st day	M	25 Sept.	14 Sept.	Th Oct.	2 Sept.	21 Sept.
Rosh Ha-shanah, 2nd day	T	26 Sept.	15 Sept.	F Oct.	3 Sept.	22 Sept.
Fast of Gedaliah	W	27 Sept.	16 Sept.	S Oct.	5 Sept.	23 Sept.
Yom Kippur	W	4 Oct.	23 Sept.	S Oct.	11 Sept.	30 Sept.
Sukkot, 1st day	M	9 Oct.	28 Sept.	Th Oct.	16 Sept.	5 Oct.
Sukkot, 2nd day	T	10 Oct.	29 Sept.	F Oct.	17 Sept.	6 Oct.
Hosha'na' Rabbah	S	15 Oct.	4 Oct.	W Oct.	22 Sept.	11 Oct.
Shemini 'Azeret	M	16 Oct.	5 Oct.	Th Oct.	23 Sept.	12 Oct.
Simhat Torah	T	17 Oct.	6 Oct.	F Oct.	24 Sept.	13 Oct.
New Moon, Heshwan, 1st day	T	24 Oct.	13 Oct.	F Oct.	31 Oct.	20 Oct.
New Moon, Heshwan, 2nd day	W	25 Oct.	14 Oct.	Sa Nov.	1 Nov.	21 Oct.
New Moon, Kislev, 1st day	Th	23 Nov.	12 Nov.	S Nov.	30 Nov.	19 Nov.
New Moon, Kislev, 2nd day	F	24 Nov.				20 Nov.
Hanukkah, 1st day	M	18 Dec.	6 Dec.	W Dec.	24 Dec.	14 Dec.
New Moon, Tevet, 1st day	Sa	23 Dec.	11 Dec.	M Dec.	29 Dec.	19 Dec.
New Moon, Tevet, 2nd day	S	24 Dec.		T Dec.	30 Dec.	20 Dec.
Fast of 10th of Tevet	T	2 Jan.	20 Dec.	Th Jan.	8 Jan.	29 Dec.

	1996		1997		1998		1999		2000	
New Moon, Shevat	M	Jan. 22	Th	Jan. 9	W	Jan. 28	M	Jan. 18	Sa	Jan. 8
Hamishshah-'asar bi-Shevat	M	Feb. 5	Th	Jan. 23	W	Feb. 11	M	Feb. 1	Sa	Jan. 22
New Moon, Adar I, 1st day	T	Feb. 20	F	Feb. 7	Th	Feb. 26	T	Feb. 16	S	Feb. 6
New Moon, Adar I, 2nd day	W	Feb. 21	Sa	Feb. 8	F	Feb. 27	W	Feb. 17	M	Feb. 7
New Moon, Adar II, 1st day			S	Mar. 9					T	Mar. 7
New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day			M	Mar. 10					W	Mar. 8
Fast of Esther	M	Mar. 4	Th	Mar. 20	W	Mar. 11	M	Mar. 1	M	Mar. 20
Purim	T	Mar. 5	S	Mar. 23	Th	Mar. 12	T	Mar. 2	M	Mar. 21
Shushan Purim	W	Mar. 6	M	Mar. 24	F	Mar. 13	W	Mar. 3	T	Mar. 22
New Moon, Nisan	Th	Mar. 21	T	Apr. 8	Sa	Mar. 28	Th	Mar. 18	Th	Apr. 6
Passover, 1st day	Th	Apr. 4	T	Apr. 22	Sa	Apr. 11	Th	Apr. 1	Th	Apr. 20
Passover, 2nd day	F	Apr. 5	W	Apr. 23	S	Apr. 12	F	Apr. 2	F	Apr. 21
Passover, 7th day	W	Apr. 10	M	Apr. 28	F	Apr. 17	W	Apr. 7	W	Apr. 26
Passover, 8th day	Th	Apr. 11	T	Apr. 29	Sa	Apr. 18	Th	Apr. 8	Th	Apr. 27
Holocaust Memorial Day	T	Apr. 16	S	May 4	Th	Apr. 23	T	Apr. 13	T	May 2
New Moon, Iyar, 1st day	F	Apr. 19	W	May 7	S	Apr. 26	F	Apr. 16	F	May 5
New Moon, Iyar, 2nd day	Sa	Apr. 20	Th	May 8	M	Apr. 27	Sa	Apr. 17	Sa	May 6
Israel Independence Day	W	Apr. 24	M	May 12	Fr	May 1*	W	May 21	W	May 10
Lag Ba-'omer	T	May 7	S	May 25	Th	May 14	T	May 4	T	May 23
Jerusalem Day	F	May 17*	W	June 4	S	May 24	F	May 14*	F	June 2*
New Moon, Siwan	S	May 19	F	June 6	T	May 26	S	May 16	S	June 4
Shavu'ot, 1st day	F	May 24	W	June 11	S	May 31	F	May 21	F	June 9
Shavu'ot, 2nd day	Sa	May 25	Th	June 12	M	June 1	Sa	May 22	Sa	June 10
New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day	M	June 17	Sa	June 5	W	June 24	M	June 14	M	June 3
New Moon, Tammuz, 2nd day	T	June 18	S	June 6	Th	June 25	T	June 15	T	July 4
Fast of 17th of Tammuz	Th	July 4	T	July 22	S	July 12	Th	July 1	Th	July 20
New Moon, Av	W	July 17	M	Aug. 4	F	July 24	W	July 14	W	Aug. 2
Fast of 9th of Av	Th	July 25	T	Aug. 12	S	Aug. 2	Th	July 22	Th	Aug. 10
New Moon, Elul, 1st day	Th	Aug. 15	T	Sept. 2	Sa	Aug. 22	Th	Aug. 12	Th	Aug. 31
New Moon, Elul, 2nd day	F	Aug. 16	W	Sept. 3	S	Aug. 23	F	Aug. 13	F	Sept. 1

*Observed Thursday, a day earlier, to avoid conflict with the Sabbath.

CONDENSED MONTHLY CALENDAR (1995-1998)

1994, Dec. 4-Jan. 1, 1995] TEVET (29 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Dec. 4	S	Tevet 1	New Moon, second day; Hanukkah, seventh day	Num. 28:1-15 Num. 7:48-53	
5	M	2	Hanukkah, eighth day	Num. 7:54-8:4	
10	Sa	7	Wa-yiggash	Gen. 44:18-47:27	Ezekiel 37:15-28
13	T	10	Fast of 10th of Tevet	Exod. 32:11-14 Exod. 34:1-10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6-56:8 (afternoon only)
17	Sa	14	Wa-yehi	Gen. 47:28-50:26	I Kings 2:1-12
24	Sa	21	Shemot	Exod. 1:1-6:1	Isaiah 27:6-28:13 29:22-23 <i>Jeremiah 1:1-2:3</i>
31	Sa	28	Wa-'era'	Exod. 6:2-9:35	Ezekiel 28:25-29:21

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, Jan. 2–Jan. 31]

SHEVAṬ (30 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Jan. 2	M	Shevaṭ 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
7	Sa	6	Bo'	Exod. 10:1–13:16	Jeremiah 46:13–28
14	Sa	13	Be-shallah (Shabbat Shirah)	Exod. 13:17–17:16	Judges 4:4–5:31 <i>Judges 5:1–31</i>
16	M	15	Hamishah-'asar bi-Shevaṭ		
21	Sa	20	Yitro	Exod. 18:1–20:23	Isaiah 6:1–7:6; 9:5–6 <i>Isaiah 6:1–13</i>
28	Sa	27	Mishpaṭim	Exod. 21:1–24:18	Jeremiah 34:8–22 33:25–26
31	T	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, Feb. 1–Mar. 2]

ADAR I (30 DAYS)

[5755]

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Feb. 1	W	Adar I 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
4	Sa	4	Terumah	Exod. 25:1–27:19	I Kings 5:26–6:13
11	Sa	11	Tezawweh	Exod. 27:20–30:10	Ezekiel 43:10–27
18	Sa	18	Ki tissa'	Exod. 30:11–34:35	I Kings 18:1–39 <i>I Kings 18:20–39</i>
25	Sa	25	Wa-yakhel (Shabbat Shekalim)	Exod. 35:1–38:20 Exod. 30:11–16	II Kings 12:1–17 <i>II Kings 11:17–12:17</i>
Mar. 2	Th	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, Mar. 3–Mar. 31]

ADAR II (29 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Mar. 3	F	Adar II 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
4	Sa	2	Peḳude	Exod. 38:21–40:38	I Kings 7:51–8:21 <i>I Kings 7:40–50</i>
11	Sa	9	Wa-yikra' (Shabbat Zakhōr)	Levit. 1:1–5:26 Deut. 25:17–19	I Samuel 15:2–34 <i>I Samuel 15:1–34</i>
15	W	13	Fast of Esther	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
16	Th	14	Purim	Exod. 17:8–16	Book of Esther (night before and in the morning)
17	F	15	Shushan Purim		
18	Sa	16	Zaw	Levit. 6:1–8:36	Jeremiah 7:21–8:3 9:22–23
25	Sa	23	Shemini (Shabbat Parah)	Levit. 9:1–11:47 Num. 19:1–22	Ezekiel 36:16–38 <i>Ezekiel 36:16–36</i>

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, April 1–April 30]

NISAN (30 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Apr. 1	Sa	Nisan 1	Tazria'; New Moon (Shabbat Ha-ḥodesh)	Levit. 12:1–13:59 Num. 28:9–15 Exod. 12:1–20	Ezekiel 45:16–46:18 <i>Ezekiel 45:18–46:15</i> <i>Isaiah 66:1, 23</i>
8	Sa	8	Mezora' (Shabbat Ha-gadol)	Levit. 14:1–15:33	Malachi 3:4–24
14	F	14	Fast of Firstborn		
15	Sa	15	Passover, first day	Exod. 12:21–51 Num. 28:16–25	Joshua 5:2–6:1, 27
16	S	16	Passover, second day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 28:16–25	II Kings 23:1–9, 21–25
17	M	17	Hol Ha-mo'ed, first day	Exod. 13:1–16 Num. 28:19–25	
18	T	18	Hol Ha-mo'ed, second day	Exod. 22:24–23:19 Num. 28:19–25	
19	W	19	Hol Ha-mo'ed, third day	Exod. 34:1–26 Num. 28:19–25	
20	Th	20	Hol Ha-mo'ed, fourth day	Num. 9:1–14 Num. 28:19–25	
21	F	21	Passover, seventh day	Exod. 13:17–15:26 Num. 28:19–25	II Samuel 22:1–51
22	Sa	22	Passover, eighth day	Deut. 15:19–16:17 Num. 28:19–25	Isaiah 10:32–12:6
27	Th	27	Holocaust Memorial Day		
29	Sa	29	Aḥare mot	Levit. 16:1–18:30	I Samuel 20:18–42
30	S	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, May 1–May 29]

IYAR (29 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
May 1	M	Iyar 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
5	F	5	Israel Independence Day*		
6	Sa	6	Kedoshim	Levit. 19:1–20:27	Amos 9:7–15 <i>Ezekiel 20:2–20</i>
13	Sa	13	Emor	Levit. 21:1–24:23	Ezekiel 44:15–31
18	Th	18	Lag Ba-'omer		
20	Sa	20	Be-har	Levit. 25:1–26:2	Jeremiah 32:6–27
27	Sa	27	Be-hukkotai	Levit. 26:3–27:34	Jeremiah 16:19–17:14
28	S	28	Jerusalem Day		

*Observed May 4, to avoid conflict with the Sabbath.

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, May 30–June 28]

SIWAN (30 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
May 30	T	Siwan 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
June 3	Sa	5	Be-midbar	Num. 1:1–4:20	Hosea 2:1–22
4	S	6	Shavu'ot, first day	Exod. 19:1–20:23 Num. 28:26–31	Ezekiel 1:1–28 3:12
5	M	7	Shavu'ot, second day	Deut. 15:19–16:17 Num. 28:26–31	Habbakuk 3:1–19 <i>Habbakuk 2:20–3:19</i>
10	Sa	12	Naso'	Num. 4:21–7:89	Judges 13:2–25
17	Sa	19	Be-ha'alotekha	Num. 8:1–12:16	Zechariah 2:14–4:7
24	Sa	26	Shelah lekha	Num. 13:1–15:41	Joshua 2:1–24
28	W	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, June 29–July 27]

TAMMUZ (29 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
June 29	Th	Tammuz 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
July 1	Sa	3	Korah	Num. 16:1–18:32	I Samuel 11:14–12:22
8	Sa	10	Hukkat	Num. 19:1–22:1	Judges 11:1–33
15	Sa	17	Balak	Num. 22:2–25:9	Micah 5:6–6:8
16	S	18	Fast of 17th of Tammuz	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
22	Sa	24	Pinehas	Num. 25:10–30:1	Jeremiah 1:1–2:3

1995, July 28–Aug. 26]

AV (30 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
July 28	F	Av 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
29	Sa	2	Mattot, Mas'e	Num. 30:2–36:13	Jeremiah 2:4–28 3:4 <i>Jeremiah 2:4–28</i> 4:1–2
Aug. 5	Sa	9	Devarim (Shabbat Hazon)	Deut. 1:1–3:22	Isaiah 1:1–27
6	S	10	Fast of 9th of Av	Morning: Deut. 4:25–40 Afternoon: Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10	(Lamentations is read the night before) Jeremiah 8:13–9:23 (morning) Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon)
12	Sa	16	Wa-ethannan (Shabbat Nahamu)	Deut. 3:23–7:11	Isaiah 40:1–26
19	Sa	23	'Ekev	Deut. 7:12–11:25	Isaiah 49:14–51:3
26	Sa	30	Re'eh; New Moon, first day	Deut. 11:26–16:17 Num. 28:9–15	Isaiah 66:1–24 I Samuel 20:18,42

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, Aug. 27–Sept. 24]

ELUL (29 DAYS)

[5755

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Aug. 27	S	Elul 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
Sept. 2	Sa	7	Shofetim	Deut. 16:18–21:9	Isaiah 51:12–52:12
9	Sa	14	Ki teze'	Deut. 21:10–25:19	Isaiah 54:1–55:5
16	Sa	21	Ki tavo'	Deut. 26:1–29:8	Isaiah 60:1–22
23	Sa	28	Nizzavim	Deut. 29:9–30:20	Isaiah 61:10–63:9

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Sept. 25	M	Tishri 1	Rosh Ha-shanah, first day	Gen. 21:1–34 Num. 29:1–6	I Samuel 1:1–2:10
26	T	2	Rosh Ha-shanah, second day	Gen. 22:1–24 Num. 29:1–6	Jeremiah 31:2–20
27	W	3	Fast of Gedaliah	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
30	Sa	6	Wa-yelekh (Shabbat Shuvah)	Deut. 31:1–30	Hosea 14:2–10 Micah 7:18–20 Joel 2:15–27 <i>Hosea 14:2–10</i> <i>Micah 7:18–20</i>
Oct. 4	W	10	Yom Kippur	Morning: Levit. 16:1–34 Num. 29:7–11 Afternoon: Levit. 18:1–30	Isaiah 57:14–58:14 Jonah 1:1–4:11 Micah 7:18–20
7	Sa	13	Ha'azinu	Deut. 32:1–52	II Samuel 22:1–51
9	M	15	Sukkot, first day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 29:12–16	Zechariah 14:1–21
10	T	16	Sukkot, second day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 29:12–16	I Kings 8:2–21
11–14	W–Sa	17–20	Hol Ha-mo'ed	W Num. 29:17–25 Th Num. 29:20–28 F Num. 29:23–31 Sa Exod. 33:12–34:26 Num. 29:26–34	Ezekiel 38:18–39:16
15	S	21	Hosha'na' Rabbah	Num. 29:26–34	
16	M	22	Shemini 'Azeret	Deut. 14:22–16:17 Num. 29:35–30:1	I Kings 8:54–66
17	T	23	Simḥat Torah	Deut. 33:1–34:12 Gen. 1:1–2:3 Num. 29:35–30:1	Joshua 1:1–18 <i>Joshua 1:1–9</i>
21	Sa	27	Be-re'shit	Gen. 1:1–6:8	Isaiah 42:5–43:10 <i>Isaiah 42:5–21</i>
24	T	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

1995, Oct. 25–Nov. 23] HESHWAN (30 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Oct. 25	W	Heshwan 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
28	Sa	4	Noah	Gen. 6:9–11:32	Isaiah 54:1–55:5 <i>Isaiah 54:1–10</i>
Nov. 4	Sa	11	Lekh lekha	Gen. 12:1–17:27	Isaiah 40:27–41:16
11	Sa	18	Wa-yera'	Gen. 18:1–22:24	II Kings 4:1–37 <i>II Kings 4:1–23</i>
18	Sa	25	Hayye Sarah	Gen. 23:1–25:18	I Kings 1:1–31
23	Th	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, Nov. 24–Dec. 23]

KISLEW (30 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Nov. 24	F	Kislew 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
25	Sa	2	Toledot	Gen. 25:19–28:9	Malachi 1:1–2:7
Dec. 2	Sa	9	Wa-yeze'	Gen. 28:10–32:3	Hosea 12:13–14:10 <i>Hosea 11:7–12:12</i>
9	Sa	16	Wa-yishlah	Gen. 32:4–36:43	Hosea 11:7–12:12 <i>Obadiah 1:1–21</i>
16	Sa	23	Wa-yeshev	Gen. 37:1–40:23	Amos 2:6–3:8
18	M–F	25–29	Hanukkah, first to fifth days	M Num. 7:1–17 T Num. 7:18–29 W Num. 7:24–35 Th Num. 7:30–41 F Num. 7:36–47	
23	Sa	30	Mi-kez; New Moon, first day; Hanukkah, sixth day	Gen. 41:1–44:17 Num. 28:9–15 Num. 7:42–47	Zechariah 2:14–4:7

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1995, Dec. 24–Jan. 21, 1996] ṬEVET (29 DAYS)

[5756]

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Dec. 24	S	Ṭevet 1	New Moon, second day; Ḥanukkah, seventh day	Num. 28:1–15 Num. 7:48–53	
25	M	2	Ḥanukkah, eighth day	Num. 7:54–8:4	
30	Sa	7	Wa-yiggash	Gen. 44:18–47:27	Ezekiel 37:15–28
Jan. 2	T	10	Fast of 10th of Ṭevet	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
6	Sa	14	Wa-yehi	Gen. 47:28–50:26	I Kings 2:1–12
13	Sa	21	Shemot	Exod. 1:1–6:1	Isaiah 27:6–28:13 29:22–23 <i>Jeremiah 1:1–2:3</i>
20	Sa	28	Wa-'era'	Exod. 6:2–9:35	Ezekiel 28:25–29:21

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, Jan. 22–Feb. 20]

SHEVAT (30 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Jan. 22	M	Shevat 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
27	Sa	6	Bo'	Exod. 10:1–13:16	Jeremiah 46:13–28
Feb. 3	Sa	13	Be-shallah (Shabbat Shirah)	Exod. 13:17–17:16	Judges 4:4–5:31 <i>Judges 5:1–31</i>
5	M	15	Hamishah-'asar bi-Shevat		
10	Sa	20	Yitro	Exod. 18:1–20:23	Isaiah 6:1–7:6; 9:5–6 <i>Isaiah 6:1–13</i>
17	Sa	27	Mishpatim (Shabbat Shekalim)	Exod. 21:1–24:18 Exod. 30:11–16	II Kings 12:1–17 <i>II Kings 11:17–12:17</i>
20	T	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, Feb. 21–Mar. 20]

ADAR (29 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Feb. 21	W	Adar 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
24	Sa	4	Terumah	Exod. 25:1–27:19	I Kings 5:26–6:13
Mar. 2	Sa	11	Tezawweh (Shabbat Zakhor)	Exod. 27:20–30:10 Deut. 25:17–19	I Samuel 15:2–34 <i>I Samuel 15:1–34</i>
4	M	13	Fast of Esther	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
5	T	14	Purim	Exod. 17:8–16	Book of Esther (night before and in the morning)
6	W	15	Shushan Purim		
9	Sa	18	Ki tissa' (Shabbat Parah)	Exod. 30:11–34:35 Num. 19:1–22	Ezekiel 36:16–38 <i>Ezekiel 36:16–36</i>
16	Sa	25	Wa-yakhel-Pekude (Shabbat Ha-ḥodesh)	Exod. 35:1–40:38 Exod. 12:1–20	Ezekiel 45:16–46:18 <i>Ezekiel 45:18–46:15</i>

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, Mar. 21–Apr. 19]

NISAN (30 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Mar. 21	Th	Nisan 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
23	Sa	3	Wa-yikra'	Levit. 1:1–5:26	Isaiah 43:21–44:24
30	Sa	10	Zaw (Shabbat Ha-gadol)	Levit. 6:1–8:36	Malachi 3:4–24
Apr. 3	W	14	Fast of Firstborn		
4	Th	15	Passover, first day	Exod. 12:21–51 Num. 28:16–25	Joshua 5:2–6:1,27
5	F	16	Passover, second day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 28:16–25	II Kings 23:1–9, 21–25
6	Sa	17	Hol Ha-mo'ed, first day	Exod. 33:12–34:26 Num. 28:19–25	Ezekiel 37:1–14
7	S	18	Hol Ha-mo'ed, second day	Exod. 13:1–16 Num. 28:19–25	
Apr. 8	M	19	Hol Ha-mo'ed, third day	Exod. 22:24–23:19 Num. 28:19–25	
9	T	20	Hol Ha-mo'ed, fourth day	Num. 9:1–14 Num. 28:19–25	
10	W	21	Passover, seventh day	Exod. 13:17–15:26 Num. 28:19–25	II Samuel 22:1–51
11	Th	22	Passover, eighth day	Deut. 15:19–16:17 Num. 28:19–25	Isaiah 10:32–12:6
13	Sa	24	Shemini	Levit. 9:1–11:47	II Samuel 6:1–7:17 <i>II Samuel 6:1–19</i>
16	T	27	Holocaust Memorial Day		
19	F	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, Apr. 20–May 18]

IYAR (29 DAYS)

[5756]

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Apr. 20	Sa	Iyar 1	Tazria', Mezora'; New Moon, second day	Levit. 12:1–15:33 Num. 28:9–15	Isaiah 66:1–24
24	W	5	Israel Independence Day		
27	Sa	8	Ahare mot, Kedoshim	Levit. 16:1–20:27	Amos 9:7–15 <i>Ezekiel 20:2–20</i>
May 4	Sa	15	Emor	Levit. 21:1–24:23	Ezekiel 44:15–31
7	T	18	Lag Ba-'omer		
11	Sa	22	Be-har, Be-ḥukkotai	Levit. 25:1–27:34	Jeremiah 16:19–17:14
17	F	28	Jerusalem Day*		
18	Sa	29	Be-midbar	Num. 1:1–4:20	I Sam. 20:18–42

*Observed May 16, to avoid conflict with the Sabbath.

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, May 19–June 17]

SIWAN (30 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
May 19	S	Siwan 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
24	F	6	Shavu'ot, first day	Exod. 19:1–20:23 Num. 28:26–31	Ezekiel 1:1–28 3:12
25	Sa	7	Shavu'ot, second day	Deut. 15:19–16:17 Num. 28:26–31	Habbakuk 3:1–19 <i>Habbakuk 2:20–3:19</i>
June 1	Sa	14	Naso'	Num. 4:21–7:89	Judges 13:2–25
8	Sa	21	Be-ha'alotekha	Num. 8:1–12:16	<i>Zechariah 2:14–4:7</i>
15	Sa	28	Shelah lekha	Num. 13:1–15:41	Joshua 2:1–24
17	M	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, June 18–July 16]

TAMMUZ (29 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
June 18	T	Tammuz 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
22	Sa	5	Korah	Num. 16:1–18:32	I Samuel 11:14–12:22
29	Sa	12	Hukkat, Balak	Num. 19:1–25:9	Micah 5:6–6:8
July 4	Th	17	Fast of 17th of Tammuz	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
6	Sa	19	Pinehas	Num. 25:10–30:1	Jeremiah 1:1–2:3
13	Sa	26	Mattot, Mas'e	Num. 30:2–36:13	Jeremiah 2:4–28:3:4 <i>Jeremiah 2:4–28:4:1–2</i>

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, July 17–Aug. 15]

AV (30 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
July 17	W	Av 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
20	Sa	4	Devarim (Shabbat Hazon)	Deut. 1:1–3:22	Isaiah 1:1–27
25	Th	9	Fast of 9th of Av	Morning: Deut. 4:25–40 Afternoon: Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10	(Lamentations is read the night before) Jeremiah 8:13–9:23 (morning) Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon)
27	Sa	11	Wa-ethannan (Shabbat Naḥamu)	Deut. 3:23–7:11	Isaiah 40:1–26
Aug. 3	Sa	18	'Ekev	Deut. 7:12–11:25	Isaiah 49:14–51:3
10	Sa	25	Re'eh	Deut. 11:26–16:17	Isaiah 54:11–55:5
15	Th	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

1996, Aug. 16–Sept. 13]

ELUL (29 DAYS)

[5756

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Aug. 16	F	Elul 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
17	Sa	2	Shofetim	Deut. 16:18–21:9	Isaiah 51:12–52:12
24	Sa	9	Ki teze'	Deut. 21:10–25:19	Isaiah 54:1–10
31	Sa	16	Ki tavo'	Deut. 26:1–29:8	Isaiah 60:1–22
7	Sa	23	Nizzavim, Wa-yelekh	Deut. 29:9–31:30	Isaiah 61:10–63:9

1996, Sept. 14–Oct. 13]

TISHRI (30 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Sept. 14	Sa	Tishri 1	Rosh Ha-shanah, first day	Gen. 21:1–34 Num. 29:1–6	I Samuel 1:1–2:10
15	Su	2	Rosh Ha-shanah, second day	Gen. 22:1–24 Num. 29:1–6	Jeremiah 31:2–20
16	M	3	Fast of Gedaliah	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
21	Sa	8	Ha'azinu (Shabbat Shuvah)	Deut. 32:1–52	Hosea 14:2–10 Micah 7:18–20 Joel 2:15–27 <i>Hosea 14:2–10</i> <i>Micah 7:18–20</i>
23	M	10	Yom Kippur	Morning: Levit. 16:1–34 Num. 29:7–11 Afternoon: Levit. 18:1–30	Isaiah 57:14–58:14 Jonah 1:1–4:11 Micah 7:18–20
28	Sa	15	Sukkot, first day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 29:12–16	Zechariah 14:1–21
29	S	16	Sukkot, second day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 29:12–16	I Kings 8:2–21
Sept. 30– Oct. 3	M–Th	17–20	Hol Ha-mo'ed	M Num. 29:17–25 T 29:20–28 W 29:23–31 Th 29:26–34	
Oct. 4	F	21	Hosha'na' Rabbah	Num. 29:26–34	
5	Sa	22	Shemini 'Azeret	Deut. 14:22–16:17 Num. 29:35–30:1	I Kings 8:54–66
6	S	23	Simḥat Torah	Deut. 33:1–34:12 Gen. 1:1–2:3 Num. 29:35–30:1	Joshua 1:1–18 <i>Joshua 1:1–9</i>
12	Sa	29	Be-re'shit	Gen. 1:1–6:8	I Samuel 20:18–42
13	S	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, Oct. 14–Nov. 11] HESHWAN (29 DAYS)

[5757]

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Oct. 14	M	Heshwan 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
19	Sa	6	Noah	Gen. 6:9–11:32	Isaiah 54:1–55:5 <i>Isaiah 54:1–10</i>
26	Sa	13	Lekh lekha	Gen. 12:1–17:27	Isaiah 40:27–41:16
Nov. 2	Sa	20	Wa-yera'	Gen. 18:1–22:24	II Kings 4:1–37 <i>II Kings 4:1–23</i>
9	Sa	27	Hayye Sarah	Gen. 23:1–25:18	I Kings 1:1–31

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, Nov. 12–Dec. 10]

KISLEW (30 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Nov. 12	T	Kislew 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
16	Sa	5	Toledot	Gen. 25:19–28:9	Malachi 1:1–2:7
23	Sa	12	Wa-yeze'	Gen. 28:10–32:3	Hosea 12:13–14:10 <i>Hosea 11:7–12:12</i>
30	Sa	19	Wa-yishlah	Gen. 32:4–36:43	Hosea 11:7–12:12 <i>Obadiah 1:1–21</i>
Dec. 6	F	25	Ḥanukkah, first day	Num. 7:1–17	
7	Sa	26	Wa-yeshev; Ḥanukkah, second day	Gen. 37:1–40:23 Num. 7:18–23	Zechariah 2:14–4:7
8–10	S–T	27–29	Ḥanukkah, third to fifth days	S Num. 7:24–35 M Num. 7:30–41 T Num. 7:36–47	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1996, Dec. 11–Jan. 8, 1997] ṬEVET (29 DAYS)

[5757]

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Dec. 11	W	Ṭevet 1	New Moon; Ḥanukkah, sixth day	Num. 28:1–15 Num. 7:42–47	
12–13	Th–F	2–3	Ḥanukkah, seventh–eighth days	Th Num. 7:48–53 F Num. 7:54–8:4	
14	Sa	4	Mi-ḳeṣ	Gen. 41:1–44:17	I Kings 3:15–4:1
20	F	10	Fast of 10th of Tevet	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
21	Sa	11	Wa-yiggash	Gen. 44:18–47:27	Ezekiel 37:15–28
28	Sa	18	Wa-yehi	Gen. 47:28–50:26	I Kings 2:1–12
Jan. 4	Sa	25	Shemot	Exod. 1:1–6:1	Isaiah 27:6–28:13 29:22–23 <i>Jeremiah 1:1–2:3</i>

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, Jan. 9–Feb. 7]

SHEVAṬ (30 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Jan. 9	Th	Shevaṭ 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
11	Sa	3	Wa-'era'	Exod. 6:2–9:35	Ezekiel 28:25–29:21
18	Sa	10	Bo'	Exod. 10:1–13:16	Jeremiah 46:13–28
23	Th	15	Ḥamishah 'asar bi-Shevaṭ		
25	Sa	17	Be-shallah (Shabbat Shirah)	Exod. 13:17–17:16	Judges 4:4–5:31 <i>Judges 5:1–31</i>
Feb. 1	Sa	24	Yitro	Exod. 18:1–20:23	Isaiah 6:1–7:6; 9:5–6 <i>Isaiah 6:1–13</i>
7	F	30	New Moon first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, Feb. 8–Mar. 9]

ADAR I (30 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Feb. 8	Sa	Adar I 1	Mishpatim; New Moon, second day	Exod. 21:1–24:18 Num. 28:9–15	Jeremiah 34:8–22 33:25–26
15	Sa	8	Terumah	Exod. 25:1–27:19	I Kings 5:26–6:13
22	Sa	15	Tezawweh	Exod. 27:20–30:10	Ezekiel 43:10–27
Mar. 1	Sa	22	Ki tissa'	Exod. 30:11–34:35	I Kings 18:1–39 <i>I Kings 18:20–39</i>
8	Sa	29	Wa-yakhel (Shabbat Shekalim)	Exod. 35:1–38:20 Exod. 30:11–16	II Kings 12:1–17 <i>II Kings 11:17–12:17</i> I Samuel 20:18, 42
9	S	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, Mar. 10–Apr. 7]

ADAR II (29 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Mar. 10	M	Adar II 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
15	Sa	6	Peḳude	Exod. 38:21–40–38	I Kings 7:51–8:21 <i>I Kings 7:40–50</i>
20	Th	11	Fast of Esther	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
22	Sa	13	Wa-yikra' (Shabbat Zakhōr)	Levit. 1:1–5:26 Deut. 25:17–19	I Samuel 15:2–34 <i>I Samuel 15:1–34</i>
23	S	14	Purim	Exod. 17:8–16	Book of Esther (night before and in the morning)
24	M	15	Shushan Purim		
29	Sa	20	Zaw (Shabbat Parah)	Levit. 6:1–8:36 Num. 19:1–22	Ezekiel 36:16–38 <i>Ezekiel 36:16–36</i>
Apr. 5	Sa	7	Shemini (Shabbat Ha-ḥodesh)	Levit. 9:1–14:47 Exod. 12:1–20	Ezekiel 45:16–46:18 <i>Ezekiel 45:18–46:15</i>

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, Apr. 8–May 7]

NISAN (30 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Apr. 8	T	Nisan 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
12	Sa	5	Tazria'	Levit. 12:1–13:59	II Kings 4:42–5:19
19	Sa	12	Mezora' (Shabbat Ha-gadol)	Levit. 14:1–15:33	Malachi 3:4–24
21	M	14	Fast of Firstborn		
22	T	15	Passover, first day	Exod. 12:21–51 Num. 28:16–25	Joshua 5:2–6:1, 27
23	W	16	Passover, second day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 28:16–25	II Kings 23:1–9, 21–25
24	Th	17	Hol Ha-mo'ed, first day	Exod. 13:1–16 Num. 28:19–25	
25	F	18	Hol Ha-mo'ed, second day	Exod. 22:24–23:19 Num. 28:19–25	
26	Sa	19	Hol Ha-mo'ed, third day	Exod. 33:12–34:26 Num. 28:19–25	Ezekiel 37:1–14
27	S	20	Hol Ha-mo'ed, fourth day	Num. 9:1–14 Num. 28:19–25	
28	M	21	Passover, seventh day	Exod. 13:17–15:26 Num. 28:19–25	II Samuel 22:1–51
29	T	22	Passover, eighth day	Deut. 15:19–16:17 Num. 28:19–25	Isaiah 10:32–12:6
May 3	Sa	26	Ahare mot	Levit. 16:1–18:30	Amos 9:7–15 <i>Ezekiel 22:1–16</i>
4	S	27	Holocaust Memorial Day		
7	W	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, May 8–June 5] IYAR (29 DAYS) [5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
May 8	Th	Iyar 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
10	Sa	3	Kedoshim	Levit. 19:1–20:27	Ezekiel 22:1–19 <i>Ezekiel 20:2–20</i>
12	M	5	Israel Independence Day		
17	Sa	10	Emor	Levit. 21:1–24:23	Ezekiel 44:15–31
24	Sa	17	Be-har	Levit. 25:1–26:2	Jeremiah 32:6–27
25	S	18	Lag Ba-'omer		
31	Sa	24	Be-ḥukḳotai	Levit. 26:3–27:34	Jeremiah 16:19–17:14
June 4	W	28	Jerusalem Day		

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, June 6–July 5]

SIWAN (30 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
June 6	F	Siwan 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–5	
7	Sa	2	Be-midbar	Num. 1:1–4:20	Hosea 2:1–22
11	W	6	Shavu'ot, first day	Exod. 19:1–20:23 Num. 28:26–31	Ezekiel 1:1–28 3:12
12	Th	7	Shavu'ot, second day	Deut. 15:19–16:17 Num. 28:26–31	Habbakuk 3:1–19 <i>Habbakuk 2:20–3:19</i>
14	Sa	9	Naso'	Num. 4:21–7:89	Judges 13:2–25
21	Sa	16	Be-Ha'alotekha	Num. 8:1–12:16	<i>Zechariah 2:14–4:7</i>
28	Sa	23	Shelah lekha	Num. 13:1–15:41	Joshua 2:1–24
July 5	Sa	30	Korah; New Moon, first day	Num. 16:1–18:32 Num. 28:9–15	Isaiah 66:1–24 <i>Isaiah 66:1–24</i> I Samuel 20:18, 42

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, July 6–Aug. 3]
TAMMUZ (29 DAYS)
[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
July 6	S	Tammuz 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
12	Sa	7	Hukkat	Num. 19:1–22:1	Judges 11:1–33
19	Sa	14	Balak	Num. 22:2–25:9	Micah 5:6–6:8
22	T	17	Fast of 17th of Tammuz	Exod. 32:11–14 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
26	Sa	21	Pinehas	Num. 25:10–30:1	Jeremiah 1:1–2:3
Aug. 2	Sa	28	Matot, Mas'e	Num. 30:2–36:13	Jeremiah 2:4–28 3:4 <i>Jeremiah 2:4–28</i> <i>4:1–2</i>

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, Aug. 4–Sept. 2]

AV (30 DAYS)

[5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Aug. 4	M	Av 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
9	Sa	6	Devarim (Shabbat Hazon)	Deut. 1:1–3:22	Isaiah 1:1–27
12	T	9	Fast of 9th of Av	Morning: Deut. 4:25–40 Afternoon: Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10	(Lamentations is read the night before) Jeremiah 8:13–9:23 (morning) Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon)
16	Sa	13	Wa-Ethannan (Shabbat Naḥamu)	Deut. 3:23–7:11	Isaiah 40:1–26
23	Sa	20	*Ekev	Deut. 7:12–11:25	Isaiah 49:14–51:3
30	Sa	27	Re'eh	Deut. 11:26–16:17	Isaiah 54:11–55:5
Sept. 2	T	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

1997, Sept. 3–Oct. 1] ELUL (30 DAYS) [5757

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Sept. 3	W	Elul 1	New Moon, second day	Num. 28:1–15	
6	Sa	4	Shofetim	Deut. 16:18–21:9	Isaiah 51:12–52:12
13	Sa	11	Ki teze'	Deut. 21:10–25:19	Isaiah 54:1–10
20	Sa	18	Ki tavo'	Deut. 26:1–29:8	Isaiah 60:1–22
27	Sa	25	Nizzavim, Wa-yelekh	Deut. 29:9–30:20	Isaiah 61:10–63:9

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Oct. 2	Th	Tishri 1	Rosh Ha-shanah, first day	Gen. 21:1–34 Num. 29:1–6	I Samuel 1:1–2:10
3	F	2	Rosh Ha-shanah, second day	Gen. 22:1–24 Num. 29:1–6	Jeremiah 31:2–20
4	Sa	3	Ha'azinu (Shabbat Shuvah)	Deut. 32:1–52	Hosea 14:2–10 Micah 7:18–20 Joel 2:15–27 <i>Hosea 14:2–10</i> <i>Micah 7:18–20</i>
5	S	4	Fast of Gedaliah	Exod. 32:11–14 Exod. 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
11	Sa	10	Yom Kippur	Morning: Levit. 16:1–34 Num. 29:7–11 Afternoon: Levit. 18:1–30	Isaiah 57:14–58:14 Jonah 1:1–4:11 Micah 7:18–20
16	Th	15	Sukkot, first day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 29:12–16	Zechariah 14:1–21
17	F	16	Sukkot, second day	Levit. 22:26–23:44 Num. 29:12–16	I Kings 8:2–21
18	Sa	17	Hol Ha-mo'ed, first day	Exod. 33:12–34:26 Num. 29:17–22	Ezekiel 38:18–39:16
19–21	S–T	18–20	Hol Ha-mo'ed, second to fourth days	S Num. 29:20–28 M Num. 29:23–31 T Num. 29:26–34	
22	W	21	Hosha'na' Rabbah	Num. 29:26–34	
23	Th	22	Shemini 'Azeret	Deut. 14:22–16:17 Num. 29:35–30:1	I Kings 8:54–66
24	F	23	Simhat Torah	Deut. 33:1–34:12 Gen. 1:1–2:3 Num. 29:35–30:1	Joshua 1:1–18 <i>Joshua 1:1–9</i>
25	Sa	24	Be-re'shit	Gen. 1:1–6:8	Isaiah 42:5–43:10 <i>Isaiah 42:5–21</i>
31	F	30	New Moon, first day	Num. 28:1–15	

1997, Nov. 1–Nov. 29]

HESHWAN (29 DAYS)

[5758

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Nov. 1	Sa	Heshwan 1	Noah; New Moon, second day	Gen. 6:9–11:32 Num. 28:9–15	Isaiah 66:1–24
8	Sa	8	Lekh lekha	Gen. 12:1–17:27	Isaiah 40:27–41:16
15	Sa	15	Wa-yera'	Gen. 18:1–22:24	II Kings 4:1–37 <i>II Kings 4:1–23</i>
22	Sa	22	Hayye Sarah	Gen. 23:1–25:18	I Kings 1:1–31
29	Sa	29	Toledot	Gen. 25:19–28:9	I Samuel 20:18–42

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, Nov. 30–Dec. 29]

KISLEW (30 DAYS)

[5758]

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Nov. 30	S	Kislew 1	New Moon	Num. 28:1–15	
Dec. 6	Sa	7	Wa-yeze'	Gen. 28:10–32:3	Hosea 12:13–14:10 <i>Hosea 11:7–12:12</i>
13	Sa	14	Wa-yishlah	Gen. 32:4–36:43	Hosea 11:7–12:12 <i>Obadiah 1:1–21</i>
20	Sa	21	Wa-yeshev	Gen. 37:1–40:23	Amos 2:6–3:8
24–26	W–F	25–27	Hanukkah, first to third days	W Num. 7:1–17 Th Num. 7:18–29 F Num. 7:24–35	
27	Sa	28	Mi-kez; Hanukkah, fourth day	Gen. 41:1–44:17 Num. 7:30–35	Zechariah 2:14–4:7
28	S	29	Hanukkah, fifth day	Num. 7:36–47	
29	M	30	New Moon, first day; Hanukkah, sixth day	Num. 28:1–15 Num. 7:42–47	

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

1997, Dec. 30–Jan. 27, 1998] TEVET (29 DAYS)

[5758

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Dec. 30	T	Tevet 1	New Moon, second day; Hanukkah, seventh day	Num. 28:1–15 Num. 7:48–53	
31	W	2	Hanukkah, eighth day	Num. 7:54–8:4	
Jan. 3	Sa	5	Wa-yiggash	Gen. 44:18–47:27	Ezekiel 37:15–28
8	Th	10	Fast of 10th of Tevet	Exod. 32:11–14 34:1–10 (morning and afternoon)	Isaiah 55:6–56:8 (afternoon only)
10	Sa	12	Wa-yehi	Gen. 47:28–50:26	I Kings 2:1–12
17	Sa	19	Shemot	Exod. 1:1–6:1	Isaiah 27:6–28:13 29:22–23 <i>Jeremiah 1:1–2:3</i>
24	Sa	26	Wa-'Era'	Exod. 6:2–9:35	Ezekiel 28:25–29:21

*Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.*

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